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By the *Athenian Society*.

A L S O,
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COMPREHENDING
The CONTENTS of this Volume.

And of All
The *Athenian Mercuries* and *Supplements, &c.*
Printed in the Y E A R 1 6 9 1.

L O N D O N,

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1774 - 11/

Young's Library
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OF THE
Most Valuable Books

PRINTED
In England, and in the Foreign Journals
FROM THE
Year Sixty Five, to this Time.
To which is Added,
A New Essay upon all sorts of Learning;
WHEREIN
The Use of the SCIENCES
is Diffusely Treated on.

By the Athenian Society.
A Large ALPHABETICAL TABLE,
COMPREHENDING
THE CONTENTS of this Volume.

And of All
The Athenian Mercuries and Supplements, &c.
Printed in the YEAR 1774.

L O N D O N
Printed for John Bunting at the Raven in the Strand. Where is
to be had the entire Set of Athenian Gazettes, and the sup-
plements to 'em for the Year 1771. bound up all together,
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arate Volumes. (Or single Mercuries to this Time) 1774.

THE PREFACE.



H E Learned Grotius tells us in p. 34. of his Epistles, That the Athenians in their * High Court forbad * Arcopagum. all Introductory Prefaces, and Addresses, because they hated

Affected Ornaments, and what was not to purpose in their Discourses. *VVe* are as willing to follow 'em as possible; and the Subject of this Book being Abstracts, it wou'd be very disproportionable to make a Tedious Preface to it: *VVe* shall only tell the Reader, what he is to expect from this *VV*ork, and then leave it to its fate.

The Catalogue whereof it is compos'd, was made by our Bookseller, and a stranger to our Society, and was publish'd to the *VV*orld before we ever saw it, or had the least notice of the Design. The Collections being not over-regular, neither as to the sorting them; nor (which is worse) as to the Subject Matter it self: However, the Design appeared so serviceable to the Age, that Subscriptions came very plentifully in; and the whole was put out to be Translated.

*VV*hen it came to be Revis'd by our Society, and some of us had engag'd to *VV*rite the Essay, and an Original Treatise on the Masore and punctuation of the Hebrew Text, we found the *VV*ork very dangerous and difficult, especially in these particulars.

1. Several things in Divinity were taken out of the Republick of Letters, which pass'd through the hands of the French Divines, and where there were such Doctrines laid down, as we thought very unsafe to publish in a Protestant Nation; where 'tis impossible not to find some who are weak and unsettled in our Religion.

2. Most of the Fathers that were promis'd, had met with the same fate, and were so much Jesuitiz'd, that we knew no more of 'em but the Title, the rest was what the Papal Interest was pleas'd to make 'em speak.

3. There were several Titles of Books in our Booksellers Catalogue, which were found in the Catalogues of the Universal Bibliothecque, Journal des Scavans, &c. which those Authors themselves had barely set down, and not made any Abstract of 'em; So that 'twas impossible to Translate what was not, those Authors having forgot them.

The PREFACE.

We have undertaken to redress these Mischiefs, and we hope in such a Method, as the Age may rather be a gainer by the disappointment.

1. *As to the first, we have prevail'd with our Bookseller, contrary to his Interest, to expunge 'em entirely, and to make a better Catalogue in their Room, as it was easie enough to do, in so fair a Field of Collections, amongst 40 or 50 Volumes, which he had to choose out of.*

2. *As to the Second, We have consider'd the Learned Dupin's Works, which are here translated; as also Dr. Cave's Lives of the Fathers; which, with those Fathers that were not Corrupted in these Translations, do altogether remedy that Evil, and give a very handsome Account of what we found so miserably mangled and corrupted by the Jesuits beyond Sea.*

3. *We cou'd have no remedy, but to choose out other Subjects which we hope have exceeded those few that were thus promis'd, and we dare venture the Judgment of the severest Criticks upon it.*

In fine the Reader is not at all a loser in the Exchange, either in the Number or Quality of Books; for, as they may be assured we had no interest in expunging some, and putting in others, which we cou'd yet wish had been more; so we shou'd hardly put in worse than those we took out; having, perhaps, as much Judgment in Books, as the first Single Collector and our Bookseller--- But, to do our Bookseller Justice in this affair, we shall acquaint the World, that he very readily offer'd to add ten Sheets more, than the Proposals for the same Money, to wit, 130, instead of 120; and this after he had receiv'd a deal of Subscription-Money, becau'e he wou'd have the Work Compleat and Perfect, and lay more than a Common Obligation upon his Subscribers; perhaps there has not been another such an Instance to be found amongst those of his Calling.

Our Bookseller has been extreamly harass'd about a Speedy Publication, which, above all Men, he has least deserv'd; for there's no body more diligent, in his Employ, than himself, as every body of his Acquaintance will acknowledge. There were Six Presses at work; Mr. Rushworth's Collections were in the Press at the same time; and there were Six Weeks Frost which hindred the Printers; therefore no Reasonable Person can suppose our Bookseller careless in the Affair, or responsible for things out of his Power.

We have also to Advertise, that the Author of the Hebrew Punctuation, has retir'd into the Countrey, where his necessary business will take up a great part of his time; yet whatever Letters, Objections, &c. shall be sent to him about his Performance, if they be directed to our Bookseller, they will come to his hands, and he will, notwithstanding his business, set apart so much time as to maintain what he has advanc'd, and to Answer all Objections whatever.

The PREFACE.

The Reader is to expect one other Inconvenience, which was almost impossible to be avoided; in having to do with six Presses, the Abstracts are not exactly placed, Dupin's Works being divided, one Volume in one place, and another in another; but the Table will rectifie that Error, only in one place the Printer has through a Mistake broken off in the midst of Bishop Ushers Works, p. 37. and begun another subject, and what should have followed is transferred to page 65. which the Reader is desir'd to Correct, and make a note of Reference with his Pen. And also instead of The (the Direction word in page 316) should be Apostolici.

He that translated above an hundred of these Sheets, is a Frenchman, a Stranger to us; and tho' we have revis'd all, we could not possibly give the Style a new Air and turn, unless we had wholly alter'd it, which would have been so much labour, that we had better to have translated all over again; However this we can say for the Translation, that its greatest Fault is, that it keeps too near the Original which the severest searcher after Truth will not be sorry to find, for there's less Error in such a Translation, than in one where an affected profuse Liberty is assumed.

And after all, we can't promise that in this hasty Review, we have been rigid enough in our Examination, only we hope there's nothing very Material, and if so, a few small defects may easily be pardon'd by the Ingenious, when they reflect of what great Use this YOUNG STUDENTS LIBRARY will be to the World, of which we shall now speak a word or two.

This Book is a kind of a Common Theatre where every person may Act, or take such Part as pleases him best, and what he does not like, he may pass over, assuring himself that every ones Judgment not being like his, another may choose what he dislikes, and so every one may be pleas'd in their Turns.

A Book of this Nature (provided every one follows the Rule just now laid down) will solve the common complaint of Authors, viz. that it's impossible to please every Body, for there's scarce any one that can't find some Subjects here very agreeable to his Judgment, which, if it alters, may be refurnisht, either by something new, or perhaps by the very same things that displeas'd before. Only here's one Inconvenience depends upon this Variety, to wit, The unsettling people in their Judgments and Perswasions: To such we answer, That what we here offer to the World, is rather a History of Books, than a Method for people to fix their Judgments by. Here are several Subjects, and some such as are diversely treated of, but this hinders not the profit of the Reader, since 'tis universally granted, that Diversity and Opposition shew the way to Truth: It would be an endless Task to Comment upon every good Thing, that we find abstracted to our Hand, or to expect that we should censure what we find disagreeable to our Judgments: 'tis enough to expunge such things in Divinity where Fundamentals are attack'd by Libertines or Athe-

The PREFACE.

theists, we think we ought not to do it in any other Sciences, let 'em all find out truth after their own manner, which when the Reader has fully consider'd, he may by their Errors avoid Falsehood, and raise one new Model out of their best Materials.

These Treatises are not only pleasant as to their Variety, but useful for their Brevity, there being the Substance and Value of a Considerable Part of a good Library, brought within the Compass of this one Volume; which as it will spare much Labour, a man being able to peruse here more of an Author in half an hour, than in half a day in the Author himself, so it will save a great deal of Expences, to such as wou'd be Master of the Knowledge of many Books, by laying out a little Mony, the performances of the Author (and Quality if known) being here Epitomiz'd, and such as wou'd see more than our Abstract may by the Title be directed where to buy the Author himself.

That there can be no Convenience without its Inconvenience we are satisfi'd, and it may be alledg'd that Compendia sunt Dispendia, but that this is an Error, we dare appeal to the Encouragements that the Journal des Scavans, the Republique des Lettres and the Universelle Bibliothéque &c. (out of which these Abstracts are translated) have met with, from all the Men of Letters beyond Sea. So that it must first be shewed, that what has been so universally approved by the Ingenious in other Nations, shou'd not also meet with the same Success here amongst us, when Translated into English, which to doubt wou'd be to question the Capacity, Spirit and penetrating Genius of our Nation.

In fine, We hope the Judicious Reader, will also pardon the Errata's of the Press, and with his own Pen Correct such Faults as may happen that way; we having only had leisure to revise what went in, not what comes out of the Press, tho' we hope there's nothing of an Error has escaped that's very Material

Directions to the Bookbinder.

Paste a small piece of paper over those three lines beginning with a Hand, at the end of page 240 and place all the seven Alphabets as they lie in order, beginning with A in the first Alphabet, and next place A in the second Alphabet, and all the rest in the same order, for the placing A in the fourth Alphabet first of all (tho' the Subject Matter of that part would more properly come there) will make some persons apprehend the Book Imperfect.

The YOUNG Students Library, &c.

All the Works of John Lightfoot Doctor in Divinity, Master of Catherine's Hall at Cambridge, and Canon of Ely. Rotterdam; Sold by Reinier Leers, 1686. in Fol. Two Volumes.

MOST of the Treatises which are in these two Volumes, have appeared only in English; many of the Learned beyond Sea look upon them as Pieces perfectly new. This Work hath been translated out of English into Latine. First, as to the Preface; tho' it be not *Lightfoot's*, because it treats of the principal Subjects upon which *Lightfoot* hath written, yet we shall mention it, since there is to be found in it very curious Remarks. Mr. *Bright* speaks there, first of the Usefulness of Chronology, and shews us that it may be very serviceable to the understanding of Sacred History. He brings for example this passage, 2 *Chron.* 16. 1. where it is said, that in the 36th year of the Reign of *Asa*, *Baalha King of Israel* went up against *Judah*. We must not understand this date from the time in which *Asa* began to Reign, since *Baasha* ascended to the Throne of *Israel*, but the third year of the Reign of *Asa*, and Reigned but 24 years, that is to say, to the 27th year of King *Asa's* Reign, 1 *Kings* 15. 33. The same numbers are found in all the Antient Interpreters; so that it is not very likely that any fault should have slipped herein. If we consult Chronology, it tells us, that the year in which *Baasha King of Israel* made War against *Judah*, was the 36th from the division of the Ten Tribes; so that by the Reign of *Asa* must be understood, That the Reign of *Judah* took its beginning from the time that *Jeroboam* dismembered the Ten Tribes. 'Tis thus that *Lightfoot* interprets it, p. 80. from his *Harmony of the Old Testament*. See also p. 81. and 87. It's also remarked, that these two passages of the *Chronicles*, to wit, the 2d of *Chron.* 27. 2. where it is said, That King *Achaz* was 42 years old when he began to Reign; and Chap. 23. v. 9. where *Jehoiachim* in the beginning of his Reign, is said to be eight years old, ought to be translated otherwise, if we suppose that there is no fault in the present Hebrew, because it is contrary to Chronology. But in the Antient Version the first passage is 20, or 22. and in the 2d 18. which makes us believe that there may be a fault in our Hebrew Copies. You may see what *Lightfoot* saith of *Achaz* in the preceding Discourses of his *Harmony of the Evangelists*.

Mr. *Bright* maintains against *Grotius*, that the ordinary manner of reading that passage, *Isa.* 8. 8. is better than the corrections that *Grotius* would have made. It is 65 in the Hebrew, and in all other Translations; and *Grotius* pretends that it ought to be read 6 and 5, that is to say, eleven. The Author of this Preface shews upon what (he thought) *Grotius* built this Conjecture, and fell into an Error contradistinct to the true Chronology of the Kingdom of *Israel*. He sends the Reader back again to the Computation of *Lightfoot*, who removes all the difficulty.

'Tis not, that he was of the Opinion of *Lightfoot*, who believed there was no fault in the Hebrew Text; he thought that it was better to follow the Samaritan Pentateuch way of reading, and the Translation of the Seventy, than that of the Hebrew Text, which saith, *Exod.* 12. 40. that the time that the Children of *Israel* abode in *Egypt* was 430 years, whereas they continued no more than 210 years. But it is in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in the Septuagint according to the Manuscript of *Alexandria*, that the time of abode which the Children of *Israel* and their Fathers made in *Egypt* and in the Land of *Canaan*, was 430 years, which agrees exactly with Chronology. After having spoken something of the necessity that there is to study Sacred Geography for the better understanding of the Scripture, he passes to the Original Text and Antient Translations. He shews first by some examples, that the consent of all the Antient Translations with the Hebrew and Samaritan Texts, proves that those places which may be suspected, have not been corrupted, and that when all the Translations agree with either of these Texts, it is something very considerable in favour of them to whom they are found conformable. Secondly, He shews that by the same consent one may find divers faults in the Hebrew Texts at this day. As our Hebrew Copies (saith he) are without doubt those which represent the Antient Originals best, and which ought to be preferred to all others; it would nevertheless be a sign of obstinacy and superstition to believe that there is no considerable fault which may be corrected by means of the Translations. There are many examples in other

other Authors, as in the Epistles of St. Ignatius, of which Usher Primate of Ireland, hath corrected divers places by means of the Antient Latine Translations of these Epistles. Afterwards he brings for example that of Psal. 22. 6. and 145. 14. Exod. 12. 14. where one ought according to him correct the Hebrew Text by the Antient Translations, to which he also adds Gen. 49. 22. and ch. 4. v. 21. which the Reader may examine if he finds it to his purpose.

These mistakes concern the Consonants of the Hebrew Tongue. Mr. Bright believes that there are also some slip in amongst the Vowels, although he would not approve all the examples the Learned have brought thereon. Thus there is according to him Psalms the 11. and 9. *תִּרְגֵּם* (Therognem) Thou shalt break them with a Rod of Iron; for *תִּרְגֵּם* Thou shalt feed them, (Thirgnem) or thou shalt govern them with a Scepter, &c. The Septuagint having read it in this last manner, since they have translated it *καὶ οὕτως*, Thou shalt feed them. He also brings Hosea 13. 14. and Amos 9. and 13. The sense of this last passage is extremely different, according to their manner of reading and pointing, who followed the Massorites, from the sense that the Septuagint gives it. According to the first it must be translated, *So that they shall possess the rest of Idumea; and according to the last which St. Paul hath followed, Act. 15. 16. So that the Rest of men shall seek the Lord.*

Our Author afterwards saith, that the pointing at this day is not always conformable to the Analogy of the Hebrew Tongue, which appears by many Anomalies, of which the Massore says nothing, and by divers proper Names which are better written in the old Translations.

The Antient Versions furnish us likewise with divers significations of some words, which without that, would be perfectly unknown to us. We are extremely confirmed in this thought, when the same words in our neighbouring Tongue have all these significations, as in the Syriack, Arabick and Ethiopick Languages, &c. which have much affinity with that of the Hebrews. But he marks nevertheless that we must not too much confide in this manner of finding out the signification of some Hebrew words by the means of the neighbouring Tongues, because that divers accidents happen too long to enumerate, *as when a word changes its signification with another People, by losing its Ancient sound, and acquiring something new, and unknown from the Language whence it was first taken.* For example, the English word *to Try*, is without doubt the same as the French, *Trier*, nevertheless it has a signification which hath no agreement with that of the French word, *to make a Tryal* or a Proof of. So *to Crack*, which comes from *Craquer*, signifies in English *to Boast*: *To Lett* in English signifies both *to Permit* and *to Hinder*, but the Dutch word *Letten*, or as they now speak, *Beletten*, which is the same, signifies *to Hinder*. So we cannot altogether

trust to the Conjectures of some Learned men upon the Hebrew word *רַעַי* *Tfagnir*, which is found, Micah 5. 2. They believe there, that the Hebrew signifies *Great* and *Little*, at the same time, because it hath two significations in the Arabick: It's true that they have founded it upon this, that the Seventy have translated *Little* in this place of Micah and St. Matthew, which is not *Little*.

Mr. Bright comes afterwards to the use that may be made of the writings of the Rabbies, and 'tis in this that Lightfoot hath excelled. As first, from the knowledge of the customs and opinions of the Jews, which altho sometimes very extravagant, we may notwithstanding afford us some benefit. Secondly, It may serve to the confirmation of the History of Jesus Christ, for it appears by that, that there was one Jesus which had Disciples who lived in such a time, and such a place, who did and said divers things; That there was such places, such opinions, such customs, such ceremonies. It's found in the writings of the most ancient Jews, the same stile and same manner of speaking are seen in the Evangelists, and very often the same thoughts the same Parables and the same Proverbs. Our Author brings from thence some examples that have never been observed before. There is to be found in the *Thalmud* of Babylon an ancient Tradition of the Jews: It saith, *that in the time of the Messia there shall be an extream Impudence, &c. That the Father shall be ill treated by his Son, and the Daughter should rise up against her Mother, the Daughter-in-law against her Mother-in-law, and a mans Enemies shall be those of his own House, &c.* By that we see that our Lord according to this ancient Doctrine of the Jews made it known that he was the Messia, when he said, *That he was come to separate betwixt the Son and the Father, the Daughter and the Mother, and the Daughter-in-law, and the Mother-in-law, and that a mans Enemies should be those of his own House.* Mr. Bright after that marks the places of the *Thalmud* where there is mention made of Jesus Christ. Thirdly, The reading of the Rabbies is useful to convince the Jews at this day, that they ought to understand Him to be the Messia, from many passages of the Old Testament. Which they endeavour to interpret otherwise, tho their Fathers understood it as we do. From thence he brings a great many examples. It is said in an ancient Jewish Book which is called *Pelitta*, that God had a Dialogue with the Messia in these Terms: God began to make a Covenant with the Messia, speaking thus to him: *Those which have sinned are unknown to thee, and will impose upon thee a Yoke of Iron, by which they will render thee like to a Heifer, almost blind with excess of labour, and at last they shall destroy thee: because of their iniquity thy Tongue shall cleave to the Roof of thy Mouth. And wilt thou suffer this? The Messia. It may be that these griefs and afflictions shall endure but for a time. God. I am fully resolved that thou shalt suffer it a whole week of years, but if thou consent*

consent not thereto, I shall not impose these sufferings upon thee. The *Messia*. I willingly submit my self on condition that one Israelite may not perish, but that they may all be saved, those that live and dye in my Time, those that are hidden under the Earth, and which are dead since Adam, even the Children which died before they were born, or that are come into the World afore their time; in a word, all that have been created until now, and which shall be hence forth. Altho there is much extravagance here, we it may nevertheless discover through all these fictions, that the ancient Jews have not always promised themselves a *Triumphant Messia*, and such as should peaceably enjoy the advantages which the Jews of our times attribute to him. It is plain 'twas believed that the Sufferings of the *Messia* should be a means to expiate the sins of Israel. 'Tis this which the same Author assures us of, in terms very clear, which Mr. Bright relates. Fourthly, Much use may be drawn from the reading of the *Rabbies*, because therein are found opinions, customs and manners of speaking, which were used amongst the Jews in the time of our Lord, as he shews by some examples never before produced; thus, *Lightfoot* hath composed all the second Volume of his works upon this Subject: Mr. Bright believes that St. Paul had a respect to an opinion of the Jews, when he obliged the Women to have their heads covered in Devotion, because of the Angels, 1 Cor. II. and 20. and he cites thereupon a place of the Babylonish *Thalmud* and some passages of two or three other *Rabbies*, from whence it appeareth that the Jews thought the Angels had much curiosity to know what passed amongst men, and particularly in anything of great importance.

After all these remarks we find a little abridgment of the Life of *Lightfoot*, where as occasion serves, there are divers Reflections intermixed, which we shall mention briefly. The thoughts of *Monsieur Simon*, are there refuted, touching the abridgment of a new *Polyglot*, which he hath proposed in his Criticks, and touching the Authentickness of the *Vulgar*, &c. He also refutes the Interpretation that *Lightfoot* hath given in the Epistle to the Corinthians just before cited. For altho Mr. Bright had a great esteem for *Lightfoot*, he thought himself not obliged to receive all his opinions or defend whatsoever he hath said. He saith he is not of the same Opinion with our Author, who believed that the least point of the Bible is a Divine Institution, and that all therein is mysterious even unto the least irregularities. Mr. Bright Criticises on two or three remarks of *Lightfoot* upon the *Rabbies*, founded upon the faults of the Copier, which he explains after a mysterious manner.

As the Life of *Lightfoot* composed by Mr. Bright was too short, Mr. Stryp hath joined thereto another more large, which is followed with a collection of divers things concerning the person and writings of our

Author. Therein we see the manner of his Study and Employ, with the esteem they had of him in England and elsewhere, &c. those who love to know the least particulars of the lives of great men, will here find what will both divert and instruct 'em. There is an account in his Life of some of the reasons of the controversies between the Divines assembled at *Westminster*, who had undertaken to reform, during the Civil Wars, what they called *Errours in the Church of England*. *Lightfoot* opposeth stiffly some of their opinions, as may be seen in the third Article of the Collection that is added to his Life. We shall find in the eighth a List of his Works, which have not been finished, which were mostly concerning the History of the Hebrews, with the explication of some Book of the Holy Scripture. One part is in English and the other in Latin. He hath even given himself the trouble to write all the Texts of the Evangelists and to dispose them into an harmonious method. It is offered to any Bookseller that will Print it. In what respecteth the *Harmony* we may advertise the Publick that Mr. *Toignard* hath promised to publish it at the end of his, wherein shall soon be seen the method which he hath made use of in a place of *Josephus*, where he compares the *Judaick Antiquities* with the *Books of the Jewish Wars*. This last *Harmony* is now in the Press and will soon appear abroad. Before we consider the works set forth by *Lightfoot*, we cannot forbear speaking of the loss that hath been sustained in a Map of *Palestine*, which he had effected with much care, and traced with his own hand. 'Tis a loss doubtless very great to such as desire to be instructed in the *Sacred Geography*, because there is no Card of *Judea* left, that can satisfie those who are but indifferently versed in this kind of learning. We have nevertheless endeavoured to supply this loss received by that of *Lightfoot*, working therein upon his Ideas, and in giving a Map of those places whereof this Author makes mention in his *Geographical Remarks*, and which have been placed according to his observations. But altho many faults are in this Map corrected which are found in all others, we shall yet find it a trouble, to persuade our selves, that the notions of *Lightfoot* could be followed to such perfection as what he had done himself.

The first Work that we meet with in this Volume, is an *Harmonious and Chronological disposition of the Text of the Old Testament*. The Sacred Writers are so little tyed to the order of Time, and those who have collected them into a Body, had so little regard to Chronology, that the Jews form thereupon a constant explication of the Holy History, to wit, that in Holy Writ there's *no before nor after*. Our Author proposeth to himself to remedy this inversion of Method, in making an Abridgment of all the Holy History, and placing every event where it ought to be in his Judgment.

Judgment. He hath added in the Margin the year of the World, and that of the Judicature or Reign of those who governed *Israel*, and he hath taken care to mark the precise date of all the events whereof he could have had any certain knowledge. Those that he hath placed by his own conjecture have no date. In the Margin he hath added the reason why he hath there inserted these places, without undertaking to refute the reasons of those who place them elsewhere, lest he should make his volume too large. He hath only proposed his opinion upon the difficulties that represent themselves, and leaves them to be judged by the Reader. His opinions are often very new, as will be easily acknowledged if they compare what he saith, with what is to be found in other Interpreters. As for the rest he confesseth what he hath written is but an Essay, and advertises the Reader that he ought not to expect it very exact.

1. The Text of *Genesis* Chronologically disposed, reaches to p. 22. and *Lightfoot* ends the History of this Book by a Citation from the first of the *Chronicles*, which he believed ought immediately to follow the death of *Joseph*. 1 *Chron.* 6. 21, 22, 23. In this place are to be found the years of the *Patriarchs*, and the years of *Promise* joyned with those of the *World*.

2. The Books of *Exodus*, *Leviticus* and *Numbers* joyn'd together, continue the holy History, p. 38. where the Establishment is seen of the half Tribe of *Manasseh* on that side *Jordan*. There are only two places of two other Books inserted amongst those of *Moses*. *Lightfoot* believes that the 88th and 89th *Psalms* were composed by *Heman* and *Ethan* Sons of *Zerach*, which lived, according to him, in the time that the King of *Egypt* oppressed the *Israelites* with excessive Labour and Taxes. The Author thinks also that *Job* lived in the same time, and that he was the Grand Son of *Nahor*, *Abraham's* Brother, and that *Elihu* one of those which speaks in his Book, and who was his near Kinsman, is the Author of this work. This he asserts in p. 24.

3. Afterwards comes *Deuteronomy* followed with the Abridgment of the Books of *Joshua* and *Judges*. The History of *Ruth* is inserted between the time of *Ehud* and *Deborah*. The Author takes notice but of one word in chap. 3. and 13. v. that has an extraordinary point, and but of one other in the 19th chapter of *Genesis* of the same nature. Our Author seeks there the mystery of it.

4. *Lightfoot* continues his Chronological Abridgement of the Sacred History, by some Texts of the Book of *Samuel*, of the *Chronicles*, and of *Kings* put together, according as the order of events required. Here are also many *Psalms*, with the occasions and most difficult passages of the *Canticles* explained, after the manner of our Author, that is to say, according to the method of the Rabbins,

who only guessed at many things in ancient History. Whereof see an example in C. 58. about the explication of *Psalms* 58. 35. but as neither the time nor the Authors of all the *Psalms* are not known, *Lightfoot* could not range them in Chronological order. Which has obliged him to place the Book of *Psalms*, after the 35th chapter of the 1st Book of *Chronicles*. In this place he makes divers reflections upon the gathering together of these Sacred Songs, *Pf.* 71. He tells us the Book of *Proverbs*, and the *Song of Songs*, was written when *Salomon* had finished the buildings he had undertaken. He believes that the *Song of Songs* was composed by this Prince upon his Marrying the King of *Egypt's* Daughter, who (that being a very hot Country) was Brown, as it is *Cant.* 1. 5, 6. but his chief end was to represent the Spiritual Marriage of *Jesus Christ* with his Church, under the sensible Type of his own with an *Egyptian*. As for the *Ecclesiastes*, *Lightfoot* places it much later, and thinks it a work, that he composed in the time of his Repentance; see *Pag.* 26. from this place the Books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, are Printed in Columns, so that one may see at first view the conformity and difference which is between them, as there is in this History many Chronological difficulties, so *Lightfoot* is more exact to mark the years of every Prince.

5. Being come to the Reign of *Uzziah*, whom the Scripture also calls *Azarias*, he saith, that before that time there always had been some Prophets, but that none of them had left his Prophecies in writing. And according to him, 'twas in this time that the Prophets begun to write. On this occasion he describes the order and end of the Prophecies of *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah* and *Jonas*; he maintains that the first occasion of the Prophecies of *Hosea*, was the death of *Zacharias* Son of *Barachia*. As all that this Prophet saith cannot relate to one time only, so he here mentions but the four first Chapters, the others are each in their place. He hath observed the same order in regard to the rest who have prophesied in divers times. Those, according to his Judgment, whose Predictions have been delivered in the same time, are inserted entire in the places where *Lightfoot* speaks of what happened at that time, as *Nahum*, *Zephaniah*, &c.

6. The Book of *Esdras* immediately followeth the first of *Chronicles*. It was then that *Cyrus* published his Edict, by which he permitted the Jews to return to their Country; for tho' *Darius* of *Media*, or *Astyages*, as the Greeks call him, lived at that time, it was made in the name of *Cyrus* his Grandson. *Lightfoot* makes divers remarks upon this *Darius* of *Media*, to p. 113. in explaining the 5th Chapter of *Daniel*; and to p. 136. he speaks of several things during the Reign of *Cyrus*, and the Succession of the Kings of *Persia*. *Lightfoot* inserts the History of *Esdras* after the 4th Chapter of *Esdras*. He believes the *Assuerm* mentioned in

in this History was also called *Artaxerxes*, and that he was called *Assuerus*, from the name of one of his Predecessors, which is spoken of in *Dan. 9. 1.* to wit, the Grandfather of *Cyrus*, whom the Greeks called, according to *Lightfoot*, *Astyages*. He makes this *Assuerus* immediately to follow *Cyrus*.

7. *Nehemiah* and *Malachy* end this work, and the Spirit of Prophecy having ceased among the Jews, the Books that they have since made, have not had the same Authority as those that preceded them. *Lightfoot* explains here the difficult Chronologies that he meets with in his way.

2. The Harmony of the Old Testament is followed with some remarks upon, *Genesis* and *Exodus*; the first are entituled *Pancae ac novellae observationes super librum Geneseos, quarum pleraque certa, cetera probabiles sunt; omnes autem innoxiae, ac raro antea audita.* It is a Collection of divers Rabbinical Remarks, or like in subtilty to those of the *Rabbins*: They conjecture at many things according to the custom of these ingenious Doctors; for example, That the first natural Day in the Climat of the Garden of Eden, was thirty six hours long, even as the day whereof mention is made in the 10th Chapter of *Joshua*; That the Moon and some Stars were created before the Sun: That it was at the full before the Sun appeared, which then augmented its Light; but that the Earth hindering the sight thereof, it appeared not to Adam till six days after, who saw it in its first quarter after that the Promise had cleared the darkness of the Fall: That the clean Beasts were created in each kind to the number seven, whereof three pairs were destined to the propagation of their kind, and the seventh to be sacrificed by Adam after he had sinned; but that there was but one pair of each kind of unclean Animals, &c. His Remarks upon *Exodus* bear this Title; *Manipulus spicilegiorum e libro Exodi, ubi solutio probabilis scrupulorum quorundam manifestorum, & explanatio difficiliorum textuum, qui hoc libro occurrunt, antea ab aliis raro exhibitae.* These Remarks keep much of the subtilty of the preceding ones; therein is nevertheless seen a method a little more conform to that which the Interpreters of the holy Scripture commonly follow. Every Section contains particular Remarks which have no connexion one with the other; and there are 59 Questions, which we cannot undertake to make an exact Extract of. We shall only bring two or three of them, by which you may judge of the rest. *Lightfoot* believes that the 88th and 89th *Psalms* are the most Antient Works that remain amongst us, and are made by *Heman* and *Ethan* Sons of *Zerach*, as hath already been remarked, who lived in the time of the Egyptian Slavery. He makes answer to those who oppose him therein, that *Ethan* speaks of *David*. (1.) That this might be a Spirit of Prophecy, as 'tis spoken of *Samuel* in *Psal. 99.* which the Hebrews believe to be of *Moses*. (2.) That Prophet having left some Writings, they have been polished and augmented by others, who had also the gift of Prophecy,

according as certain things present, past, or to come, required it. This will plainly appear (saith *Lightfoot*) if we compare the 18th *Psalms* with the first of *Sam. chap. 22.* *Obadiah* with *Jeremiah, c. 49. v. 14.* 1 *Chron. c. 16.* with *Psal. 92. & 105.* 2 *Pet. c. 2.* with the Epistle of *St. Jude*. He believes that this piece of *Ethan* hath likewise been polished in *David's* time, and that several times the name of *David* was then inserted, from Section the 30th, unto the end. Our Author endeavours to describe the Tabernacle and Priestly Habits. In giving the measure of all the parts of the Tabernacle, he speaks of the height of the Altar for the Burnt-offerings, which was three Cubits. He saith, that if every Cubit had been three foot, no man could serve at the Altar which had not been nine Cubits in height. He therefore reduces a Cubit to a Foot and half, so that the height of the Altar was but four feet and an half. According to *Lightfoot*, this is the measure that was observed in the Dimensions of the Temple. As to the rest, he remarks with care the mystical significations of each part of the Sacred Building, in the 48th Section. Speaking of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, he confutes the Opinion of those who believed that God answered to the Questions that were made him in causing a certain brightness to appear upon the Stones of the Breast-plate. He maintains that they proposed first to the Priest what they desired to know, and that afterwards the Priest consulted the Oracle of God, or in drawing near to the Ark, when that might be done, or even without the Ark, provided that he was cloathed with the Ephod and Breast-plate which was inseparable.

3. After these Treatises there is another, p. 195. whereof the Title is, *Erubhim, sive Miscellanea Christiana & Judaica aliaque, relaxandis animis, & otio discutiendo conscripta.* It's one of the first Works of *Lightfoot*, and a mixture of divers Remarks on the prophane Authors, and upon the holy Scripture, but the greatest part of it concerns the sacred Books. Every Chapter is like a work apart, which hath no connexion with the others, so that we cannot undertake to give here an abridgment of all that is therein. The Author saith, *Chap. 4.* the reason for which God called *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* Son of Man, was because this manner of speaking was much more common to the Chaldeans and Hebrews, than to say simply a Man. In the 19th and 20th Chapters he compares some passages of the Rabbins to some of the New Testament. He believes that even the Rabbins have taken thence divers places, and that 'tis not at all surprising, if the Jews, who lived amongst the Christians, and who had often heard them speak of the New Testament, shou'd retain something thereof, and added it to their own Writings. But if it was so, many observations of our Author would not be of great use, as may be seen in the Extract of the second Volume. He says in *Chap. 22.*

that he believes the *Seventy Interpreters* translated the Old Testament into Greek in spite of the Jews, and that it is for this reason that there is nothing in this *Version* but what is wandering and uncertain, and that there are many additions, changes and faults. He brings some examples, of which some are drawn from some words, that the *Seventy* have pointed contrary to the *Mafforites*, as *Gen.* 16. 11. and *Judg.* 5. 8. *id.* 7. and 11. 7. *Chron.* 10. 7. Tho' our Author believes that the Vowels of the Hebrews are of Divine Institution in the same manner that they are found at this day, he saith, every thing is a fault that agreeth not in the *Seventy*. He had even undertaken a work in which he would recollect all the Errors which he thought he saw in this Translation. In his Manuscripts there is to be found a Collection entituled *Discrepantia* 70. à *Textu Hebraico*, which he had begun to place in a clear Method, with a design to publish it under the Title of *Disquisitio modesta de 70 & de Versione Græca*. See the second Section of the *Collection of divers*

things concerning the Life (a) of (a) c. 30. *Lightfoot*. He praiseth in some places, the Elegance, Sweetness and Richness of the Hebrew Tongue, as the Rabbins did before him; and he maintains every where the Antiquity of the *Points*, so that it seems there was no other knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue, than that which may be drawn from the Writings of the Rabbins, to whom all the World hath not given so much credit as himself. It is

difficult to know from whence he had learned (b) *That the Greek Tongue having flourished for many Ages, at last received its perfection from the New Testament, and that as they called Athens the Greece of Greece, the New Testament deserves to be called, because of the Tongue, INTER GRÆCA GRÆCISSIMUM, the most excellent Greek of all the Greeks.*

(c) *Pag.* 117. 4. (c) This work we speak of, is a Product of our Authors younger years. There is another of his more mature Age. 'Tis a *Harmony of the four Evangelists, as also of the Old Testament*, divided into three parts. This is the Method of the Author: 1. He disposeth the Text of the Evangelists according to the order of times, to which he joyns a literal Interpretation of the most difficult words and phrases. 2. He giveth the Reason of this disposition. 3. He expoundeth the principal difficulties of the Text, and sheweth the agreement that is between the sacred Writers. You may find before the first part of the preceding Discourses, that our Author gives an Abridgment of Chronology drawn out of Holy Writ, from the Creation to the Birth of *Jesus Christ*. He therein expoundeth, by the by, divers Chronological difficulties of the Old Testament. He believeth *Jesus Christ* was born in the year of the World 3928.

The first part of this Harmony compriseth what we find in the Gospels, before the

Baptism of our Lord, and what *St. John* saith of the *Word*. There is a *Kalender* in p. 260. whereby you may discern the order that was among the Priestly Families, as to what regarded the service of the Temple, the time in which each entred into service, the Sections or Portions of Scripture that were read each Sabbath day, so that in the circuit of one year, the whole Law was read. As the Author in the Title of the work promiseth to shew the Harmony betwixt the New Testament and the Old, so he expoundeth in their places the Prophecies, which have foretold the coming of the Messiah, as *Numb.* 24. in p. 287. This first part endeth with an exposition of what the Evangelists say, touching the Baptism of *Jesus Christ*, and of his Genealogies, as *St. Luke* relates it.

The second comprises what happened since the Baptism of our Lord, to the first Passover that he celebrated. Here we find a very large exposition of our Saviours Temptation, especially upon these words of *St. Matthew*, that (b) the Devil shewed *Jesus Christ* all the King-

doms of the Earth, and their Glory. (b) p. 371.

(c) There is a digression some (c) p. 390.

pages lower, touching Baptism, where the Author makes divers remarks, (1.) Upon the practice of Baptism with the Jews, before that *St. John* the Baptist Preached amongst them. (2.) Upon the custom of Baptizing Infants, which was in use in that time. He relates the passages of the *Thalmud* and of *Maimonides*, whereby it appeareth that the Jews did Baptize their Children. This Rabbin in his *Treatise of Slaves*, saith, that if an Israelite find a Child and Baptize him in the name of a Profelyte (לשם גר) he is a Profelyte from that very mo-

ment: but he assureth us of another thing elsewhere, which is not so conformable to the use of Christians, to wit, if a Woman with Child was Baptized, and received into the number of Profelytes, it was thought needless to Baptize the Child. (a) As to the Pots of *Cana*, the Water of (a) p. 410. which *Jesus Christ* changed into Wine, *Lightfoot* takes occasion from thence to enumerate all the Vessels of the Hebrews, whereof mention is made in Scripture, and tells what they severally contain'd.

The third part of the Harmony of the Gospels comprehends the space of one year which passed from the first Passover that our Saviour celebrated after his Baptism, to the second. As to these words of *Jesus Christ* in *St. John*, If any man be not born a second time, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, *Lightfoot* makes a long digression touching the sense of these words, the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven. He immediately remarks that the Jews in the *Thalmud*, take them in a very extraordinary sense, that is to say, for the rigorous observation of their Ceremonies, and particularly that of the Tradition of *Phylacteries*. Rabbin *Gamaliel* being Married, did upon the very night of his Nuptials rehearse what

was

was written upon his Phylacteries, upon which (says the *Thalmud*) his Disciples spoke thus to him: *Have you not taught us, that a Bridegroom is not obliged to mention his Phylacteries*; and that he answered them: *far be it from me to be so complaisant to you, as to quit one only hour the yolk of the Kingdom.* After that *Lightfoot* sheweth, that thereby (in our Saviours time) was understood the State of the Jewish Church under the Messiah. In fine, he largely sheweth the different signification, these words had in the Mouth of the Carnal Jews, and in our Saviours. Upon *John* 3. 23. (a)

(a) p. 446. And *John Baptized* at *Enon* near *Salim*, our Author makes sundry remarks upon *Enon* and *Salim*; he believes these places were in *Galilee*. Afterwards he examines these 2 Questions, to wit, *what Ceremonies the Jews used in their Baptism? and how far St. John the Baptist hath imitated them?* When a Profelyte was received, he was immediately asked, *if it was not through some humane consideration, that he would embrace Judaism, as through fear, desire of Riches, or love to some fair Israelitish Woman?* If he answered, *it was not*, then the difficulty of observing the Law, was represented to him, and the Punishment it inflicted upon Transgressours: But for fear of discouraging him, he was also told of the rewards promised in the Law, they declared to him, that *tho Israel was seen miserable in this World, yet God had prepared for it a felicity, that he kept concealed, and which they should enjoy in observing the Law*; that if God did not render *Israel* happy in this Life, it was to the end only to keep it from Pride; but that the other Nations should everlastingly perish, how happy soever they for the present seemed to be. They added, that if he Repented that he had offered himself to be received into the number of the Profelytes, he was permitted to withdraw. If he still declared he was in the same Mind, they Circumcised him, and when he was cured, he was brought to some Water, wherein he presently entered up to the Neck. Whilst he kept himself in this posture, the three inferiour Judges of the place rehearsed to him divers Precepts of the Law, after which he plunged himself over Head and Ears, and came out a very little while after. If 'twas a Woman that was to be baptized, she was by Women put into the Water; the Judges held themselves at a sufficient distance from the place where she plunged her self, and she turned her back as soon as ever she came out of the Water.

In expounding *St. Luke* 4. 14. *Lightfoot* makes an ample digression concerning the Synagogues, wherein he treateth of their antiquity and establishment; of the Synagogues after the Captivity; of the days in which men went to them, of the conductors of the Synagogues, and of their Preachers. He believeth that in this the Christian Churches have imitated sundry customs of the Jews; and that is it which others have evinced in whole Treatises.

A passage of the same Evangelist, viz. *C. 5. 17.* gives our Author an occasion, to insert in his Harmony, a small Treatise of

the different conditions that were found amongst the Jews, of the divers Orders of their Doctors, of the fundaments of their Religion in the time of our Saviour, of the different Sects, and particularly of the Sadduces and Pharisees. But all this is only an Abridgment of some parts of a greater work, that our Author proposed to himself to make, as may be seen in Section 1. of the Collection of the remarkable things concerning his Life.

For the better understanding of divers passages both of the Old and New Testaments, we must of necessity have some idea of the manner of the structure of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and of its different parts. Therefore *Lightfoot* hath undertaken to give us an exact description of this sumptuous Building, particularly such as it was in the time of our Saviour. We see a Draught of it at the beginning of this Treatise, that the Author himself had traced. As this Treatise had not been Printed till now, but in English, the Latin version made of it will appear a work altogether new to those that understand not the English Tongue. This same reason, (besides the delight it may be to all men to know how this Temple was made, whereof the Scriptures speak so advantageously) engageth us to give a small description thereof, according to the Ideas of our Author.

The Top of the Hill of *Moriah* whereon the Temple was Builded, was at the first somewhat narrow, but by little and little it was made larger, partly in filling up the Valleys which were about it, and in environing it with a strong Wall. Under the second Temple, it made a perfect square of 750 foot Diameter, and of 3000 in circuit. The Wall that environed it on all parts appeared to those that were in the midst of it, thirty seven foot and an half high, excepting over against the Eastern Gate, where it was but nine foot high, for a reason that *Lightfoot* produces. On the outside this Wall was prodigiously high, raising it self from the bottom of Valleys which *Moriah* was environed withal. On the side of the Eastern Gate, it was 600 foot high. It was of white stones, triangular, of 30 foot broad, and of nine high; so solid a structure, that this Wall remained till the destruction of the second Temple.

In the beginning of the side of the East, to consider the exterior circumference of this magnificent Building, one might see the principal Gate of this circumference, which was called the Gate of *Susan*. The entrance was in height 30 foot, and breadth fifteen; but the Ornaments of the Portal were raised 15 foot higher, and reached to both sides a little more than four feet. Above this was to be seen a Picture which represented *Susan*, the Capital City of *Media*, which the Jews had caused to be put there, in remembrance of *Esther* and of the feast of *Purim*. That was the reason why it was called the Gate of *Susan*, tho it was likewise named the Royal Gate, because King *Solomon* had built the Wall on that side. One

One being ascended to this Gate, if he turned himself from the side whence he was come, part of the Mount of *Olives* was to be seen on the right hand, separated from *Jerusalem* by a deep Valley, called the Valley of *Hinnom*, or of *Tophet*, or of *Ashes*. There it was that the Idolatrous Israelites used to Sacrifice, by an abominable superstition, their own Children to *Moloch*. Right against the Gate, was the Mount of *Olives*, where the custom was to Sacrifice a Red Cow. Thither Men went by a way sustain'd by a double Vault, fearing lest the Priest, who was to officiate in this Ceremony, should pollute himself as he went, not knowing it, upon some hidden Grave. On the Left appeared the same Mountain of *Olives*, separated from the City on that side, by the Brook and Valley of *Cedron*.

As for the Gate of *Susan*, it was not just in the middle of the outward Circumference of the Holy Mountain, because the Temple was not placed in the midst of the Top, but towards the North, else it could not have been opposite to the Temple, which was built on that side, because the place of the Altar which the Fire from Heaven had marked, and which was on the North, had obliged *Solomon* to frame thereupon the building of the House of God.

There were two Gates on the South part of this Wall, which were called the Gates of *Hulda*. People went by these two Gates to the City of *Jerusalem*. At the West, on the side of *Millo* and Mount *Sion*, there were four, whereof that which was most North was called the Gate of the Rising, or of *Coponius*. By reason of the inequality of the Ground, and of the depth of the Valley which was at the foot of *Moriah*, *Solomon* had caused the Ground to be raised from his Palace to this Gate, and this rising was garnished with Trees on both sides. 'Twas that way the Kings went to the Temple. The next Gate was called *Parbar*, and the two others were named *Assupim*. Within these two Gates was a building of the same name, where part of the Treasures of the Temple were kept.

On the North side, there was but one only Gate named *Tedi*, or *Tadde*. On this side, the Wall which environed the Holy Mountain, was not quite on the verge of the Top, as on the other sides, there remained some space which had been neglected, to the end that Holy Place should make a perfect Square. At the corner of this space which looked to the North-east, a Tower was built called *Baris*, which at first was the Mansion of some High Priests, and the place where were kept their Holy Garments; but since, *Herod* rebuilt it otherwise, and nam'd it the *Antonian Tower*, in remembrance of *Marcus Antonius*, it served to the Roman Soldiers for a Citadel, and he that was Governour of it, was called the Captain of the Temple, *Act. 4. 1.*

After this entrance by one of the Gates we mentioned above, as by the Eastern Gate, there were to be seen along the Wall

on the right and on the left three ranks of Marble Pillars, holding up a Cieling, which could keep out the Rain and the Sun, and furnish a covered Walk of 365 paces. There were like Porches on the four sides. only that which went along the Southern part of the circumference, had four ranks of Pillars, which formed three Alleys. The Cieling of that of the middle was much higher than that of the sides, which was equal in height to the Cielings of the three other Porches, and this same Alley was proportionably larger than the others. The Pagans and polluted persons were suffered to enter into these Porches, and there to walk round about the Temple, as well as in the inward space which these Pillars environed on all sides. Within this space was a long Walk surrounded with a Wall full of holes, so that light came through, by which one might discover all that passed about the Temple. This walk encompass'd the Court of the Women, and the ascent to it was by some steps. No Pagan was permitted to enter therein. The Doctors of the *Thalmud* call it *Chel*. 'Twas this which the Jews in the time of *Josephus* call'd the second Temple, whenas they named the space enclosed within this little Wall which surrounded all the Holy Mountain, The first Temple, which the Christian Authors call The Court of the Gentiles.

From the Court of the Gentiles, men went up into the second Temple by fourteen steps. 'Tis in this space, and in the Northern part of the Court of the Gentiles, where was situate that which is called properly, the Temple with its two Courts. When they entred into the second Temple on the East side, they might see before them the gate and wall of the Court of the Women, from whence one might be distant seven or eight paces, and walk covered on all the sides of the Temple. Those that were minded to enter into the Court of the Women, might go in by three sides, to wit on the East on the North and on the South and were to ascend by three steps, which were before each door. That on the East was more magnificent than the others, and 'twas for this they called it the *Great*, *Act. 3. 2.*

This Court was also a perfect square of 200 steps or thereabout in length & breadth and which on the West had the Court of *Israel*. It was embellished with Porches within, as was that which they called the Second Temple, excepting the corners, where were buildings destined for divers uses. In coming in by the gate, whereof we now spake, on the right hand was seen The House for Wood, whereinto was put the provision of Wood requisite for the Altar, and where the Priests that were polluted by some accident separated that which was worm-eaten from the other; for it was thought unlawful to put worm-eaten Wood upon the Altar. On the left hand was the House of the Nazarites, a building where those that had accomplished their Vow of *Nazaritism*, and would return to their Ancient manner of Life, boiled the flesh

flesh that remained of their offering. At the Corner which looked to the *South-West* was seen the *House of Oil*, wherein the Oil was kept which they stood in need of for the use of the Temple. Over against that, at the opposite Corner which points to the *North-West*, was the *House of the Leprous*, where were kept enclosed those that presented themselves to be purified from the Leprosie. Between these different buildings were four Gates opposite to one another there was an Entrance from the *Court of the Gentiles* into that of the *Women* by three Gates, which were at the *East*, *South* and *North*; that which was at the *West* was for to pass from the *Court of the Women* into that of *Israel*.

They ascended to this Gate of the *Court of Israel* by fifteen steps for the ground of this was higher by ten foot than that of the *Women*. This gate was called the *Gate of Nicanor*. *Josephus* saith it was of brass, and that twenty men could scarcely open it. Amongst the Presages that preceded the ruin of *Jerusalem*, one of them that most surpris'd, was that which happened to this Gate, which being well locked and bolted with great barrs of brass, opened of it self one night and no man meddled with it. The *Court of Israel* was imbellish'd within with a Porch which extended all round about the Temple and which was supported by a rank of Marble Pillars, except in places where there was some building, which advancing it self within side, did hinder the continuation thereof. *Lightfoot* hath carefully sought after the names and usages of these different buildings, and of the gates that were between both: But it shall suffice here to remark that men entred into the *Court of Israel* by six gates; besides those we have named. There were on the *North* three, on the *South* three. The other two were on the *East*, opposite to the *Altar of Burnt offerings*, those of the middle were over against the *Holy place*, and the two others over against the *Holiest of all*.

The *Court of Israel* was properly called the space that was betwixt the Pillars of the Porch and the Wall. It was about 16 foot and an half in breadth, and was 140 paces in length. The square space between the Porch and the Frontispiece of the Temple, was called the *Court of the Priests*, whereof the ground was higher by some feet than that of the *Court of Israel*. On the right and left of the Gate of *Nicanor*, there were two Pulpits which were equal in height to the Ground of the *Court of the Priests*, where the Levites which sang the holy song, were accustomed to place themselves. At the corner of the *Court* upon the right as you came in, were to be seen Marble Tables, Pillars, and Buckles of Iron fasten'd to the Pavement; there they Sacrificed, flead, and washed the victims. On the other side was the *Altar of Burnt offerings*. This Altar was 15 foot high, and that the service might be made therein, there was made a kind of an ascent of stone without stairs, of 48 feet in length. This Altar was squared and was above 36 feet in

circuit, but it was much more large at the bottom. At the end of the ascent was a large edge of a foot and a half broad, upon which the Priests ascended to adjust the Wood of the Altar, to lay thereon the Victims, and to rub with Blood the four Horns of the Altar, which extended themselves from the corners of the edge unto the Top.

(a) *Lightfoot* upon the occasion (4) c. 34. on of the Altar, proposes some difficulties, which he thinks cannot be resolved without having the Jews recourse to a Miracle. 1. It cannot be comprehended how it was possible to offer in a few days upon so little an Altar, such a prodigious number of Victims, such as the Scripture sometimes speaketh of, as when it is said that *Solomon* offered in 14 days, 22000 *Bullocks* and 26000 *small Cattle*, 1 *Kings* 8: 63. They must therefore needs have offered more than 1500 Oxen, and above 8000 other Victims a day. Tho' all these Victims were not to be intirely burned, it's yet very difficult to conceive how they could burn the very Fat of their Entrails and Kidneys. 2. The Blood of so many Beasts would make one think that all the *Court* must be overwhelm'd, and have drawn an infinity of Flies together, and caused a great stink. 3. The Smoak and Scent of so much flesh burnt, should have necessarily stifled those that were about the Altar. He answereth to the first difficulty, that *Solomon* offered not only upon the Altar, but in the middle of the *Court*, as the History testifies it, and that the Fire from Heaven is infinitely more quick than ordinary Fire; to the second that by a perpetual Miracle, there never was a Fly in the *Court* of the Priests, and that the Blood ran in an instant by subterranean Channels which brought it to a sink made for that use: and to the third, that by a third Miracle, the Smoak did rise always directly upwards, what wind soever there was, so that it did not incommode those who were employed in the *Court*.

Now to come back to his dimensions, it was about 50 paces in length from the *East* to the *West*, and almost twice as many in breadth. We shall not mark the Basins, nor the other Vessels that were in it, because our design is only to describe the principal parts of the Building. Those that would be instructed throughly therein, may consult *Lightfoot* himself.

On the *West* of this *Court* was the Frontispiece of *Solomon's* Porch, by which they entred into the *Holy place*. The Top of the *Holy Mount* was not even, but it extended it self from the *East* to the *West*, the Threshold of the Entry of *Solomon's* Porch was 33 foot higher than that of the *Gate of Susan*. This Frontispiece was 150 foot broad, and 180 high: It was of a new white Marble, after the manner of Jasper, and of a Structure equally fair and solid. The Gate was sixty foot high, and thirty broad, and was all imbellish'd with Gold, which gave a great lustre, and which appeared very far off. The body of the Temple which was
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but 100 foot broad, and 150 high was behind the Porch. It comprehended the *Holy Place*, and the *Holiest of all*, and divers Chambers above and on all sides. Although the Roof of the House was almost flat, the middle was more elevated and formed as a new Stage, higher than the Apartments that were on the North and South. This Top was garnished quite round with a kind of a Rail, as was common for all the Tops of Houses in *Judea*.

I shall stay no longer on this Description. *Lightfoot* can fully furnish the curious wherewithal to satisfy themselves farther about the difference betwixt the Dimensions of the Temple of *Solomon*, of that which was rebuilt at the Return from Captivity, and of that of *Herod*, their different Uses, Apartments, Places where the Priests and Levites kept Guard at night, the changes of the place where the great *Sanhedrim* were to sit, and the disposition and figure of the Cherubims, and of the Ark, which giveth him an occasion to expound the manner whereby *Ezekiel*, *Isaiah* and *John* in the *Apocalypse* describe the mysterious symbol of the Presence of God. In fine, we may see here a compleat Treatise of the Temple of *Jerusalem* drawn from the *Scripture*, from *Josephus* and the Doctors of the *Talmud*.

6. After, having given an Idea of the Temple, and of all its parts, there remain'd only to instruct us about the Divine Service that was therein perform'd, to make us thoroughly know the principal Ceremonies of the Jewish Religion. 'Tis this also which *Lightfoot* in his Treatise of the Service of the Temple has done. He begins with the different degrees of Holiness, which the Jews attributed to divers places of *Judea*, and particularly to the different parts of the Temple, which Holiness was so much the greater, as they drew near the most Holy Place. It was permitted to all manner of People to enter into the Court of the Gentiles, but there were Pillars at the Entrance of the second Temple, where was seen written in Hebrew, Greek and Roman Characters, That it was lawful to none but the Israelites to enter into this Interior Circumference. Thus the second Temple was more holy than the Court of the Gentiles, but the Court of the Women was more holy than the second Temple, in that it was permitted to those that were polluted, so that their pollution remained only till night, to enter into this last place; they durst not enter into the Court of the Women. The Court of *Israel* was yet more holy, seeing Women never entred thereinto, but when they went to offer some Sacrifice, and that no person polluted with what pollution soever, dared to set foot thereinto. The Court of the Priests likewise went beyond that of *Israel* in Holiness, seeing no Laick went ever thither, but when he went with an Oblation. It was an easie thing to discern a Laick from a Levite, or from a Priest, by the cloathing, but polluted persons could not be known by any mark, it was left to their own Consciences.

Nevertheless to strike awe into them, they would say that they had four sorts of punishments to fear, whereof the two former were immediately to be inflicted by Divine Vengeance, and the two others depended upon Man. They called the first Death by the Hand of Heaven, that is to say, of God; and the second *Chereth*, or Cutting off. The Rabbins seem to distinguish these two sorts of punishment, but 'tis hard to know the difference they put betwixt them. Tho' they said that it was God alone that did send these chastisements, we must not think that as soon as some polluted person entred into a prohibited place, and it came to mens knowledge, he was solely left to the Wrath of God; the Judges caused him to be whipt, according to the nature of the Case, or else the People without expecting their Sentence, beat the polluted body so violently sometimes, that he died; and this it was which they called *The Blows of the Rebellion*.

These were the Precautions that were taken to keep the Temple from being polluted. After this *Lightfoot* sheweth us what were the Orders of the Ministers that had the care of it: He reduceth them to eight: 1. The High Priest. 2. The *Sagan*, who was as his Vicar. 3. The two *Catholikin*, which were the Substitutes of the *Sagan*. 4. The seven *Immarkalin*, who were entrusted with the Keys of the Gates and Treasures. 5. They had under them three *Gizbarin* or Treasurers. 6. The Head of the Order of Priests that were upon service. 7. The Heads of each Family that were found in this Order. 8. Those that were only Priests. The first five Orders formed a kind of perpetual Council, who took care of what concerned the Temple. There were besides these fifteen *Memonin*, or Commissaries about divers things, whereof a part changed every week with the Order of the Priests. The Enumeration thereof may be seen in p. 679.

(b) *Lightfoot* after this treateth of the 5 first Charges (b) c. 3. ad 5. which we have just mentioned, and expoundeth exactly all their Functions as much as may be discovered in the Writings of the Jews that are amongst us. He describeth even the Cloaths of the High Priests, and giveth an exact List of them from *Aaron* to the destruction of the Temple.

(c) We find in the following (c) Cap. 6. Chapter the Division of the Priests into 24 Classes, the manner how they were examined before they were admitted into publick service, and how the Classes divided the sacred Functions between them proportionably to the number of the Families whereof they were composed, for they had not all an equal number.

(d) After this we see the cares (d) Cap. 7. of those that were Levites only; they were Porters, and kept Guard in divers places of the Temple. They were also Singers and Musicians, and they only had the priviledges of entring into the Consort of Voices, that was every day kept in the Temple.

Temple. As for the Musicians, they received People of every Tribe, provided they could play well, and were allied to some Priestly Family. The Consort of Voices was never of less than twelve Men, but that number could be augmented as much as they pleased. As to the Instruments, there were Trumpets, Flutes, and three other Instruments that the Hebrews call *Nebel*, *Kinnor*, and *Tsetzel*, which are hard to compare to any of our Modern Instruments, because they are too Antient for our Inquisition. *Lightfoot* proposes thereupon his Conjectures, and tells us afterwards what *Psalms* were sung on divers Festivals, and after what manner the Instruments were joyned to the Voices.

Upon the Subject of the Classes of the Levites, *Lightfoot* informeth us also that there were 24 Classes of Israelites, that were necessitated to go to the Temple each his week, fearing lest there should be some time, the Officiates only present at the Divine Service. They kept themselves in the Court of *Israel*, and represented the whole body of the People.

Our Author treateth after (a) cap. 8. that of the Sacrifices and Oblations of the Jews, whereof he expoundeth the different sorts, and the Ceremonies that were observed in offering them. (b) But he applies him-

self particularly to describe the common Sacrifice of the morning and evening, and all the parts of the Divine service, wherewith it is accompanied.

(c) They took care not only to observe the Ceremonies prescribed by the Law, but to inspire more respect into the People, it was prohibited to carry into the Temple any stick. to enter therein with Shoes or Feet dusty, to carry Money about one in a Purse. Neither was it permitted to spit upon any place of the Holy Mountain, if it was necessary to spit, they were to do it in some corner of their cloathes, saith *Maimonides*. No body was to make any gesture that should in the least testify the least irreverence, as to walk thither too fast, to pass through it purely to go into another place. No body might sit in the Court of *Israel*, saving the Princes of the House of *David*. They would likewise have taken it for a mark of irreverence, if any one uncovered his Head whilst he prayed to God; and the Priests were so far from taking off their *Tiaras*, that they covered themselves with a vail over that. They imitated in that those that were in some great sorrow, or that feared some fatal accident. But the Apostles established in the Christian Churches a custom quite contrary. Every man that prayeth or that prophesieth, saith *St. Paul*, having his Head covered, dishonoureth his Head, 1 Cor. 11. 4.

(a) cap. 10. (a) After this general description of the service that was performed throughout the year in the Temple, *Lightfoot* treateth very largely on the Festi-

vals of the Jews. He begins by telling us after what manner they observed the new Moon, and how in a very short time they made known the day it appeared throughout all *Judea*. It was done by the means of Fires that were lighted successively upon a vast number of Hills, or by Messengers, which was not extremely certain, and gave much trouble, whereas if the Jews had known a little of Astronomy, a Kalender or an Almanack would have spared them all this labour, and would more surely have marked the new Moons.

After this are seen the differences that the Jews put betwixt the Passover celebrated in *Egypt*, and those that have been celebrated since that time: The manner how they took away all the Leaven that was found in their Houses: Which was done the morning and afternoon of the day of the Passover, before they Sacrificed the Paschal Lamb: The precise time of its immolation: The number of persons that associated to eat it together, and the manner it was offered in the Temple. No body till now has so exactly described all these circumstances, and we may further say that neither *Buxtorf* nor *Cappel* who have had a dispute upon this Subject, have with so much clearness spoken of it as our Author; The Ceremonies the Jews observed in eating the Passover, *Ch. 13.* are of much use to Illustrate what the Evangelists say of the last Passover of our Lord, and to discover the Original of the Institution of the Eucharist. This it was that obliged us to give here an abridgment of what our Author saith; in which those that doubt may find the proofs.

1. They did not begin to eat till night, whence the Evangelists say, *that the night being come our Saviour sat at meat with his Disciples*. They did not eat much before this meal, or else they fasted, that they might with more appetite eat the unleavened bread.

2. They neither did properly sit, nor altogether lye down, but stretched themselves upon the beds which were about the Table, so that they held themselves half risen upon the left Elbow. This was the ordinary posture of the Romans, as may be yet seen in their ancient Monuments, but the Rabbins do seek herein for a Mystery, and say men put themselves into this posture to note that they were free, because slaves were used to eat standing. They call this Posture at Table *Jesibba*, ישיבה. Thus in process of time they changed this Ceremony, tho the Law had commanded them, to eat the Passover standing, and in haste, with their staff in their hand, and their shoes on their feet, as if they were beginning a journey. Our Saviour, that did not so much regard the Letter as the Sense of the Law, accommodated himself to this custom of his time, and it is by this that *Lightfoot* expoundeth these words of the Gospel of *St. John*, one of them that *Jesus* loved leaned upon his Bosom, *ch. 13. 23.* *Jesus Christ*
was

was in the posture we have observ'd; so that St. John who was in like manner lying near him, was almost in his Bosom, because Jesus Christ could not lift his right Arm to make use thereof, but in a way that it should seem to embrace this Disciple that he loved. Thence it cometh that to speak softly to Jesus Christ, St. John needed only to turn his Head backwards and lean it upon the breast of our Saviour, this he did when Peter made him a Sign to enquire of Jesus, *who was he that was to betray him: leaning faith the Evangelist, upon the Breast of Jesus, he said, Lord who is it? ver. 25.*

3. As soon as he was lain after this manner, one of the company gave thanks, and each drank a Glass of Wine with Water. There could not be less Wine than the 16th part of a Hin. That was the *first cup*.

4. After having drunk each washed his Hands in plunging them into the Water. They thought themselves obliged to take notice of all the Ceremonies, and to say for example; *This Night is different from all others, in which we wash but once, but in this we wash us twice.*

5. The Paschal Lamb was serv'd in with unleaven'd bread, and a Dish of bitter Herbs. They might be green or dry, but they were not to be boiled or salted. Besides that, other food was added, that there should be enough to fill them. They had particularly a Dish that they called *Charoseth*, which was a Ragoot composed of Figs, Dates, and Raisins with a little Vinegar. All that mingled and kneaded together, was to represent the *Bricks* that their Fathers had made in Egypt.

6. He that rehearsed the *Haggadah*, or the Paschal Prayers, took a few bitter Herbs, and then putting his hand into another dish, he put thereto at least the bigness of an Olive of some other food, and every one did the like. He did that for to excite curiosity, and for to oblige those that were present to be attentive to all the ceremony. 'Tis upon this occasion that our Lord said, that he *who put his hand in the dish with him would betray him.*

7. A little after all the Dishes were taken away, and every one drank a *second time*, and then it was that he who rehearsed the *Haggadah* related the deliverance from Egypt, and the institution of the Passover. The dishes were after that put upon the Table and all the Guests drank a *second time*, after that they returned thanks many times.

8. They also washed their hands again, and he that served took two unleavened Cakes, broke one in the middle, put it upon the other that was whole, and gave thanks. It was the order constantly kept on this occasion, whereas on other occasions they gave thanks before they brake Bread, as it appeareth in divers places of the Gospels.

9. Hitherto they eat but bread and herbs, but after these ceremonies he that officiated gave God Thanks in this wise. *Blessed be thou O Lord our God, Eternal King, who hast*

Sanctified us by thy Precepts, and hast commanded us to eat Sacrifices. Then they ate of a Sacrifice, if they had offered any a few days before, or of some other food, if they had no Sacrifice.

10. After a second Thanksgiving like the first, except that it ended with these words, *and who hast commanded us to eat the Paschal Lamb*, they ate this Lamb, and every one was obliged to eat at least the bigness of an Olive.

11. After they had eaten the Paschal Lamb, he that officiated washed his hands three times, and gave thanks upon the *third Cup* that he then drank. This was called the Cup of Thanksgiving, because as they drank it, they gave thanks to end the Meal. Hence it is, that St. Paul calls it the Cup of Blessing, 1 Cor. 10. 16. because it was upon the occasion of the Cup of Benediction of the Jews, that Jesus Christ instituted his Eucharist. All were obliged to drink this Cup of Benediction, and the two preceding ones. The very Children themselves were not exempted.

12. In fine a little while after, they drank a fourth Cup, which was called the Cup of *Hallel*, because that after they had drank it, they would sing the *Hallel*, which was a Song composed of six Psalms, which are from the 113 to the 118th. This Song was yet followed with a Benediction.

In the sequel with the same exactness is found the description of what was done the second day of the Paschal week, the manner how they gathered, and offered the Omer of the *first fruits* of the celebration of the *Pentecost*; of the Ceremonies of the day of *Expiation*, and of the Feast of *Tabernacles*. Lightfoot addeth a word of the Festivals of the Trumpets and of the Dedication.

(a) He endeth this Treatise by describing some other parts of the publick service. He shews the manner how the Kings read a section of the Law, the first day of the feast of *Tabernacles*: the ceremonies with which they sacrificed the Red Cow: The examination of a Woman whom her Husband suspected to have committed Adultery: the Purification of the Leprous: the oblation of the first fruits: and the manner how they provided Wood for the Altar.

7. There remaineth in this Volume but three little Treatises, whereof it will be sufficient to mark the Titles, because they contain nothing particular. The first is of the Descent of Jesus Christ into Hell, which the Author understandeth to be the time that the Soul of Jesus Christ remained in Heaven, for according to him *&c.*, which hath been translated Hell in the Creed, equally signifieth the place, where the Souls of the wicked are, as well as the receptacle of the Righteous. The second is a Latine Sermon made at Cambridge in 1652. where Lightfoot took his Degree of Doctor. The Text is 1 Cor. 16. 22. *He that loveth not the Lord Jesus let him be Anathema-Maran-atha.* The

The third is a Dispute of Divinity published on the same occasion, and which consists of these two Theſes. (1.) *That after the Canon of Scripture hath been perfected, we ought to expect no new Revelations.* (2.) *That the personal Election of particular persons is founded upon the Scripture.* He only proposes this second Theſis, without proving it, as he doth the first.

II. The second Volume of *Lightfoot* principally consisteth in his *Horæ Hebraicæ & Thalmudicæ*, upon the Evangelists, the Acts, and some places of the Epistle to the Romans, and upon all the Corinthians. As the Author hath composed these Works in Latine, and as they have already been Printed in England, France and Germany, so we shall say nothing of them.

We only must speak a word or two of a Treatise that is before this Volume, intitled, *Harmonia Chronica, &c. A Chronological Harmony and Order of the New Testament*; where is methodically disposed the Text of the four Evangelists; as also the Times of the History of the Apostles; the Order of the Epistles, and Times of the *Apocalypse*. The Text is cleared by literal Remarks, and Deductions from the *Thalmud*, upon the most difficult places. To that hath been added a Discourse of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and of the State of the Jews after this accident.

This Work differs from the Harmony of the Evangelists, which the Author published ten years before, which we spoke of in the Extract of the first Volume. 1. In that here is found the Time in which the Epistles have been written, &c. 2. *Lightfoot* is much briefer in this Work, where he makes not an exact Commentary. 3. He there introduces more Rabbiniſm. 4. He more exactly observes the Years and Times of every thing.

There is a Preface that sheweth the Author's design, and the profit of the Writings of the Jews for the Exposition of the New Testament, which is proved by a pretty long Commentary upon *Mat. 5. 22*. The Author testifieth that he had made

these Notes upon the Gospels, to serve for an Exposition to the four Evangelists; the whole Text he had disposed into Columns, in a Method of Harmony, but that he found no opportunity of Printing them.

Lightfoot extreamly differeth from the Sentiment of several Interpreters of the *Apocalypse*. He believeth that God revealed to *St. John* that which immediately followed the last things that *Daniel* foretold. This Prophet had marked the Ruine of the four Monarchies, which he said would be succeeded by the Reign of the *Messia*, and it is with the Reign of the *Messia* that *St. John* begins. *Lightfoot* believeth that he had these Visions about the 12th year of *Nero*, a long time before the Ruine of *Jerusalem*. In the three first Chapters he marketh the State of the Churches of *Asia*, such as it was in his time: But from the 4th Chapter he begins to speak of the time to come, and foretels the Ruine of *Jerusalem*, and divers misfortunes of the Roman Empire, to Chapter 8. From the 9th to the end, *St. John*, according to our Author, hath respect to Times more distant, and in this *Lightfoot* is conform enough to the common Sentiments of Protestant Interpreters, only he speaks in terms a little more general, than others commonly do. He carefully discovers, according to his custom, all the allusions that are found in the *Apocalypse* to the Ceremonies and Sentiments of the Jews.

The Treatise that is added to the end contains an Abridgment of the History of the Jews from the third year of *Nero*, to the first of *Vespasian*, and the state of the *Sandrin*, of the Schools, and of the learned amongst the Jews after the Ruine of *Jerusalem*. He speaks of the Hereticks of the first Ages, which came out from amongst the Jews. He defends this Nation against those that accuse it to have corrupted the Old Testament. He endeth with the conversion of the Jews which according to him may be yet expected, provided we imagin not that the whole Nation shall be converted, but that we only believe that a greater number of 'em may.

The Works of ISAAC BARROW Dr. of Divinity, of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge; published by Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury. In three Volumes in Folio.

The First Volume of the English Works of Mr. Barrow.

1. IT is composed of three parts, whereof the first contains thirty two Sermons Preached upon divers occasions, before which is placed a small Abridgment of his Life. We are inform'd that he was born at London in October 1630. As soon as he was fit for study, he was sent for Cambridge, where by his own industry he maintained himself, because his Father had lost the greatest part of his Estate in

the Service of the King, after that he liv'd at Oxford, where he had most of his subsistence from the bounty of the famous Dr. Hammond. 'Twas there that he chiefly applied himself to study, and 'twas remarkable that he had a more than ordinary desire to be instructed in the Fundamentals of the Sciences, and being yet very young, he read the Works of my Lord Bacon, Des Cartes, and Galileus. In reading the Remarks

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of Scatiger upon Eusebius, he observed that Chronology was founded upon Astronomy, whereupon he also resolv'd to apply himself to the study of this last Science: He set himself to read the *Almagest* of Ptolomy, but he soon perceiv'd that he cou'd not read this sort of Books, with advantage, without the help of Geometry; then he applied himself to the study of *Euclides Elements*, in which he profited much in a little time, and afterwards publish'd the *Elements* of Geometry explain'd in few words, and better than ever was done before him. Besides, these are the Titles of some other Mathematical Books which he compos'd, *Euclidis Data*, *Lectiones Opticae*, *Lectiones Geometricae*, *Archimedis Opera*, *Apollonii Conicorum*, Lib. IV. *Theodosii Spherica*, *Leclio de Sphæra & Cylindro*. One wou'd be surpriz'd that so great a Geometrician cou'd also be a Poet; yet we are assur'd in his Life, that there are found several Poems amongst the Titles of his Latine Works.

Dr. Dupont having renounc'd his Charge of Professor of the Greek Tongue, he recommended Mr. Barrow who had been his Scholar, whereupon he was admitted to Examination, and read with great applause, but he could not obtain the place because 'twas thought he was inclin'd to *Arminianism* which was not favoured in England during the Usurpation; this made him resolv'd to travail. He went to France, from thence to Italy, where he embarked at Leghorn for Smyrna, from whence he went to Constantinople, there he tarried a year, and we are assur'd during that time he read the works of the most famous Patriarch that that City ever had. (We may easily understand it was *St Chrysostom* that is here spoken of,) afterwards Mr. Barrow embarked for Venice from whence, he returned for England by the way of Germany and Holland.

When King Charles the second was restored, all the World believed Dr. Barrow would be preferred, because he had been always firm to the Interests of the Royalists, but being disappointed he made this Distich upon his unkind treatment.

*Te Magis optavit redituum, Carole, Nemo,
Et Nemo sensit te Rediisse Minus.*

However he was elected Professor of the Greek tongue in 1660, and Chosen two years after to teach Geometry. In the year following Mr. Lucas having founded a Chair for a Professor of Mathematicks, he was the first that fill'd it; and there was an Order made for him, and those that were to succeed him, that they shou'd be oblig'd every year to leave to the University Ten of their Lectures in writing; he so passionately loved the Mathematicks, that there was found before his *Apollonius* these words written in his own hand, *Ὁ Θεὸς Γεωμετρίᾳ* Tu autem Domine, quantus es Geometra? cum enim hæc Scientia nullos terminos habeat, &c. God himself hath Geometry in his thoughts—but thou,

O Lord, how great a Geometrician art thou! For tho' this Science has no bounds, yet one may find an infinite number of new Theorems by the only assistance of a humane Capacity. THOU seest all these Truths at one glance without any chain of consequences, and without being wearied with a long search of demonstrations. In other things our Intellect is defective, and it seems that we do think of I do not know what, for want of a perfect assurance: From whence it happens that there are almost as many Opinions as different Persons. But all the World agree in the Truth of Mathematicks, and 'tis in this that the Mind of Man feels its strength; and is perswaded that it can effect something great and wonderful, &c. This only is able to enflame me with the Love of Thee, and to make me wish with as much ardor as is possible, for that happy day in which my Spirit being delivered from every thing that now perplexes it, shall be assur'd not only of these Truths, but of an infinite number of others without the trouble of deducing consequences, &c.

There is without doubt but a very few Men, who amongst those reasons which induce 'em to wish for Heaven, give this, of expecting the Happiness of a Perfect Knowledge of the Mathematicks there. Thus Mr. Barrow having wearied himself with these Speculations, resolv'd to addict himself only to the study of Divinity: After which the Bishops of St. Asaph and Salisbury gave him some Benefices, and the King made him Rector of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge in the year 1672. The Colledges of the Universities of England are otherwise regulated than those beyond Sea: The charge of the Master of a Colledge is much more considerable than that of the Rectors of Foreign Academies or Colledges. A few years after Mr. Barrow was preferred to a more eminent Post, to wit, Vice-Chancellor, which is the greatest charge of the University, and after this Chancellor, which is not given but to Persons of the first Quality.

The Author of the Life of Mr. Barrow, informs us how he governed the Colledge with an Universal Applause; but it shall suffice to say, that he there compos'd divers Treatises, and amongst others, that of the Supremacy of the Pope, which is at the end of the first Volume.

In fine, he died at London the 4th of March, the year 1677. and was buried at Westminster, where his friends erected a Marble Monument without an Epitaph, which is added to the end of his Life.

The first five Sermons which compose the first Volume, treat of the Excellency of the Christian Religion, and of the Interest which accrews to us in loving and practising it; the four following expound the great Duties of Christianity, Prayer and Thanksgiving. The 10th, 11th and 12th, are upon particular occasions, to wit, The Return of the King; The Gunpowder-Plot; And the Consecration of the Bishop of Man his Uncle. The ten following from the 13th to the 23d, were compos'd against the sin of speaking too much in Conversation; in speaking ill of his Neighbour,

Neighbour, and Swearing, &c. Mr. Barrow is very large upon these matters, because there are few Vices so univer-

(a) In Ep. ad Celantiam. *sal—(a) tanta hujusmodi Libido* (saith St. Paulinus cited by the Author) *Mentes hominum invasit, ut etiam qui procul aliis Vitiis recesserunt in illud tamen quasi in extremum Diaboli Laqueum incidant.*

Those which follow even to the 30th, have respect unto the great Precepts in which the Law is fulfilled, to wit, to love God and our Neighbour: All the preceding Sermons were not published till after the death of the Author, but he himself caused the two last of this Volume to be printed, whereof one treats of Charity towards the Poor, and the other of the Passion of Jesus Christ, Dr. Tillotson speaks of the first, that there could be nothing more elaborate in its kind, and that Dr. Barrow had spoken the utmost that the subject could bear.

II. After these Sermons of which we have spoke, there is a small work Intituled a brief exposition of the Lords Prayer, and the Decalogue, with the Doctrine of the Sacraments, these treatises have been already published in Twelves; they are extremely short, but one may there find the Lords Prayer and the ten Commandments explained in a good and correct method, yet there is almost nothing essential which is forgot. Altho the Author took pains for the Vulgar, yet he did not omit to cite in the Margin the Fathers and Heathen Authors, where he found it for his purpose; as when he expounded these words in the Lords Prayer, thy Will be done, &c. he cites Epictetus, Plato, Antoninus and Seneca. (a) Epictetus says

(a) cap. 38. in his Enchiridion, if God will have it so, let it be so, and Plato in his Dialogue Intituled Criton, affirms that Socrates being in Prison pass'd the time whilst he tarried there, as one that resigned himself to God in every thing which should happen to him. (b) The Emperor Antoninus

(b) Lib. 4. says that we must chearfully receive every thing that happens to us; and the words of Seneca are no less

(c) Ep. 37. 54. 71. *remarkable, (c) Ego Secundum Naturam vivo, si totum me illi dedit optimum est, Deum, quo auctore cuncta proveniunt sine murmuratione comitari, &c. hic est magnus Animus qui se Deo tradidit.* "I live according to Nature when I resign my self entirely to him, nor is there any thing better than to follow, without murmuring, that God, that is the cause of every thing. It belongs only to great Souls to commit themselves wholly to God.

Mr. Barrow in the beginning of his Exposition of the Decalogue, says, it seems at first sight, That it rather contains the Laws of the Jewish State, than their Moral Precepts, since there's nothing spoke of the manner how we ought to live in regard of our selves as to the Continency, Sobriety or Devotion, and which we owe towards God, as to Prayer, Thanksgiving & Confession of sins, &c. It seems to have a particular respect to the Jews,

who were a chosen people, and that God govern'd them after a more peculiar manner than other Nations, in giving 'em Laws for every particular thing which was only accommodated to the State of the Israelites, to whom God only made himself known; and that so this Law does not oblige all Nations in that especial sense wherein it was given by the Holy Ghost. After this he gives divers Reasons for which we yet ought to have the Decalogue in the greatest Veneration, and to observe it exactly, except the 4th Commandment, which doth not oblige the observation of Christians in this, that it is Ceremonial; no more than the first Patriarchs, who also were not the less pleasing to God, notwithstanding the testimony of Justin and St. Irenaeus; but Reason it self dictates that it is necessary to set some time apart in which we may more particularly apply our selves to Divine Service, and in which Servants may rest themselves from Labour; 'tis this the Heathens

themselves observed, witness (a) De Leg. 2. (a) Plato, who says, that the Gods are touch'd with pity towards Men, and because of the Labour which they are obliged to, he permits 'em some repose and days of rest. *Legum Conditores (says Seneca) festos instituerunt dies, ut ad hilaritatem homines publice cogerentur, tanquam necessarium laboribus.*

Mr. Barrow says nothing of the Sacraments, since there is enough spoken of them by the most able Protestant Divines.

In the beginning there is one thing worthy of remark, (b) Page 543. (b) Besides other Washings which he speaks of, he shews that it was a Custom amongst the Jews, that those who were dedicated to God, were exhorted to repentance for transgressing the Law, and were wash'd, in publick Testimony that they should change their Life. He maintained this assertion upon the success which the Baptism of St. John the Baptist had, for it wou'd have been, without doubt, rejected as an Innovated Ceremony in a time when the Jews had such an extravagant respect to their own Traditions, that they wou'd have opposed it, if not upheld upon an Antient Custom. If this is so, one might also conjecture that the Lustrations of the Heathens gave birth to this extraordinary Baptism; for 'tis well known, that those who had committed some Crimes, were to be wash'd by some publick person, and even by Princes themselves, whereof we find an infinite number of Examples in the most Antient History of the Greeks.

III. The third piece which is in this Volume, is a Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, to which is added a Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church. There has been already published in quarto in 1679. by Dr. Tillotson, to whom the Author had committed the Care of the Impression at his death; the first Testimony in a small Preface. He believes that Dr. Barrow has omitted nothing essential, or what might be of any consequence in this Controversie, he believes that there is enough

enough to decide for ever, all the difficulties, and to dissuade all wise men of either Party from writing any more upon this Subject.

We shall remark in few words the method of his Treatise, to the end that we may have a general Idea of what is contained in it, we have at the first sight a preface, wherein the Author relates the different sentiments of the Doctors of the *Roman Church*, touching the Authority of the Pope, which some make Inferiour to that of the Councils, whilst others are of a contrary persuasion, yet he briefly gives us the History of the *Original, and progress of the Papal Power*.

Mr. Barrow having remarked, that all that is said on this Power, can only be founded upon seven suppositions, he divides his Work into seven parts, and examines them one after another; these are the suppositions. (1.) That St. Peter received from Jesus Christ the Preheminence amongst the Apostles, and had given to him an Authority and Sovereign Jurisdiction over the rest. (2.) That the rights and advantages of this Sovereignty were not personal, but might be transmitted to others, and left to their Successors. (3.) That St. Peter was the Bishop of Rome. (4.) That St. Peter continued to be Bishop of Rome, after he had left Judea and that he remained so till his death. (5.) That 'tis from thence that the privileges of the Pope do come as Successor to St. Peter, to wit Universal Jurisdiction over the whole Church of Jesus Christ. (6.) That the Popes have effectually enjoy'd this Power, and have exercised it without discontinuations from St. Peter till now. (7.) That this Power could not be lost, nor be lessened by any means whatsoever.

(a) The Author admits that (a) pag. 30. St. Peter might be the first of the Apostles, in regard of personal qualities, esteem, and reputation, but he questions his precedency in order or dignity. It appears too great a vanity for a man that had the Vertue and Humility of St. Peter. He supposes it is very probable that the Apostles insisted upon no points of Ceremonies amongst themselves, which should oblige 'em to a certain order, as to precedency in walking, &c. he confesses that one might oppose to this the Authority of some Fathers, but he maintains, that their Authority is not of so great weight in these things, which are not essential to Faith, because that upon these occasions, they followed their own thoughts and conjectures, being as much actuated by the dictates of their imaginations, as other men, altho St. Cyprian and other African Doctors assure us, that St. Peter had only this Preheminence, because that we might learn thereby to keep the Unity of the Church. Mr. Barrow omits not to tell us that one might assent to the Priority of St. Peter and he gives there the same reasons, for example, he was call'd to the Apostleship before the others, he was older, &c. That which can't be granted to St. Peter (according to our Author) is a Superiority of Jurisdiction, where-

of nothing is to be found in Holy Writ, and which ought to be there contained and very clearly, if it were a Doctrine of Faith; according to this Rule of St. Austin,

(a) *Credo etiam hic Divinorum eloquiorum clarissima auctoritas* (a) De pic. mor. & um. 2. 36. *esset, si homo sine dispendio promissa salutis ignorare non posset.*

The Author is very large in proving that St. Peter had not any Authority like to this over the Apostles and carefully answers the passages of the Fathers, which the Roman Catholics use to object to the Protestants on this occasion, and he brings divers of the same Fathers, frequently opposing themselves, and very strongly confutes those arguments brought for the Superiority of St. Peter.

(b) Mr. Barrow endeavours (b) Page 76. in the sequel to shew that the Privileges of the Apostleship were personal, and died with the Apostles, according to that Maxim of the Law—*Privilegium personale personam sequitur, & cum persona extinguitur.* That if the Fathers say that Bishops are Successors of the Apostles, they also say it indifferently of all Bishops. They could not say any thing more than this, that the Apostles have established them to govern the Christian Church after 'em, not that any of them has succeeded in the utmost extent of the Apostles Charge, but because that every Bishop governs the Flock which is committed to him. *Singulis Pastoribus* (says St. Cyprian) (c) portio (c) Ep. 55. *gregis adscripta est, quam regat unusquisque & gubernet, &c. Episcopatus unus* (as he adds in another place) (d) *cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.* (d) De Unitate Ecclesie.

(e) He afterwards attempts (e) Page 82. to shew that the Episcopacy of St. Peter is incompatible with his Apostleship, and that none of the Antients believed that he was the Bishop of Rome, where he could not stay long, altho' it is pretended he continued many years. 'Tis said on this occasion, that he who wrote the Letter (by some, supposed from St. Peter, to St. James,) does not misrepresent the personage of this Apostle, since it makes him to say, *If whilst I am alive they dare raise so many falsities upon me, what will not posterity undertake?*

(f) He maintains yet farther, (f) Page 88. that St. Peter was not Bishop of Rome, because there were others there in his time, to wit, Linus established by St. Paul, and Clement established after Linus by St. Peter himself. There are yet brought many other Reasons drawn from Antiquity.

(g) After having refuted (g) Page 94. the four first Suppositions of the Roman Catholics, he remarks that since they are the only foundation upon which the fifth can be upheld, it must necessarily be false, since the preceding ones are so, which he believes he has sufficiently proved. He yet maintains farther, which

is more than needful, that when they grant to St. Peter all the Roman Catholicks attribute to him, it would not follow that the Bishop of Rome should be his Successor. This he shews all along by many Reasons, and by the Testimony of the Fathers, as well as by Sacred Writ, he much enlarges upon the Inconveniencies, which would be in obeying the Bishop of Rome, as the only Successor of the Priviledges of the Apostles, and he says, amongst many other things, that the Popes have render'd that definition true which Scioppius has given to the Roman Church; viz. *Ecclesia est Mandra sive grex aut multitudo Fumentorum sive Asinorum*. He also mentions the History of the Establishment, and the Jurisdiction of the Metropolitans or Primates, and maintains that as they were established by Humane Prudence, so they might also be abolished by the same Power, and other things of this nature which entirely ruine the Authority of the Pope.

The Author after this applies himself to shew that the Popes since St. Peter, have not enjoyed without discontinuation this Sovereign Authority, which they usurp, since they have not had the power to convocate general Councils, nor to preside there, nor to make Laws, or oppose themselves to the Canons of the Councils; and lastly, that they enjoy'd not for many Ages, the other Rights of this Sovereignty. There is in this Chapter, the History of the Convocation of General Councils, and the oppositions which have been made divers times against the power of the Bishop of Rome.

(b) In fine, Mr. Barrow engages the last supposition of the Roman Catholicks to wit,

that the Supremacy of the Popes could not be ruined. He brings many reasons to evince that it might cease, and that when it was granted to the Pope, it might happen, that he could lose it, by the faults he should commit, or personal defects, as if he turn'd a Heretick, because St. Ambrose says, those who have not the faith of St. Peter, cannot be his Successors; (c) Non habent Petri hereditatem qui Petri fidem non habent, quam Impia divisione discerpunt, and this frequently happens, as Dr. Barrow says, according to the Ancients, and is yet seen to this day, if we may believe the Protestants, whose reasons the Author proposes very strongly, in enumerating the sentiments of the Roman Church, which are considered as very erroneous.

'Tis this which contains the treaties of the Popes Supremacy, the other follows, to wit, the Unity of the Church, where Dr. Barrow designs to prove, that Unity may well subsist without the necessity of the Christian Churches having a visible head. He engages to shew that the Unity of the Church consists in this, that all true Christians do agree in Fundamentals, particularly in those which have a necessary connexion with Piety and the Practice of good works, and in this, that they be joined in the bond of mutual chari-

ty, &c. He afterwards shews in what manner the Christian Churches may root out Heresie and Schism, without the assistance of a Visible Head, and keep at the same time a Conformity of Discipline in things of the highest consequence, even when it could not be established but by Humane Prudence; but he yet maintains that this last Union is possible, in supposing certain things which are not necessary, nor ordained by the Apostles, and he gives many reasons to which he adds divers Examples in Ecclesiastical History, by which one may see he believes it not necessary that there be an Union of Discipline amongst the Churches. Upon this occasion he particularly makes use of the Epistles of St. Cyprian, by which it appears, according to Dr. Barrow, that every Bishop lay under a double obligation, whereof one regarded his Flock in particular, the other the whole Church. By the first, he was obliged to take care that every thing be done in good order in his Church, and that nothing should be done which was not for Edification, and this should be endeavour'd by taking counsel of his Clergy and his People. By the second, he was obliged, when the good of his Flock required it, to confer with other Bishops touching the means of preserving Truth and Peace: But in that time a Bishop knew not what it was to be hindered from acting according to the extent of his Power, by appealing to a Superiour Power, to which he was obliged to give an account of the Administration of his Charge. Bishops were then as Princes in their Jurisdictions, but they omitted not to keep a certain Correspondence, for the preserving an universal Peace. (d) Statu-

(d) Ep. 55. tum est omnibus nobis (saith St. Cyprian) ac æquum est pariter, ac justum, ut unusquisque causa illic audiat, ubi est Crimen admissum, & singulis Pastoribus portio Gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque præpositus rationem actus sui Domino redditurus? and elsewhere. (e) (e) Pag. 314. Qua in re nec nos cuiquam facimus nec Legem damus, cum habeat in Ecclesia administratione voluntate sui liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.

Dr. Barrow shews after this the Inconveniencies which would attend the Government of the Christian Church, if it should acknowledge one Visible Head. (f) A famous Divine (f) Thorndike Antiquit. Eccles. of the Church of England having maintained the Unity of an Ecclesiastical Discipline, so that all the Christian Churches ought to be (according to him) in the nature of a Confederacy, which submits every Church in particular to an entire body (if it is permitted so to speak.) Dr. Barrow believes he is obliged to refute this Tenet, and to that end he hath drawn from his Works twelve proofs of this Opinion which that Divine has spread in divers places, and which he proposed with great care, altho' after a manner very obscure and intricate.

intricate. This last Author having objected, for instance, to those who believe not, that the Unity of Discipline is necessary, the Article of the Creed, where 'tis said, *I believe in the Holy Catholick or Universal Church*, and the Creed of Constantinople, where 'tis said, *The Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church*: Dr. Barrow answers to this, that this Article is not in the Abridgment of the Christian Faith, which is found in St. Irenaeus, Tertullian and St. Cyprian, no more than in the Creed of the Council of Nice; And (1.) That it was not in the Apostles Creed, which the Church of Rome makes use of, but that it is added after the Times of Ruffinus and St. Augustine, against the Heresies and Schisms which sprung up in the Christian Church. (2.) That it agrees with the Unity of the Catholick Church in many respects, and that this is not the manner of Unity which is in Question, and which is not decided in the Creed. (3.) 'Tis fairly supposed, that the Unity which is spoken of in the Creed of Constantinople, is that of outward Government. (4.) That one might reasonably think that the sense of this Article is no other than this, *That we make profession to remain steadfast in the body of Christians, which are scatter'd throughout the whole World, and which received the Faith, the Discipline and the Manner of living Ordained by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, that we are bound to be charitable to all good Christians with which we are ready to Communicate: That we are willing to observe the Laws and Constitutions, and Joynt-Opinion of the Churches for the Conservation of Truth, Order and Peace. Lastly, That we renounce all Heretick Doctrines, all scandalous Practices, and all manner of Factions.* (5.) That it appears that this is the sense of this Article, because that he hath put it in the Creed to preserve the Truth, Discipline and Peace of the Church. (6.) That 'tis not reasonable to explain this Article in any manner which agrees not with the Apostolick Times and Primitive Church, for then there was no Union of Discipline amongst Christians like to what has been since.

As it was objected to Dr. Barrow that this opinion favours the Independants, so afterwards he shews the difference between it and that of these Men, after which he draws divers consequences from his own positions, as, That those who separate from the Communion of the Church in which they live (that is established on good foundations) are Guilty of Schism, and ought to be Censured by, and excluded from the Communion of all other Churches; and they must not think themselves to be exempted from Error, altho some other Church would receive them, as a Subject cannot withdraw himself from the obedience of his natural Prince in putting himself under the Protection of another. This also is defended by the Apostolick Canons which the antient Church hath observ'd with much Care, as Dr. Barrow makes appear by many examples.

This is according to his opinion a means

to extirpate Schisms, and not that which is proposed by the Roman Church, to wit, to *Establish a Political Union amongst divers Churches by which they are Subordinate to one only.* Every Church ought to suffer the others to enjoy in peace their Rights and Liberties, and content it self to condemn dangerous errors and factions, and to assist with Counsel the other Churches when they have need thereof.

The second Volume contains the explication of the Creed in 34 Sermons upon this Article. *I believe in the Holy Ghost*: The rest being briefly explained, because that the Author has treated of 'em in other places of his Works, marked in a little advertisement which is at the End of his Sermons. These Sermons are not simple explications of the Letter of the Creed. The Author hath explained the Articles as he had occasion, by divers texts of Scripture treating of the matter, that he found therein, and the particular circumstances of each text. He shews first how much doubting is necessary, and on the contrary in the two following, what Faith is Reasonable and Just. In the fourth and fifth he explains Justification by Faith. He afterward proves in four Sermons successively the existence of a Deity by the Works of Creation by the order of the Body of Man, consent of all Nations and by supernatural effects. The tenth and two following treat of the Unity of God, of his power and of the creation of the World. In the 13th and to the 20th the Author proves the truth of the Christian Religion the falseness of Paganism and Mahometanism, Imperfection of the Religion of the Jews and the excellency of that of Jesus Christ, whom he shews in four large Sermons to be the true Messia: Afterwards he explains all that is contained in the second article of the Creed. In the two last he shews the Justice and certainty of a day of Judgment. In fine the 34th treats all along of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

The third Volume contains 45 Sermons, which treat mostly of Morals. The three first are upon those texts of the Scripture which command us to do all in the Name of Jesus Christ, and in Imitation of him. The six following shew the Submission which we ought to have to the will of God, and contentment of mind to which the Apostle gives so great praises. The 10th and 11th treat of patience and joy, the 12th and 13th on the study of a mans self, the 14th and 15th of the thoughts of our latter end, the 16th and 17 of the danger of deferring repentance, the 18th and from thence to the 22th of the labours and employments of all sorts of persons, of whatsoever condition they may be, the 23d. of the depth of the Judgment of the Almighty, the four following of the obedience we owe to our spiritual Guide, the 28th and the following to the 31st, of self-love and its different kinds, the 32d and unto the 35th to do nothing but what is honest in the eyes of the world, the three following of the goodness

goodness of God, and that he is no respecter of persons, the 39th and unto the 42th of the Universality of Redemption and the three last of the birth and passion of Jesus Christ and of the gift of the Holy Ghost.

Besides what we have said of the method of Dr. Barrow which is that that is at this day observed by the most able Divines of the English Church, 'twill not be amiss to observe that by the application he hath made to the Mathematicks he has formed to himself a habit of writing very exactly, avoiding unuseful digressions and making use of Solid proofs rather than Rhetorical figures, according to the Custom of many Preachers who apply themselves rather to a plausible eloquence than the Solidity of sound reasons. It was thought necessary to give this account, lest the Publick should be displeased with the name of Sermon which was so dreadful, for three Volumes in folio to contain nothing else. Those who have been in England, and have had any knowledge of the writings of the Divines of that Country, know the esteem in which our Author is there; but to satisfy in some manner those who understand not English, I shall here give an extract of the 8th Sermon in the 2d. Book where the Author proves the existence of God by the Consent of all Nations.

Lactantius — After having cited many Heathen and Christian Authors against Atheism, he brings the testimony of all People and Nations, which agree almost in nothing but the belief of a Divinity. *Testimonium Populorum atque Gentium in Una hac re non dissidentium*, this is of great force, whether it be considered in it self or by the relation to its Original.

An Antient Philosopher ranged probable things in this order, that which seems true to some learn'd persons is in some sort probable, that which appears so to the greatest part or to all the Learned, is most probable, what is believed by most men, both Learned and Ignorant, is yet more likely, but what all men consent to has the greatest probability of truth; so that one must be very extravagantly obstinate to have the boldness to deny it, there is no man in the World can by his reasons only ballance the constant authority of all men. If any one by a Spirit of contradiction or otherwise should undertake to prove that Snow is black, as did *Anaxagoras*, or maintain motion impossible, as *Zeno* did, or that contradictory assertions may be true at the same time as *Heraclitus* did: That there remains no other means to refute such a man, because he hath rejected the most evident principles, and opposes himself to the Universal consent of Mankind; if he refuses such a concession, all that we can do is to look upon him rather with pity than contempt. We ought to have very convincing and clear reasons to resist the common suffrage of all men and accuse them equally of error.

To illustrate this still more, or rather to demonstrate the *Thesis* upon which it is founded, it is necessary to cite the testimonies of some Heathen Philosophers which cannot be suspected on this occasion. The consent of all men (saith *Seneca*) is of very great weight to us, 'tis an argument a thing is true when it appears so to all the World, thus we conclude there is a Divinity, because that all men believe it, there being no Nation however corrupted which denies it. *Cicero* says, the same thing in several places, and observes further that many Nations had extravagant opinions of the Divinity, yet they all agree in this, that there is one eternal power, on which all men have their dependance. In violent disputes (saith *Maximus of Tyre*) in contestations and divers opinions which are amongst men, one may see a Law and Doctrine equally established in all Nations that there is a God which is King and Father of all men, and that there are many Gods Sons of this Supreme Being, which Reign with him — This is confess'd by the Greeks and Barbarians, the Inhabitants of all places both Learn'd and Ignorant. There are many like Witnesses and if any Philosophers have contradicted this general consent, they are so few in number, that according to the foresaid Author they ought to be looked upon as Monsters, as an Oxe without Horns, and a Fowl without Wings.

If we should consider the Original of this common Opinion, we should acknowledge it yet more solid, for in fine, this consent can proceed but from one of these four things. Where there is a thought which is the result of a natural Instinct, as the most evident principles of the Sciences and the desire we have to be happy, as *Cicero* (a) and many other Philosophers have declared. Where we have a natural disposition to receive this Impression, as our eyes are naturally disposed to see the Light as soon as it appears, as *Julian* (b) himself said. Where some strange reason that presents it self to the minds of men even the grossest and what depends chiefly upon common notions hath produced this consent as *Plutarch* has it. Where, in fine some ancient Tradition that came from the same source, has spread this opinion through all the earth, according to the thoughts of some others. There can be no other way Imagined by which this opinion hath been received amongst all men who are so much inclined to judge diversly of the same thing; now chuse which of these ways you will, our reasons are equally strong and convincing; if it is by the Light of Nature 'twould be as extravagant to deny it as that the most evident principles of all Sciences are false. if 'tis said, that 'tis by a natural disposition that men believe there is a God, why should we resist the Instinct of Nature, since the notions thereof never deceive us? If you agree that there is a powerful reason which persuades all men, 'tis renouncing a Common sense to refuse to yield thereunto.

But

(a) *De Nat. Deor Lib. 1. and 2.*

(b) *Julian Heraclit.*

But if they agree that man received this knowledge from an ancient tradition, as appears more likely, we must seek from whence this tradition is come to us, and who was the Common Master of all mankind. The Names of those who were the first founders of a sect are sufficiently known, as are they also who have engaged the World in certain opinions, but of him that invented this, there's neither name nor place to be found, nor time in which he lived, nor the manner whereby it was introduced and spread amongst Men; 'tis this that makes one believe that the Authors of this tradition were our first Parents, who as they could not be Ignorant of their Original were obliged without doubt to teach this truth to their children. It is easily conceived that from thence all the World have learnt it. This thought conducts us to another which is of the greatest Importance to the subject we are speaking of, viz. that all mankind is descended from one man only, or at least a very little number of People that assembled together, from whence appears first that the Generations of men had a beginning, and secondly that we cannot resist the doctrine of the existence of a Deity as an apolitical fiction, for suppose that mankind hath a beginning upon the earth, from whence could he draw his Original but from a Divinity, as we have conceived? what other being could form bodies so admirably as ours, and to have joyn'd to 'em an Intelligence like that of our soul? let us consider also who hath taught the first man there was a God, and how it entred into his mind, that he drew his existence from him, if he that formed him had not discovered it to him in a sensible manner, and taught him 'twas to him he owed his being only? in a word since they have taught to their posterity, we have no reason to refuse 'em our belief, and we can't Imagin their testimonies less worthy of faith, nor find men who can be instructed in their Original than themselves, nor can we reasonably reject a Tradition which is transmitted from 'em to us: This reason we find entire in (a) Plato. *We must believe*

(a) In *Timeo*. those who told us they were of the race of the Gods, since they say they know perfectly from whom they were descended, 'tis impossible to distrust the Children of the Gods altho they should bring no evident demonstration of what they declared, and since they advance things only that belong to themselves, 'tis just to believe 'em.

Thus one sees these two truths, the universal Tradition of a Divinity and the Supposition that all men are come from the same Original, maintain both. As to the last there are divers Histories and opinions that confirm it, altho' it cannot be better upheld than by the universal belief I just spoke of. Nevertheless 'tis not unuseful to give you some examples.

'Tis without doubt by an antient Tradition, (which relates no more, than to the

first men as the greatest part of the Heathens have believed) that all mankind drew their Original from the same Parents who received their being from that divinity in resemblance of which they were form'd.

Finxit ad effigiem Moderantem cuncta Deorum.

That the Soul is immortal, that there are rewards and punishments after this Life, according as men live well or ill. That there are places where good men are happy, and others where the wicked receive their punishment after death. It cannot be said that Philosophers have discovered these truths, and perswaded all the World of 'em, for they are too subtle and fine upon this subject to perswade all men. It must necessarily be from Tradition that all men have learn'd this Truth— One

ought to believe (with (b) Plato) *(b) De Leg. 2. Georg. sub s.m.*

Relations touching these sort of things, which are so great in number; *(c) Inf. 1. & in Lelio, c. 117.*

permanere animos (faith (c) Cicero) *arbitramur consensu Nationum omnium: Cum de animarum aternitate differimus, faith Seneca after him, Non leve momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum aut Timentium inferos aut Colentium.*

'Tis also from the same source that this Opinion is spread amongst the Heathens as thus, that in the beginning men enjoy'd a Felicity which they lost by their own fault, and that this fault is the Original of all evils to which their Posterity have been exposed. 'Tis well known what the Poets have said of the Golden Age, and of Pandora's Box. From this also comes the Opinion of the pre-existence of the Soul, whereof these words are to be found in the fragments of Cicero, *When one considers the errors and miseries to which men are exposed in this life. It doth not seem unreasonable that these Antient Prophets and Interpreters of the will of the Gods who have instructed us in the mysteries of Religion, say that we are born to be punished for Crimes which we have committed in a pre-existent state.*

I know (if Antient Traditions be not corrupted by length of time) that Plato believ'd that the first man was man and woman, and divided into two; and this disagrees not with holy Writ, which informs us, that the first woman was formed from the body of the first man.

There are also some Histories which agree with the Sacred Writ; as what the Poets say of the long life of the first men, of the general Corruption of all Mankind, and of the Deluge sent to punish them; several things have been also said of the Divinity of Hero's, which seems to come from the same source. To which may be added divers Customs formerly spread almost thro' the World; as that of counting by Tens, dividing the Time by Weeks, beginning to reckon from the Night, as being made before the Day. Besides, that men almost always, and throughout the whole Earth, agree upon the principal Heads of Morality. It's true that reason might teach such as consulted it, but the greatest part of the World was not well enough

enough disposed to hearken quietly to the voice of Reason only, and to silence those passions which hinder'd us from understanding it, if this Voice had not been maintain'd by another more clear and powerful, to wit, that of Tradition. It may also be said there were Barbarous Nations, among which the belief of a Divinity had been stifled by Ignorance and Stupidity, and among more learned Nations, as the Greeks, some have been doubtful, and rejected it as a Lie; but it must also be granted, that it has been commonly receiv'd in the East amongst the most Antient People, from whence Colonies have fill'd all the World, as we are taught by the oldest Histories that remain amongst us.

It's true also, that to this hath been added a thousand Extravagancies touching the Nature of the Divine Being, and the manner of Worship done to him: But 'tis thus that Judaism was corrupted by the Jewish Doctors, and the Christian Religion by that of the Christians which have innovated so many Changes, that it was hardly known for some Ages. Is it not false, say they, that these two Religions came from Moses and Jesus Christ? The same thing hath happen'd to the first Tradition; and Aristotle hath believ'd that in effect it was thus; his words are too remarkable to be omitted; *The most profound Antiquity hath left to future Ages under hidden Fables the belief that there were Gods, and that the Divinity was displayed in all the Works of Nature—There's added afterwards, That these Fables teach us to persuade the People, and render 'em more obedient to the Laws, for the good of the State, although some say, that the Gods resemble Men, Animals, and other things. If we keep to those things only which were spoke of in the beginning, to wit, that the Gods were the Original of Nature, there would be nothing said that is unworthy of the Divinity. There is some likelihood that the Sciences having been often found out, and as often lost, these Opinions were preserved until now, as the other Doctrines of the Antients. Thus we may distinguish the Opinions of our Fathers from those who lived first upon the Earth. 'T would be difficult to make a better proof of a matter of fact; and some have even dared to say, That in Physicks there is rarely proved an existence of one Cause by a great number of effects, which are so great in number, so divers, so sensible, and so certain. The harmony which is between the parts of the Universe, which conspire all to the same end, and always keep the same order, shews that this Divinity, known to all Mankind, is one in Number, and the same in Concord, as may be seen in a State between persons of different humours, which live under the same Laws. Thus it appears in the March of an Army which obeys its General, and thus the Order and Regularity, which is seen in a House proves 'twas built by one Architect only: This all the World acknowledgeth, in spite of the great number of Gods, the Heathens have made, for they themselves confess'd a Supreme Divinity to whom all others were to submit themselves,*

as the Poets even call him, *The Father, the King, the Most High, the Greatest, the Most Excellent of the Gods, &c.* This much Philosophers have acknowledged, which say, that even all names that are call'd upon by the People, shewed but one Di-

vinity only, (a) *Quoribus volēs (a) De Benef. (saith Seneca) tibi licet aliter 4. 7.*

tunc Auctorem rerum nosstrarum compellare: Tot appellationes ejus esse possunt quot Munera; hunc & Liberum patrem & Herculem, ac Mercurium nostri putant, &c. omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt variē

utentis sua potestate. (b) Sophocles (b) In Exorc.

says very often in a Tragedy *Grot. p. 140.*

that is lost, *Εἰς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἷς ἐστὶ Θεός, &c.* In truth there is a God, and there is but one who hath made the Heaven, the Earth, the Sea, and the Winds; nevertheless there are many Mortals who by strange Illusions make Statues and Gods of Stone, of Brass, of Gold and Ivory, to give them speedy deliverance from their evils; they offer Sacrifices, and consecrate Festivals, vainly imagining that Piety consists in Ceremonies.

Thus Marcilius Ficinus who translated Plato into Latin, and (who was willing to renew the old Platonick Tenets) believes amongst several more, that men were offended, because they found in Plato the name of God in the Plural Number, but this Philosopher did only mean subalternate Gods or Angels, that those (says he) which are not surprized with the number of Angels, are not at all astonish'd with the number of Gods, because in Plato so many Gods import no more than so many Angels, and so many Saints.

Dr. Barrow concludes upon the whole that the Universal consent of all Nations does very well prove that there is a God, and we cannot doubt but that it is very reasonable. One may understand by this, that the Sermons of this Author are rather treatises or exact dissertations, than pure harangues to please a multitude. If we were not resolved to keep within the bounds of an unbiassed Historian we might say that there never was a Preacher comparable to this Author, but our particular suffrage, or rather that of all England ought not to be a president to all Europe.

The Life of the most Reverend Father in God James Usher, late Lord Arch-Bishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland, with a Collection of 300 Letters, which he writ to the most illustrious men of his time for Piety and Learning, and some he received from England, and other parts; Published from the Original by Richard Parr, after his Death, to whom he had given the Care of his Papers. London, Sold by Nathaniel Ranew, 1686. in Folio.

THIS Volume is composed of two Parts, whereof the one contains the Life of the famous Usher, written by—Parr Doctor of Divinity, and the other a Collection of divers Letters that this Illustrious Arch-Bishop

Bishop hath written to several Learned Men of his Time, with some of their Answers.

1. There have been already seen several Abridgments of the Life of *Usher*, but as those who compos'd them, had not a memory sufficient for the Work, so they have given nothing to the Publick but what was very imperfect. 'Twas this made *Dr. Parr* undertake to publish what he knew of this Prelate, to whom he was Chaplain thirteen years, from 1642 to 1655 he knew him thoroughly in that time, and learn'd many circumstances of his Life, which those were Ignorant of, who lived at a greater distance. *Dr. Parr* hath also received much assistance from the Papers of *Usher* which among others fell into his hands, and from the Conversations that he hath had with *Mr. Tyrrel* his Grandson, a Gentleman of an extraordinary merit.

The *Primate of Ireland*, was Universally esteem'd during his Life, and his works are still in so great a reputation, that men will not be sorry to see here a little Abridgment of his History.

James Usher was born at *Dublin* the fourth of *January* 1580. his Fathers name was *Arnold*, and was one of the six Clerks of the Chancery. The Family of the *Ushers* is very Antient, altho' the right name is not *Usher* but *Nevil*, but one of the Ancestors of our Archbishop chang'd it into that of *Usher*, because he was *Usher* to King *John*, who ascended the Throne of *England* 1199. our Prelate had from his Infancy an extraordinary passion for Learning — Two Scotch Gentlemen, who advis'd him in his studies, entertain'd him with much care. The one was nam'd *James Fullerton*, the other *James Hamilton*. They went into *Ireland* by order of the King of *Scotland*, to form some agreement with the Protestant Nobility of that Country, intending thereby to assure himself of that Kingdom in case *Q. Elizabeth* died suddenly. The better to cover their enterprise, and to give no Umbrage to a Queen extremely suspicious, they set themselves to teach Latin at *Dublin*, where (at that time) 'twas very rare to find persons learn'd in Humanity. *Usher* having profited very much by them in a little time, seem'd to have a particular inclination to Poetry, which he afterwards chang'd into as great a desire of understanding History; that which created this inclination in him, was reading these words of *Cicero*, *Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum*, his Annals and his other writings sufficiently shew what progress he had made in this study, whereof he has given sensible proofs in his Infancy.

Being in the University of *Dublin* establish'd principally by the care of *Henry Usher* his Uncle Archbishop of *Ardmagh*. He set himself to read the *Fortalium fidei* of *Stapleton*, which made him resolve to apply himself to the reading of the Fathers, to see if this Author had cited them faithfully, he began to put this design in execution at 20 years old, and continued this Study

without intermission for 18 years, obliging himself to read every day a certain task.

His Father had a mind to divert him from it, and engage him to Study the Law, to which our Prelate had no inclination, but in 1598. he dying soon after, left his Son at liberty to chuse what manner of life was most pleasing to him; he was the eldest son of the family, and the estate his Father left, was considerable enough to make him apply all his time in Domestick affairs. This made him resolve to put off this trouble, and to remit the Estate to his Brother, with orders to give to his Sisters what their Father had left them, reserving only to himself what would maintain him in the University, with a sufficiency to buy himself some Books. Whilst he was at the University, and but yet 18 years old, he disputed against a Jesuit call'd *Fitz-Symmons*, and overcame him in two conferences, which made this Jesuit afterwards in a Book Intituled *Britannomachia*, call him the most learn'd of those who are not Catholics, *A Catholicorum Doctissimum*; he made so great a progress in the first years, that he apply'd himself to Divinity, that his Uncle Archbishop of *Ardmagh*, ordain'd him Priest at the 21 year of his Age. This ordination was not conformable to the Canons, but the extraordinary merit of young *Usher*, and the necessities of the Church, made him believe it was not necessary to stay till the age mark'd out by the Ecclesiastical Laws of *Ireland*. He preach'd then at *Dublin*, with very great applause, he particularly devoted himself to the controversies, which were between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, he treated on them so clearly, and with so much solidity, that he confirm'd many wavering Protestants, and prevail'd with many Roman Catholics to embrace the Protestant Faith.

But amongst those who rank'd themselves in the Protestant Churches, there was a great number that were not so sincere as he could have wished them, they did all they could to obtain the publick exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion at *Dublin*, that they might insensibly have had the Liberty to make a profession of their true Sentiments. *Usher* who believ'd that this toleration wou'd be of a very dangerous consequence, oppos'd it with all his might, and one day as he Preacht upon this matter with great zeal, he spoke something which then no notice was taken of, but 40 years after it was found to be a true Prophecy, he took his Text upon these words of *Ezek. ch. 4. v. 5. And thou shalt bear the Iniquity of the house of Judah 40 days, I have appointed thee a day for a year.* He applied these days to *Ireland*, and said, that he who reckon'd from this year to 40. should find that the Protestants of *Ireland* should bear the Iniquity of those who were for a toleration in these times, this was in 1601. and 40 years were no sooner expired 1641. but the Irish Catholics made a bloody Massacre upon the Protestants.

He never wholly discontinued to Preach whilst

whilst he was in Ireland, altho he was Professor of Divinity in that University, but he accusom'd himself to make a Voyage every three years into England, where he found a greater variety of Books than in Ireland, there he pass'd one part of his time at Oxford, another at Cambridge, and another at London, and carefully visited all their publick and particular Libraries, he made collections of what Books he there read, and made remarks upon them, with a design to make a work that he had resolv'd to Intitule *A Theological Bibliothecæ*, wherein he had treated very accurately of all the Ecclesiastical Antiquities; but the misfortunes of Ireland, and the Civil Wars of England hinder'd him from finishing it, he order'd when he died, that it should be put into the hands of Mr. Laugbaine Dr. of Divinity, to supply what was wanting, and publish them to the World. This learn'd man engag'd himself forthwith in this useful work, but he died before he finish'd it, 1657. There is yet to be seen in the Bodleyane Bibliothecæ, his Manuscripts which no man dares undertake to finish.

In 1615. there was a Parliament in Ireland and an assembly of the Clergy, where certain Articles were compos'd touching Religion and Ecclesiastical Discipline. Usher who was the chief in it, caus'd it to be sign'd by the Chancellor of Ireland, and by the Orators of the Assembly of the Bishops and of the Clergy; King James approv'd of 'em also, altho' there was some difference between these, and the Articles of the Church of England; some ill dispos'd persons, and it may be Roman Catholicks took occasion from that to spread evil reports of Usher. They accus'd him of Puritanism, which was no little Heresie in the opinion of the King, they also made use of this artifice, to render those odious who appear'd the most capable of opposing the progress that the Missionaries of Rome, endeavour'd to make in Ireland.

Indeed the people knew not what this word signified and wherein Heresie consisted, but it was known the King mortally hated Puritans, and that was sufficient to make 'em look upon these Puritans as most dangerous Hereticks; * 'twas this that oblig'd an Irish Divine to write to Usher, who was that time in England, that it would not be amiss to desire the King to define Puritanism, that all the World might know those who were tainted with this strange Heresie, but Usher had no need to make use of this way to justify himself. some conversations that he had with the King, settled so good an opinion of him, that the Bishoprick of Meath in Ireland being vacant, the King gave it him immediately, and said also, that Usher was a Bishop that he had made, because that he had appointed him so without being sollicit'd to it by any person, this Election was made in 1620.

Returning into Ireland sometime after, he was oblig'd to discourse some persons of Qua-

lity of the Roman Religion, to administer to 'em the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy that they had refus'd to the Priest; this discourse is insert'd in his Life; he remarks the form of this Oath is compos'd of two parts, the one positive, in which they acknowledge the King is Sovereign in all cases whatsoever; and the other negative, in which they declare they acknowledge no Jurisdiction or Authority of any strange Prince in the estates of the King, he says afterwards in regard of the first part, that the Scripture commands that we submit ourselves to the Higher Powers, and that we ought to acknowledge, that the power the Kings have, whatsoever it may be, is Supreme as they are Kings, upon which he cites this verse of *Marzial*.

Qui Rex est, Regem, maxime non habeat.

That one ought well to distinguish the power of the Keys from that of the Sword, and the King of England does not exact an acknowledgment of the same power, that is possess'd by the Bishops, but nevertheless the Kings may interest themselves with Ecclesiastical Affairs, in as much as it regards the body, since according to the Church of Rome, 'tis the Magistrates duty to punish Hereticks. For that which regards the second part of the Oath, where it's said, that we shall not own any strange power, as having any Jurisdiction, Superiority, Preheminence, Ecclesiastical or Temporal in the Kingdom. He says that if St. Peter were still alive, he would willingly own that the King had this Authority in Ireland: and that he us'd the same in regard of all the Apostles, that the Apostleship was a personal dignity, which the Apostles have not left hereditary to any: but nevertheless, suppose it was so, he fees not why St. Peter should leave it to his successors, rather than St. John, who outliv'd all the Apostles; that there was no reason to believe that St. Peter shou'd leave the Apostolical Authority to the Bishops of Rome, rather than to those of Antioch, this last Church being founded before the first.

The King writ to Usher to thank him for this Discourse which produced so good effect. He afterwards went into England by the King's order, to collect the Antiquities of the Churches of England, Scotland and Ireland, and publish'd two years after that his Book intituled, *De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*. 'Twas in that time that the King made him Arch-Bishop of Armagh.

The Winter following he caus'd to be brought before him the Order for Toleration of the Roman Catholicks and the Lord Falkland, then Deputy for the King in Ireland, convocated and assembled the whole Nation to settle this Affair: But the Bishops call'd by the Primate, oppos'd it with much heat, as may be seen by a Remonstrance sign'd by ten Bishops, besides the Primate, and which is in the 28th page. They also spoke of raising some Forces by the Joynt consent

* Eman. Downing, pag. 16.

consent both of Catholics and Protestants, to hinder any differences that might arise in the Kingdom; the Protestants refused to consent thereto, and would not hearken to discourse the Primate thereupon in the Castle of *Dublin*, altho' his reasonings were founded upon the principal Maxims of the Government of *Ireland*; and maintain'd by Examples drawn from the Antient and Modern Histories of that Kingdom.

During the time our Primate stayed in *Ireland*, after he had performed the Duties of his Charge which he acquitted with extraordinary care, he employed the remaining part of his time to study, the fruits whereof were to be seen in 1631. in the first Latin book which he ever published in *Ireland*, 'tis his History of *Godescalch* Monk of the Abby of *Orbais* who lived in the beginning of the 6th Age there was soon made a small abridgment of the History of Pelagianism which was then extremely dispersed through *Spain* and *England*; when he comes to the History of *Godescalch* he explains his Doctrine, and shews by *Flodoard* and other Authors of that time, that those sentiments whereof *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Rhemes*, and *Rabanus* Archbishop of *Maynce* accused him, and which were condemn'd by their Authority in two Councils, were the same that St. *Remigius* Archbishop of *Lyons*, and the Clergy of his Diocese defended openly: many opinions and odious consequences (according to *Usher*) were fathered upon *Godescalch*, because that this Monk who maintained the opinions of St. *Augustine* about Predestination and Grace did not at all understand 'em. *Joannes Scotus Erygenus* wrote a treatise against him in which are to be found the principal heads of *Usher*, but *Florus* Deacon of the Church of *Lions* answers it, and censures him in the Name of all the Dioceses. *Usher* gave an abridgment of this Censure, as also of divers other treatises, as that of St. *Remigius* Pudentius Bishop of *Troy*, *Ratramus* Monk of *Corbi*, who writ against *Scotus* for his defence of *Godescalch*, there had been two Councils which established the doctrine of this Monk, and condemn'd that of *Scotus*. 'Tis true that *Hincmar* published a very large Book against these Councils, which he dedicated to *Charles le Chauve*, as *Flodoard* reports, who shews briefly what it is that this Book treats of, but that did not at all hinder St. *Remigius*, and those of his Party, to convocate another Council at *Langres*, where they confirm'd the Doctrine established in the former Councils, and condemn'd that new one of *Scotus*. These Controversies were still agitated in the National Council of the *Gauls*, where nothing was concluded, altho' *Baraneus* and others voted that *Godescalch* should be condemn'd there. On the contrary, *Usher* maintains that in an Assembly which was in a small time after, his Sentiments were approv'd of.

Nevertheless this wicked *Godescalch* was

condemn'd by the Council of *Maynce* to perpetual Imprisonment, where he was severely treated, because he would never retract his Errours. There are still two Confessions of his Faith, by which one may see there are many things attributed to him which he never believ'd; after having made a faithful report of the Sentiments of this Monk, and those of his Adversaries, *Usher* concludes that it were better for men to be silent upon these matters, than to scandalize the weak, in proposing to 'em such Doctrines from which they may draw bad consequences. There has been (adds Mr. *Parr*) and always will be different Opinions upon the great and abstruse Questions of Predestination and Free Will, which nevertheless may be tolerated in the same Church, provided those who maintain these divers Opinions, have that Charity for one another which they ought to have: That they condemn them not publicly; That they abstain from mutual Calumnies; and that they publish no Invectives against those who are not of the same Sentiments.

To return to the Life of our Prelate, who, altho' he took all imaginable care that the Roman Religion should not make any progress in *Ireland*, yet it stole in by the negligence of other Bishops, inso much that that Party which maintain'd it did sensibly increase and grow strong. It was this that oblig'd King *Charles* the first to write a Letter to the Primate of *Ireland*, which is to be found in page 38. wherein he authorizes him to write Letters of Exhortation to all the Bishops of *Ireland*, that they should discharge their duty better than they had done.

About the latter end of the year 1631. *Usher* makes a Voyage into *England*, where he publish'd a small English Treatise concerning the Ancient Religion of *Ireland*, and of the People which inhabited the North of *Scotland* and of *England*; he shews in this Treatise how it was in respect to the Essential parts, of the same Religion which at present is establish'd in *England*, and which is very foreign to that of the Roman Catholics. The year following our Archbishop return'd into *Ireland*, and publish'd a Collection intitled, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, whereof the first Pieces were written about the year 1590. and the last about 1180. there one may learn the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of *Ireland*. In 1639. which was seven years after he publish'd his Book intitled, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, wherein he inserted the History of *Pelagius* and his Sentiments. There are to be found the Antiquities of the most distant Churches of Great Britain, since Christianity was Preached there, that is to say, since about 20 years after the death of Jesus Christ.

In 1640. *Usher* makes a Voyage into *England* with his Family, with design to return very soon into *Ireland*, but the Civil Wars hinder'd him, inso much that he could never return to his Country again. 'Tis said, that in the year following, he brought the

the King to sign the death of the Earl of Strafford, but as to this Dr. Parr speaks very much in his Justification; he afterwards shews us after what manner he lost all that he had in Ireland, except his Library, which he brought into England. Strangers very much envied this great man, that his Compatriots shou'd offer him divers Places of Retreat. The Heads of the University of Leiden soon gave him a considerable Pension, and offered him the Title of Honourable Professor, if he wou'd come into Holland. The Cardinal Richelieu sent him his Medal, and also proffer'd to him a great Pension, with the liberty of professing his Religion in France, if he wou'd come thither. Our Arch-Bishop thank'd him, and sent him a Present of Irish Grey-Hounds, and other Rarities of that Country. Three years after he publish'd a small Treatise intituled, *A Geographical and Historical Research touching Asia Minor, properly so call'd, to wit, Lydia, whereof frequent mention is made in the New Testament, and which the Ecclesiastical Writers and other Authors call'd Proconsular Asia, or the Diocels of Asia.* In this Treatise there is a Geographical Description of Asia Minor, and of its different Provinces, as that of Caria and Lydia, under which the Romans comprehend Ionia and Aolia. Usher shews there, (1.) That Asia, whereof mention is made in the New Testament, and the Seven Churches which St. John spoke of in the Apocalypse, were included in Lydia, that every one of these Cities were the Chief of a small Province, and because of this Division they were chosen to be the principal Seats of the Bishops of Asia. (2.) That the Roman Provinces had not always the same extension, but were often contracted or enlarg'd for reasons of State; thus the Empire was otherwise divided under Augustus than it was under Constantine, under whom Proconsular Asia had more narrow bounds than formerly, 'tis remarkable that under this last Emperor Proconsular Asia, which was govern'd by a Proconsul of the Diocels of Asia, from whence the Governor was call'd Vicarius or Comes Asia or Dioceos Asiaticus; but this division was afterwards chang'd under his Successors, and whereas every Province had but one Metropolis, to satisfy the ambition of some Bishops 'twas permitted to two of 'em at the same time, to take the Title of Metropolitan. (3.) That under Constantine Ephesus was the place where the Governors of Asia met to form a kind of Council, which decided affairs of importance; and 'twas for this that Ephesus was then the only Metropolis of Proconsular Asia: that the Proconsul which was Governor, never submitted to the Authority of the Praetorian Prefect, and that there was something so like this in the Ecclesiastical Government, that the Bishop of Ephesus was not only Metropolitan of Consular Asia, but also the Primate and Head of the Diocels of Asia. (4.) That there was a great conformity between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government, in this, that the

Bishops of every Province were subject to their Metropolitans, as the Magistrates of every City were to the Governors of the whole Provinces.

This was the time wherein Usher published in Greek and Latin the Epistles of St. Ignatius with those of St. Barnabas and St. Polycarp; seven years after he added his *Appendix Ignatiana* where he proves that all the Epistles of Ignatius are not supposititious, and explains many ecclesiastick antiquities, he published the same year his *Syntagma de editione 70 Interpretum*, where he proposes a particular Sentiment which he had upon this version; 'tis this, that It contained but the five Books of Moses, and that it was lost in the burning of the Library of Ptolomaeus Philadelphus and that Dorithens a Heretick Jew made another version of the Pentateuch, and also translated the rest of the Old Testament about 177 years before the birth of Jesus Christ, under the Reign of Ptolomaeus Philometor and that the Greek Church preserves this last version instead of that which was made under the Reign of Ptolomeus Philadelphus; he also treats in this same work of the different editions of this version which according to him are falsly styled the version of the 70, this Book was published a year after the death of our Prelate with another *De Cainane altero, or the second Canaan*, which is found in the version of the 70. and in St. Luke between Sala and Arphaxad. This last work of Usher was the Letter which he wrote to Mr. Cappel touching the difference he had with Mr. Boate a friend of the Archbishops, we shall speak of it hereafter.

Dr. Parr informs us that in the Civil Wars of England, Usher going from Cardiffe to the Castle of St. Donates which belonged to Madam Stradling, he was extremely ill treated by the Inhabitants of Glamorganshire in Wales, they took his Books and Papers from him which he had much ado to regain, and whereof he lost some which contained remarks upon the *Vandois* and which shou'd have serv'd to carry on his Book *de Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione*, where there is wanting the History of more than 200. years, viz. from Gregory the 11th. to Leo the 10th. from the year 1371 to 1513, and from thence to the end of the Last Age.

Whilst our Primate was in Wales there was published at London without his consent, three works under his name: (1.) *A Body of Divinity, or the Substance of Christian Religion* (2) *Immanuel, or the Incarnation of the Son of God* (3) *A Catechism* intituled, *The Principles of the Christian Religion*. The last being full of faults he corrected it and printed it himself in 1652.

In the year 1647. whilst he was at the Countess of Peterborough's in London, the Society of Lincolns Inn chose him for their Preacher, and gave him a lodging and a handsome Pension; whilst he was there he published two Books. (1.) *Diatriba de Romana Ecclesia symbolo apostolico vetere, &*

aliis fidei formulis, he there treats of the Creed which is commonly called the *Apostles*, and of the different Copys which have been found in the Roman Church, and of divers forms of the Confession of Faith, which were proposed to the *Catechumens*, and to the Youth of the Eastern and Western Churches. (2.) His Treatises *de anno solari Macedonum & Asianorum*, where he explains divers difficulties of Chronology and

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Ecclesiastical History, and marks the precise time of the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp; he compares the year of the *Macedonians*, the *Asiaticks*, &c. with the *Julian Account*, and makes divers curious remarks, upon the Motions of the *Heavenly Bodies* according to the opinion of the Antient Greek Astronomers, *Meloni*, *Calippus*, *Eudoxius*, &c. In fine, he gives the *Ephemerides* of the *Macedonian* and *Asiatick* year, compar'd with the *Julian* year, to which he adds the rising and setting of the Stars, and the presages of the change Weather in *Thrace*, *Macedonia* and *Greece*, according to the observations which Antient Philosophers have left us. The Parliament at that time took the King Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, and wou'd have him absolutely abolish Episcopal Government, so that this Prince was obliged to consent that that Government should be suspended for three years, but the Presbyterian party were so eager, that they would have it utterly extirpated; upon this the *Primate of Ireland* propos'd an Expedient, in which he would have had mixed a sort of of Presbyterian and Episcopal Government in lessening the power of the Bishops, and bringing them to be *Moderators* or *Presidents* of the Assemblies of their Province, without whose advice nothing of Importance shou'd be acted, whereupon Usher was accus'd to have been an Enemy to *Hierarchy*; but Dr. *Parr* vindicates him all along.

He also informs us that Usher being in the Countess of *Peterboroughs* House, over against *Charing Cross* near *White-hall*, when the King was to be beheaded, and being upon the top of the house to see this bloody Tragedy, the good Archbishop fainted away, so that he was forc'd to be carried to bed, where he said, that God would not forget to punish this wickedness upon the English Nation, he added that the Usurpation of *Cromwell* would soon expire, and that the King would be recall'd, but that he himself should not see it, we are assured that at another time, he foretold that the Romish Religion should one day be powerful in this Kingdom, and its reign should be sharp, but short. 'Tis reported also, that Preaching in a Church at *London*, he declar'd to his Auditors, that a great fire should soon consume a part of the City, and when 'twas asked him how he knew it, he answer'd 'twas a Thought which was so strangely impress'd upon his mind, that he could not forbear speaking of it. If that was true our Primate must be of the number of these Prophets who have sometimes foretold what was to come without knowing it.

About the middle of the year 1650. he finished the first part of his *Annals to the year of the World 3828. unto the Reign of Antiochus Epiphanes*. There is in this Volume all the celebrated Epochs mark'd with great exactness, the times of the Reigns of the Kings of *Israel* and of *Judah*, compared with each other — The succession of the Monarchies of *Babylon*, *Persia* and *Macedonia*, the years of the *Olympiads*, the *Æra of Nabonassar*, the most remarkable Eclipses of the Sun. The second part was published in 1654. it begun at the Reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and ended at the destruction of *Jerusalem*. Usher gives there exact accounts of the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt*, with the times of their Reign, which he hath put together with more care than any Chronologer hath done before him. In fine, there is all that can be wished in an Universal History, both for exactness and Judgment.

'Twas after the edition of this work that *Cromwell* said, he desired to see him. Usher appear'd before him, and the Protector after having received him with great Civility, promised to make up part of the loss he sustain'd in *Ireland*, but he kept not his Word to him, no more than when he promis'd him the Episcopal Clergy should not be molested as they had been to that time. The good Archbishop having obtain'd this promise, in a visit he made to the Protector, he was oblig'd to put him in mind of it, by seeing him a second time, where *Cromwell* ingenuously declar'd that he could not give Liberty of Conscience to men who were sworn Enemies to his Government, and who without intermission endeavour'd to destroy him. When Usher entered this Usurpers Chamber he found him in the hands of a Surgeon, who was dressing an Ulcer in his Breast — The Protector desired the Archbishop to sit down, and said he would speak to him as soon as his Ulcer was dress'd — Whilst the Surgeon was busie about it *Cromwell* said, that if this Ulcer was once cured he should soon have his Health. Usher replied immediately, that he fear'd there was a more dangerous Ulcer in his Heart which must be cur'd before he could promise himself a perfect health. 'Tis true (said the Protector) sighing, but tho' he seem'd to take this censure of the Archbishop's in good part, he refus'd to keep his promise to him.

Usher liv'd not long after that, falling very sick on the 20th of March of a Pleurisie, but the Physitians knew not his Distemper, so that he died the day following at *Rygate*, in a Countrey House of the Countess of *Peterboroughs* in the County of *Surrey*, he was seventy five years old, he had been fifty five years in Orders, during which time he continually Preach'd, fourteen years Professor in the University of *Dublin*, four years Bishop of *Meath*, and one and thirty years Bishop of *Ardmagh*, he was the hundredth Bishop of that City after St. Patrick, *Cromwell* who sought all occasions to please the people, and knew that Usher had been well belov'd ordered him to be buried with

* April 17.
1655.

with great solemnity in *Westminster Abby*, in the Chappel of *Erasmus*, altho' he would not be at the charge of the Funeral; he did also another thing which much prejudiced his Family, which was to hinder their selling the Archbishops Library without his consent, there was more than 10000 Volumes, they were forced to refuse considerable sums from the K. of Denmark, and Cardinal *Mazarine*, who had a desire to buy 'em. But *Cromwell* oblig'd the Heirs to sell them for much less than they were worth, to his Neighbours in Ireland, to make a Present of it to the University of Dublin, * in imitation of Queen *Elizabeths* Army, who after the Victory at *Kinsale* brought back from the Spaniards and the Rebels in 1603. 1800 l. sterling, that is more than 7000 Crowns, which they gave to the same University.

Dr. *Parr* after that gives us a Character of the Person, good Works, and Learning of the Archbishop of *Ardmach*, which is not in the Original. It's said when they open'd his body to embalm him, they found a strange Membrane Thick and very Fat, which was like the continuation of the *Omentum*, and extends it self to the upper part of the Stomach, being fasten'd to the *Peritonaum*, a little below the *Diaphragma*. 'Twas suppos'd that this Membrane contributed much to the goodness of his Stomach, that no Diet injured him.

Dr. *Bernard* a Divine, Printed after his death a collection of some English Treatises, Intituled, *the Judgment of the late Primate*, &c. where he speaks first of the *Spiritual Babylon*, of which 'tis spoken *Apoc.* 18. 4. and 2. *The Imposition of hands*, *Hebrews* 6. 2. and of the words formerly used in the Ordination, Thirdly, *The Forms of Prayer, which are used in the Church*.

It's thought fit to speak of the principal works of this Celebrated Archbishop, because that there are many men that knew but a part, and even some but the Titles of 'em; he left many other imperfect writings, which have not yet been Printed, that may be seen in the Catalogue at the end of his Life; he wish'd that they might be publish'd in form of *Miscellanies*, that they may be the better read by the publick — there are many Booksellers beyond Sea, that wou'd be glad to Print this work.

An Appendix is added to the end of *Ushers* Life, where is a Defence of what he said against Dr. *Heylen*, in a Book Intitul'd *Respondit Petrus*, where he accuses him of being of a contrary opinion to the English Church.

Secondly, The Letters which compose the second part of this Volume, are not all of the same equal importance, there are some of pure Civility, which contain nothing but news, others, where the Archbishop declares he hath sent for and receiv'd certain Books, on which he raiseth queries, the solution of which is not to be seen in this collection; others, wherein he only speaks of particular affairs, and of certain useful

things concerning the Ecclesiasticks of Ireland.

The third Letter contains the project of a work of *William Eyre*, a learned Cantabrigian; he propos'd to defend the points of antiquity, and the vowels of the Hebrew, against *Jos. Scaliger* who had said that the *Masorethes* were Invented a long time before *St. Jerom*, and to remark all the varieties of reading in the Old and New Testament, to shew that there is no corruption slip't in there, he design'd this in 1607. and 'tis not known whether he accomplish'd it. As to the Old and New Testament, we are sure that *Buxtorf* and *Cappel* have drain'd the subject, and treated more of it than he could, if we may judge by his project.

There are ten Letters and eleven opinions of *Usher* and *Samuel Ward*, upon the collection and number of the *Ancient Canons*. *Usher* writing to this last in 1608. tells him, that he believes that the first collection of the *English and Greek Canons*, contained only those of the first œcumenical Council and of five Provincial Councils, after which was join'd thereto the Canons of the other œcumenical Councils, as in the sequel. This appears chiefly by these words of *Dionysius Junior* in the Preface to his *Greek Canons* dedicated to *Stephen Bishop of Salones in Dalmatia*: *Regulas Nicene synodi & Deinceps omnium Conciliorum, sive quæ antea sive quæ postmodum usque ad synodum 150 Pontificum qui apud Constantinopolin Convenerunt sub ordine Numerorum, id est, à primo Capitulo usque ad 165. Sicut habentur in Græca auctoritate digestimus, cum sancti Calcedonensis Concilii decreta subdentes, in his Græcorum Canonum finem esse declaramus.* *Harmonopolus* in the Preface to his *Abridgments* of the Canons of the Greek Church reckons twenty Canons of the Council of *Nice*, twenty five of that of *Ancyra*, fifteen of *Neocaesarea*, nineteen of *Gangres*, twenty five of *Antioch*, and sixty of *Laodicea*, that amounts just to 164. which with the first Canon of the Council of *Constantinople* (which followed (according to *Dionysius*) the five national ones we have been speaking of) amounts just to 165. Secondly, If from the time of the first collection, they had had the Canons of the first General Council, they would not have placed 'em after some of the *National ones*, but immediately subjoin'd 'em to that of *Nice*.

Usher doubts if at the same time, they added to this Collection the Councils of *Constantinople*, and *Calceæon*, and also that of *Ephesus*, because *Fulgentius Ferandus* cites it not, and 'tis not well known whether they were the Canons of *Ephesus* which are suppos'd to be collected from *Issidore* being very different from those that are found in the edition of *Tilius*.

There was an *Ancient Latin* version of the Greek Canons before *Dionysius Junior*, as he witnesses in his Preface, but being in some confusion he reprinted the same anew with additions, placing before them the fifty Canons of the *Apostles*, which he translated

lated from the Greek, having finished the Canons of the Greeks at the Council of Chalcedon; he there also adds the Sardick Canons and those of the Council of Africk, which he had not inserted before in the body of the Canons. We can't find that he hath spoke of these Sardick Canons added by Dio-

* So this is not in the five Canons of the first Council of Carthage, which Usher reserv'd for a careful examination.

(b) Constantius *ὁ ὁμοεισεχόμενος*.

nysius and Ferrandus * after the year 530, They were unknown even to the Greek Church, tho' afterwards they were added to the collection of the Greek Canons. (b) A certain Author who liv'd about the time of Justinian, did not compose his collection of Ecclesiastical Constitutions, but the Canons of the Apostles, and those of the ten great Councils, as they were call'd, to wit, the Councils of Ancyra, Neocesarea, Nice, Gangres, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Chalcedon and Carthage. He makes no mention of that of Sardis, of which the Canon seems to have been form'd to encrease the Popes Authority, when 'tis seen they attempted in vain the same thing at the Council of Nice. Usher afterwards makes some reflections upon the Roman Copy of the Greek Canons, he says, there is nothing in this version of Dionysius, except the Canon of the Apostles, but what is also in the Antient version, or some other, for there have been many, as Usher proves by the suppos'd collection of Issidore, and by Hincmar Archbishop of Rhemes. There were no more Councils in the Roman collections, than in Dionysius, but by degrees they were increas'd by the Letters of some Popes, as our Author makes appear, which gives him occasion to make divers remarks upon the collection attributed to Issidore.

Samuel Ward confirms this opinion of Usher by several reasons; he says that after having thoroughly considered the thing, he is well perswaded that the first collection of the Canons, of which we spoke, was made in the years 364 and 381 after the Council of Laodicea, and before that of Constantinople; he brings the same reason as Usher drew from the Preface of Dionysius, to which he adds these two proofs. First, That in the sixteenth Decree of the Council of Chalcedon, the Secretary Constantine after having read the Canons of Nice in a Copy which appear'd, like to that of Dionysius Junior; then he comes to read those of Constantinople as thus, *Synodicon Concilii Constantinopolitani*. It seems to be the Title which is before the Canons. Secondly, That in the Title which is before the Canons of Ancyra, Neocesarea in the Greek Copies in that of Maynce and in many other Latin Editions, those who made the collections, say, that they have first plac'd the Canons of Nice, because of the authority that this Oecumenical Council had over the Provincials. The same reason would have made him join the Council of Constantinople to that of Nice, if the collection had been made after the first Council.

Usher believ'd that the Edition of Crab, of Colon, contain'd not so much as that of Maynce, but Ward sends him an Index, by which he may see the contrary.

Our Archbishop at the desire of some of his friends explains his opinion, whether the benefits of the death of Jesus Christ be extend'd to all, in the 22 and 23 Letters. He says that two extremities are to be avoided therein, the first carried too far the benefits of the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, as if by that God was on his side, actually reconciled, and really discharg'd all men of their sins; so that if men were not satisfied of the Fruits of the death of Jesus Christ, 'twas because they had not Faith; from hence it follows that God forgave men their sins, and Justified them before they had Faith. The other on the contrary has too much confin'd the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, as if no body had any part therein, but those who were elected before the Creation of the World, altho the Evangelist commanded every one to believe that Jesus Christ died for him; from whence it follows, that men in Conscience should be oblig'd to tell a lye, and that they were commanded to embrace those merits which belong not unto 'em.

Usher says, that in these two extremities there are inevitable absurdities, if he should attribute the first to some Antient Hereticks, he thinks he should not wrong 'em, but he is well assured that none in this Age has maintain'd this opinion, which infers a sensible contradiction, nor is the Archbishop alone in his opinion, almost all the Roman Church, the greatest part of Protestants, the Lutherans, the Reform'd, the Remonstrants, &c. maintain it. We ought to distinguish between the satisfaction considered absolutely, and the application that God hath made thereby to every particular Person. The first was once done, says he, for all men, and the second is always doing. The satisfaction of Jesus Christ hath put men in an estate of obtaining pardon for their sins, but in the particular application that God thereby makes, he grants them actual pardon. Usher confirms and explains this thought by divers passages of Scripture and divers examples; but as these subjects have been more largely treated of since that time, * 'tis * He writ it in not necessary to dwell longer 1617. thereon.

In the 49th Letter directed to the famous Seldinus, he proves by Walafridus Strabo, that in the beginning of Christianity, they put themselves to little trouble to what place soever they were oblig'd to go, they assembled together to pray to God, altho the use had been since to turn to the East.

In this collection is found some Letters of an English Merchant, call'd Thomas Danyes, who liv'd at Aleppo, and sent to our Bishop many Books of that Country, and among others a Samaritan Pentateuch, the first that was ever seen in Europe, in the 81 Letter he says, he had learnt of a Jew, that the

the Samaritanes pronounce the name of God *Jehova* quite otherwise than we read it, to wit, *Jehueh*.

One *Ralph Skinner* a Learn'd English man dedicates a Treatise of *Maimonides* translated into English, to our Archbishop, and his Epistle Dedicatory makes this the one hundredth and second of this collection; he shews there the error of this Jewish Doctor, and the use that may be drawn from the reading of his Works, he reduced his principles to six errors. He believ'd, First, "That the Stars and Celestial Spheres were living Beings. Secondly, That God never Repented but once, viz. in the destruction of the first Temple, he made the Just perish with the Wicked. Thirdly, That the Law of *Moses* was Eternal. Fourthly, "That Man hath a free Will to do Good or Evil. Fifthly, That those Promises which God hath made by the Prophets are Temporal, which should be accomplish'd upon the Earth, when the Messiah should come. Sixthly, That the Kingdom of *Judah* was given to the Posterity of *Jechonias* after his Repentance, whereas *Salathiel* was the Son of *Neri*.

Provided that they take care of these six Errors (says *Skinner*) there may be drawn six considerable advantages from the reading of *Maimonides*. First, We may profit from his *Hebraical Speeches*. Secondly, He teaches divers Sentences of the Jewish Doctors. *Skinner* hath marked these two things in the Treatise he dedicated to *Usher* in placing 'em in the Margin or marking 'em with an Index (3) we may find in *Maimonides* the expressions and Maxims of the *Thalmud* which serve to explain divers manners of speaking in the new Testament. (4) Passages of the Antients, otherwise explain'd after an uncommon manner. (5) The Civil Laws of the Jews, and the punishments inflicted for every crime. (6) The Doctrine of the Rabbins, touching the Judaical Religion.

First *Skinner* gives divers examples of the third use that may be made of the works of *Maimonides*, we will relate three or four by which the rest may be judg'd of. *St. John* says, *Apoc. 7. 4.* I heard the number of those that were Sealed; there was one hundred forty four thousand Sealed, *representing* of all the Tribes of the Children of *Israel*. This manner of speaking is often found in the Holy Scripture, as also much used in the style of the Rabbins; witness this passage of *Maimonides* in his Treatise of Repentance, Chap. 3. Sect. 3. "As he examines the Justice and Iniquity of man, at the day of his death, even so he weighs the Iniquity and Justice of every man in the first day of the same year, he that is found just is seal'd for Life, and the Wicked for Destruction, but as for those who are between these two estates they are sent back to be judg'd in the day of expiation, if they repent they are seal'd for life, if they continu'd in impenitence, death was to be their inevitable reward.

2. *St. Paul* cites a passage of Scripture to the same purpose, *Ephes. 5. 14.* Wherefore saith he, *Awake ye that sleep; Arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light.* They unprofitably plague themselves to seek this passage in the Scripture, for there it is not. In vain they look for it in *Isaiah*; the 26. 19. the 60. and 18. or in the *Apocriphal* pieces which are attributed to *Jeremiah*, from whence the Christians might infer it. *Skinner* tells us that *St. Paul* makes this allusion from a custom of the Jews which *Maimonides* mentions, and paraphrases the words which he finds amongst the Jews upon this occasion. 'Twas the Custom (saith *Maimonides* in the same treatise Chap. 3. Section four) to sound a trumpet the first day of the year after which the publick Cryer pronounced these words *Awake, Awake you that sleep.* Altho this Custom of sounding the trumpet was commanded by the Law, *Levit. 23. 24.* he observes another thing from these Words of the publick Cryer? 'twas as much as if he shou'd say, you that sleep awake from your Drowsiness, you that perpetually sigh cast away your Grief, examine your works return to your duty by repentance, and remember who 'tis that created you.

Thirdly our Lord in speaking of the Sin against the Holy Ghost tells us that it shall neither be forgiven in this World, nor in that which is to come, *Matt 12. 32.* The Rabbins have also a manner of speaking very like this, there is a Sin which is punish'd in this World (saith *Maimonides*) in the same Book, Chap. 6. Section 189. and not in the world to come, there is a sin also which shall be punished hereafter and not now, and one that shall be punished in both, thus our Lord hath said, that those shall be punished in this Life and the other, that should blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, and 'tis this which has happen'd to the Jews, who attributed to the Devil the Miracles of our Saviour, they suffered a thousand evils in this Life by the Tyranny of the Romans, and dying in impenitence they are delivered to the pains of the next, which they have merited thereby.

Fourthly, *Jesus Christ* forbids his Disciples to Swear, he commands they shall be contented to say, yes, yes, no, no, 'tis or 'tis not, *Mat. 5. 32.* *Maimonides* also says, that the commerce that is between the wise is full of truth and fidelity, they answer so to that which is not, and yes to what is. *Lightfoot* cites this last passage in his remarks of the *Thalmudists* upon *St. Matthew*, In *Pec. c. 5 § 13.* but he hath not observ'd the others. *Skinner* farther shews some passages of the Rabbins in the four following Letters, but as there is nothing very considerable, so I shall tarry no longer upon 'em.

A little before *Usher* had finished his History of *Godeschalch*, of which I have spoken. *S. Ward Dr. in Divinity*, wrote to him in a Letter dated *May 25. 1630.* That he had encouragement to wish this History would be more famous and correct than any thing of the same nature then extant. He adds to that, that he doubted not but that there

H were

were Semipelagians or Divines of *Marseille*, who first placed the *Predestinarians* in the Catalogue of Hereticks, he found therein nothing that surpriz'd him, but that the *Predestinarians* were first call'd those Hereticks who were not of the opinion of St. Augustine: thus Divines have always done the like. *Ward* believes that 'tis *Arnobius*, Author of a commentary upon the Psalms, who first treated of the Heresie of the Doctrine of St. *Austin*, about
 *Vid. Psal. 100. Predestination * and who gave
 146. the name of *Predestinati*, to those who maintain'd his Doctrine, he lived according to *Ward* before *Tiro Prosper*, *Faustus* and *Gennadius*. He approves of the conjecture of the sixth Age, who thought that *Arnobius* lived in the time of St. *Augustine*, because that his commentary upon the Psalms, is dedicated to *Laurentius* and *Rusticus* African Bishops, who were of the Council of *Carthage*, when St. *Augustine* was there. Altho' *Ward* found not these names in any Council of *Carthage*, he easily persuades himself, it may be because that two Bishops of *Africa*, both call'd *Rusticus* sign'd the Synodical Letter to *Innocent* the First, where they condemn'd *Pelagius* and *Celestius*. It is the 90th Letter amongst the Epistles of St. *Augustine*, and was written in the year 416. Two years after the Council of *Carthage* was held, where the preceding Councils were confirm'd; 'twas compos'd of 217 Bishops, amongst which was St. *Augustine*, but there was but 24 who sign'd 'em, and among their names was found *Laurentius Jofitanus*. Besides, *Erasmus* in the sixth Age, hath remark'd in this *Arnobius* many Latin words which were very much in use in *Africk* in St. *Augustine*'s time.

This is the reason which *Ward* brings to prove that in the time of St. *Augustine* a Divine who dedicated a Book to two *African* Bishops, had the boldness to accuse his Doctrine of Heresie. Nevertheless he finds not that this *Arnobius* was censured for it. 'Tis not that *Ward* approves his Sentiments or the name that he hath given to those of St. *Augustine*, but on the contrary, he speaks of it with Indignation.

He adds that *Arnobius* was followed in that by *Tiro Prosper*, who must be distinguished from *Prosper Aquitanus*, a disciple of St. *Augustine*. *Ward* found

(a) In the Ben- these words in (a) a Manuscript of this first Author, the
 nit Colledge. script of this first Author, the

24th year of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. *Predestinatorum heresis qua ab Augustino accepisse initium dicitur, his Temporibus Serpere exorsa. The Heresie of the Predestinarians, which as 'tis said hath taken its birth from St. Augustine, begun to spread in this time.* After him *Faustus* and *Gennadius* have given this ill name to the Doctrine of St. *Augustine*, and particularly the last, altho' *Sigebert* (adds *Ward*) says that the opinion of Predestination was produced from the ill Interpretation of some places of St. *Augustine* from whence they draw these false consequences.

Nevertheless it seems that these of *Marseille* and some *Africans* in the time of St. *Augustine* maintained this opinion of the Predestinarians (as *Sigebert* relates) was drawn from St. *Austine* by mistaken Inferences, as it appears by the objections of *Prosper* and *Hillary* proposed to him, which have been related by others.

There is in 162 and 163. Letters, some fragments of a discourse of the same *Ward* with *William Bidell* Bishop of *Killmore* in *Ireland*, touching the efficacy of the Sacraments, and particularly that of Baptism, and in the 205 Letter, the opinion of *Usher* concerning the Sabbath, which he believed to have been observed from the beginning of the World, which made some enquiry among the Heathens, of which the greatest part look'd upon the seventh day as Sacred, which he proves by many passages after *Sal-matius* and *River*, &c. He shews afterwards in what manner the Apostles consecrated the Sabbath, particularly by this passage of St. *Ignatius* to the *Magnesian*: *Non amplius sabbatizantes, sed secundum Dominicam Viventes in qua & vita nostra orta est.* But this matter hath been more largely treated upon by others, and *Usher* confesses when he read the Fathers, he collected nothing upon this subject, because he thought there was never any controversy about it, produced amongst the Divines.

Those that desire to understand all the Ancient Characters of the Saxons, may find an Alphabet thereof in the 253 Letter from Dr. *Longbain*, as also divers Letters that treated by the by of Chronological questions and Astronomy, but as there is nothing compleat or very considerable upon these abstruse matters, upon which few persons will give themselves any trouble, 'twas thought unnecessary to make any extract thereof.

I shall say but one word of the 267 Letter, addressed to *Lewis Cappel*, where our Archbishop takes against him, the part of *Arnold Boat*; the difference that was between these two Learned men may be reduced to these two heads: First, *Boat* believed there was very little variety of reading in the Old Testament, as the differences of *Keri* and *Chelib* and of the Eastern and Western Copies, and that these varieties were not to be found but by the means of the *Massore* and from the Hebrew Manuscripts. *Cappel* on the contrary maintains, that the number of these varieties are very great, that they may be collected from many ancient Copies, and particularly that of the Septuagint, although much corrupted. The Archbishop says also that we can't have such assurance upon this version, where there are many prodigious faults, and so very many differences that the Authors cannot be made use of but as an Original very corrupt, even without speaking of the errors produced by malice; but there is no Book of the Scripture where they are so far from the Original as that of *Job*, which by the Authority of *Origen* and St. *Jerome*,
 is

is proved that these Interpreters have cut off a great number of verses. Usher maintains after St. Jerome that they added and changed several passages: He says 'twas occasioned by malice, to keep from the Greeks the knowledge of the Sacred Oracles, having shewn in some places that they were very capable of translating it well, had they been inclin'd thereto, as in the Book of Ezek. where they are much more conform to our Hebrew than in the other Books of the Scripture according to the works of

* In prolog. in St. * Jerome: These Sentiments of Usher are not to be wondered at, when we consider what hath been said of his opinion concerning the Author of the Translation of the 70. Secondly, Boat and Usher believed that they began to work at Massore immediately after the time of Esdras, whereas Cappel maintains that it was not so much as thought on, till 600 years after Christ—Usher endeavours to maintain his Sentiment by a proof drawn from the Gemare of Babylon. Which makes mention of Certain Scribes who counted all the Letters of the Law, and mark'd that *Vau* which is in the word *Gachon*, Levit. 11. 24. is exactly in the middle in regard of the number of the Letters, &c.

On which occasion Usher speaks of Joseph, and tho he confess'd to Cappel that Philo did not know the Hebrew, he agrees not with the Jewish Historian who had written his History in Hebrew, as himself saith, and who drew it from the Original Hebrew, Usher says nevertheless, that he hath not done it faithfully. "As Jerome Xavier the Jesuite saith, 'tis not long since he gave the History of the Evangelists to the Persians, which he hath adjusted as himself pleas'd, Joseph gave formerly to the Greeks the History of the Old Testament, changing therein, and adding thereto many things drawn from the Apocriphal Books. 'Tis thus that he says Solomon Reigned 80. years in stead of 40. and that he says David Left for the use of the Temple 100000 talents of Silver instead of 1000000 He adds to the Text an account of Moses Age, from three years of the War he made with the Ethiopians, and of Tharbis son of the Ethiopian King, which conceived a great love for him, &c.

Usher speaks also of the Samaritan Pentateuch from whence he brings 5. or 6. Copies first into Europe: He believes that it was corrupted by one Dositheus or Dositheus which in the time of the Apostles was suppos'd to pass for the Messia amongst the Samaritans—this is founded upon the Authority of St. * Origen who assures us in express terms that this Dositheus corrupted the Pentateuch in many places. He afterwards brings some passages in the Samaritan Pentateuch, where he maintains that the numbers or the words were chang'd, he even believes that Hebrew was intermix'd

with the Greek Septuagint: If that were true, we ought not to be surpriz'd to find that this translation is more conform to the Samaritan text than the Hebrew. Usher also pretends that there is not more variety of reading any where than in the Greek Version.

Tom. 8. p. 174.

The Antiquities of the British Churches, in which is inserted the History of the Pestsiferous Heresie, introduced into the Church by Pelagius a Britain, against the Grace of God. To which is added an historical Exposition of the most important dispute about the Succession and State of the Christian Churches. By James Usher Archbishop of Ardmagh, Primate of Ireland. The Second Edition, Each part Corrected and Augmented by the Author himself. At London 1687. in Fol. pag. 738.

THE British Antiquities of Usher, are composed of three parts, the first containeth six Chapters, and includes the fabulous History of the Progress of the Christian Religion in England, since the year XLI. of Jesus Christ, to the year CCI. The Monks of the last Ages have almost entirely invented it, and whatsoever truth there may be in it, is so mingled with gross lyes, that in divers places of the Pagan Fables, are found more footsteps of truth than in these Monastick Histories. Neither doth Usher propose them as true, he is so far from that, that he advertiseth the Reader to believe nothing of it, by these terms of the Epicharme. (a) Watch, and Remember to be incredulous, are the sins of Wisdom; and by these words of Euripides: (a) there is nothing more profitable to mortals than a wise incredulity.

(a) Ex Cicad. Attic. lib. 1. ep. 7.

(b) In Helens, Act. 5.

As it is certain that a great many men do but too much follow this maxim in our Age: So it cannot be doubted but a great part of Christianity hath need enough to be put in mind thereof.

What is most likely in it to be true, is, according to the testimony of Gildas, which hath been related elsewhere, that some person Preached the Gospel in England towards the end of the Reign of Tiberius, which continued here until the time of Dioclesian. At least (a) Tertullian and Origen reckon England amongst those Countries

(c) Tom. 1. pag. 351.

that in their time had the Gospel Preached unto 'em, and Maximianus Herculus, violently persecuted the Christians which he found here in the year CCCIII. It's what Usher tells us Chap. 7. Where beginneth what we have called the second part of his Work. It may be that many things might be added

* Tom 14. in Joac. this Dositheus corrupted the Pentateuch in many places. He afterwards brings some passages in the Samaritan Pentateuch, where he maintains that the numbers or the words were chang'd, he even believes that Hebrew was intermix'd

added to the precedent, which he saith there upon the Faith of the Monks, of the great number of Martyrs that *Maximianus* put to death, and of the circumstances of their punishments. Howbeit it's certain that *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, having voluntarily quitted the Empire in the year CCCIV. and *Constantius Chlorus* being declared *Augustus*, he put a period to all violences of what nature soever in the Provinces of his Jurisdiction, and *England* was amongst the rest, in which the Monks assure us, that he built some Churches, but dying two years after at *York* his Son *Constantine*, who till then had been but *Cesar*, was proclaimed *Augustus* by all the Roman Army, which had lately got a signal victory over the *Picts*. This gives occasion to our Archbishop to seek into the native Country of *Constantine* and of *Helena* his Mother in the eighth chapter. (d) The Country of this

(d) pag. 93. Princess is very doubtful, although the Monks affirm she was of *Treves*, yet is it not unlikely to be true that her Son was born in *England*, as it may be seen in our Author, who builds his opinion chiefly upon these words of *Eumenius* in his Panegyrick of *Constantia*: *O fortunata & nunc omnibus terris beator Britannia, quæ Constantinum Cæsarem prima vidisti.*

Usher afterwards sheweth that some Bishops of *England*, assisted at the Council of *Arles* in CCCXIV, and 11 years after at that of *Nice*, likewise at the other Councils called upon the occasion of the ancient controversies. Notwithstanding that hindered not *Arianism* to pass into Great *Britanny*, when *Gratianus* had granted liberty to all the sects of the Christians, saving to the *Manicheans*, to the *Photinians*, and to the *Eunomians*. But it seemeth that the Tyrant *Maximian*, that favoured the Orthodox, suffered not *Arianism* to take root in *England*, where he began to Govern, in CCCLXXIII. some time after he sent hence a great number of Inhabitants, which he established in *Amorica*, that is to say, *Low Britanny*, which he remitted to one *Conan Meriadoc*, who was the person according to the Monkish History, that obtained of *Dionot*, King of *Cornwall* his Daughter *Ursula* in Marriage, with 11000 Virgins of noble Birth, besides 60000 other Virgins of meaner families. All the World are acquainted with the Story of *St. Ursula*, and of the 11000 Virgins, and those that would know who hath refuted it may consult *Usher*, who relateth it, with many reasons to shew it is but an impertinent Fable, altho' *Baronius* maintains the contrary.

In that time many people went to see the Holy places in *Palestine*, which was the occasion of making known in the West the Books of *Origen*, which were unknown there before *Rufinus*. Amongst others a Priest of *Aquila*, after having lived three years in the East, and Studied under *Evagrius* an *Origenist*; imbib'd not only the sentiments of *Origen*, but returning into *Italy*, spread

them every where, by translating divers of his works. It was of him that *Pelagius* and *Celestius* learned at *Rome* this Doctrine, whereof we shall speak in the sequel. They both were Monks, and of Great *Britain*, *Celestius* of *Scotland*, and *Pelagius* of *England*, the second was called *Morgan*, in the Language of the Countrey that is to say born of the Sea, or in Greek *μαρμαριος*, a name given him out of his Countrey. If

(e) *St. Jerom* may be believed, (e) In Proem. *Pelagius* was an ignorant man, Dial. cont. Pel. who could not express himself, that was more to be pittied than envied; and *Celestius* a studier of solecisms: but *St. Augustine* speaketh advantageously of their wit in divers places, and indeed it is seen by the fragments that remain in his works, that they expressed not themselves so ill as *St. Jerom* saith. We have still two pieces of *Pelagius* amongst the supposed writings of this last, whereof one is a Letter to *Demetriades* and the other is intituled the *Symboli explanatio ad Damasum*, whereas it should have been called *Professio fidei ad Innocentium*, for it was to *Innocent* that *Pelagius* sent it. This last piece is also found in *Baronius*, and in the first Tome of the Councils of the edition of *Cologne* in 1606.

Pelagius sojourn'd long enough at *Rome*, where he acquired much reputation by his works and his conduct, whence it cometh that *Augustin* Bishop of *Hippona*, spoke honourably of him, and writ to him a very obliging Letter, before he entered into a dispute with him. He calleth him in his Book *de peccatorum meritis* (f) vir,

ut audio sanctus, nec parvo profectu Christianus, bonus ac pradicandus vir. (f) c. l. & 3. "He is, saith he, a man as I am told, Holy and much advanced in Piety, a man of Merit, and Praise worthy.

Father *Petau* in his book (g) *De Pelagianorum & Semi-Pelagianorum Dogmatum Historia*, re- (g) Dogm. Theol. T. 3. pag. 586 marketh that *St. Augustin*

composed the Book, in which he speaketh so advantageously of *Pelagius*, after the condemnation of *Celestius* in the Council of *Carthage* in CCCXII. Thence he concludeth that it is not of this *Pelagius*, whereof *St. Chrysostome* speaketh in his fourth Letter, wherein he deplores the fall of a Monk of the same name. There is no more likelihood that the *Pelagius* a Hermit to whom *St. Issidorus de Diamette* (h) hath written great censures, be (h) Lib. 1. him that we speak of here, Ep. 314. whose life was always irreproachable, as appears by the Testimony of *St. Augustin*.

Rome being taken by the *Goths* in the year CCCCX. (i) *Pelagius*, who was there, departed and (i) c. 19. p. 115. Sailed to *Africa*, yet he remained not there, but immediately went into the East. Notwithstanding his Disciple *Celestius* stayed at *Carthage*, and aspired to be Priest of that Church, but as he made no difficulty to maintain the Sentiments of his

his Master; he was accused by *Paulinus* Deacon of the same Church, in a Council where *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* presided in the year, which is already mention'd. *Celestius* was there condemned and excommunicated, as having maintain'd these seven Propositions. I. That Adam was created mortal, and that he should die; whether he had sinned or not. II. That the sin of Adam was only prejudicial to himself, and not to all Mankind. III. That the Law opened the entrance into Heaven, as well as the Gospel. IV. That before the coming of Jesus Christ, men were without sin. V. That Children newly born are in the same State, as was Adam before his fall. VI. That all Mankind dyeth not, by the Death and Prevarication of Adam, as all Mankind riseth not, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. VII. That man is without Sin, and that he can easily obey the Commandments of God if he will.

Celestius answered to these Heads, but we have only part of his Answers in the Books of *St. Augustine*; that is to say, that we have no other Testimonies of his Doctrine, than his Adversaries, which have taken no great care to propose clearly their accusations; nor to comprehend well the Sentiments of those they accused, as appeareth by the obscurity of the Heads which we have read. *Celestius*, (a) saith

(a) *Aug. de Pec. Orig. c. 6. &c.*

amongst other things, that as to what regards the Propagation of Sin; he heard several Catholick Priests and particularly *Rufinus* deny it. He presented a Petition to the Council, where he confessed the Children were redeemed by Baptism, but he was condemned nevertheless, and being obliged to depart out of *Africk*, he retired into *Sicily*, where he writ some works in his Defence. It was from thence that he sent to *St. Augustine* short questions which he had composed, to prove that man of his Nature inevitably is not carried to do evil. These Interrogations are in fourteen Articles, that *Usher* hath related at length. We shall mention here one or two of them by which the rest may be judged of.

(a) *Qu. I.* (a) First of all, saith he, we must ask of those who say that man cannot be without sin, what sin is in general? "If it is a thing that may be avoided or not? If it cannot be avoided, there is no hurt in committing it. If man can avoid it, he may be without Sin. But neither reason nor Justice permit that, that should be called a Sin which cannot be any way avoided. (b) We must

(b) *Qu. 2.* "again ask, if Man ought to be without Sin? 'Twill be undoubtedly answered that he ought. If he ought, he can; if he cannot he is not obliged. Besides that, if man ought not to be without Sin, he ought to be a Sinner, and 'twill be no more his fault, if it be supposed that he is necessarily such.

In the same time *Pelagius* that was at *Jerusalem*, published divers pieces where he

expounded more at length his Sentiments, (a) and where (a) p. 125. he particularly granted that no man excepting Jesus Christ, had ever been without sin, it did not follow that that was impossible. He affirm'd, that he disputed not of the Fact, but of the Possibility; and that yet it was not possible, but by the Grace or the Assistance of God. *St. Augustine* hath undertaken to refute one of these pieces of *Pelagius* in his Book of *Nature and Grace*. He accuseth him on the one side, of confounding the Graces that God gives us in Creation with those by which he regenerates us; and on the other side to say that God gives his Graces, according to merit, and that these Graces are but outward; but it shall be seen in the sequel how *Pelagius* expounded his Opinion.

Three years after that *Celestius* was condemned at *Carthage*, his Master was accused at *Jerusalem* of holding the same opinions. *John* Bishop of this City, called an Assembly of some Priests to examine *Pelagius*, and to see if really he held the Opinions that were attributed to him. For to know what was done in *Africk* against *Celestius*. Into this Assembly were called three Latine Priests *Avitus*, *Vitalis*, and *Oros*. This last was then at *Bethlehem* studying, as he saith himself, (a) at the feet of *St. Jerome* to whom *St. Augustine* had recommended him. Whilst he was in

(b) *De lib. Arbit. p. 621. Edit. Moguntina in S.*

Africk, in the time of the Condemnation of *Celestius*, he related to this Assembly at *Jerusalem*, with what zeal those of *Carthage* had condemned that Heretick, and said that *St. Augustine* had made a Book against *Pelagius*, and had besides in a Letter written into *Sicily*, refuted the questions of *Celestius*. Having this Letter about him he offered to read it, and did so, at the entreaty of the Assembly. "After this reading the Bishop *John* desired that *Pelagius* should be introduced. It was permitted "by connivance, saith *Orose*, whether for "the respect they had for the Bishop, or "that it was believed fit that this Prelate "should refute him in his presence. He "was asked if he acknowledged to have "taught, what *Augustine* Bishop of *Hippona* "had refuted. He instantly answered who "is this *Augustine*? and as all cryed out; "that a man, who blasphemed against a Bishop, "by the mouth of whom, the Lord had kept an "Union in all *Africk*, ought not only to be banished from this Assembly, but from all the "Church; *John* ordered him to sit in the "midst of the Catholick Priests, tho' a "Laick, and guilty of Heresie. After that "he said to him, 'Tis I that am *Augustine*, "that acting in the name of this offended "Bishop, can more freely pardon *Pelagius*, "and appease enraged Minds. We then "said to him, continueth *Orose*, If you represent here the person of *Augustine*, follow "his Opinions. He replied by asking us, if "we believed that what was read was against some other or against *Pelagius*? If "it

"it be against *Pelagius*, added he, what have you to propose against him? I answered, by the permission of the Assembly, that *Pelagius* had told me, he maintained man could be without sin, and could easily observe the Commandments of God, if he pleased. *Pelagius* confessed it was his opinion. Thereupon I said this that 'twas that which the Bishops of *Africk* had condemned in *Celestius*, which *Augustine* declared in his writings to be a horrible Doctrine, and that which *Jerome* had rejected in his Epistle to *Ctesiphon*, and which he refuted in the Dialogues that he then composed. But the Bishop of *Jerusalem* without hearing any thing of all that, would have us to bring parties before him against *Pelagius*. We are not, answered We, the Accusers of this man, but we declare unto you what the Brethren and our Fathers have judged and decreed touching this Heresie, that a Laick publisheth now, lest he should trouble you, the Church, into the bosom of which we are come. Then to engage us in some sort to declare our selves parties, he begun to instruct us, in what the Lord saith to *Abraham*, Walk before me and be thou upright; and what is said of *Zacharia* and *Elizabeth*, that both of them were just before God, and walked blameless in all the Commandments of the Lord. Many amongst us knew that that was a remark of *Origen*; and I answered him; We are Children of the Catholick Church. Exalt not from us, O Father, that we should undertake to raise our selves into Doctors, above the Doctors, nor into Judges, above the Judges. Our Fathers whose Conduct is approved by the Universal Church, and in whose Communion you rejoice to see us, have declared these Maxims damnable. It's just that we should obey their decrees: Why do you ask the Children, what they think after having learned the Sentiments of their Fathers?

"The Bishop said after, that if *Pelagius* maintain'd that man could be without sin, without the help of God, it would be a damnable Doctrine, but that he did not exclude the help of God, and asked what we had to say to that? If he denied the necessity of this assistance? We answered *Anathema* to those that did deny it; and we cryed out that he was a Latin Heretick, that we were Latins, that he was to be judged by Latins, and that it was almost an impudence in him to pretend to judge thereof, seeing we were not Accusers. As he said that I was the only witness against *Pelagius*, and that I was suspected, some of the Company thought themselves obliged to say, that the same Person could not be Heretick, Advocate and Judge at the same time. The Conclusion was that *Pelagius* should be sent to the Judgment of *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, and that in the mean time *Pelagius* should be silenc'd.

Thus it was that this Assembly ended, where *Pelagius* that knew but the Latine,

spoke by an Interpreter to the Bishop of *Jerusalem* who could only speak Greek. There was held a Synod at *Diospolis* in *Palestina*, towards the end of the same year CCCCXV. where were fourteen Bishops. *Eros* and *Lazare* Bishops of the *Gauls* had given to *Euloge* Arch-bishop of *Cæsarea*, an accusation in writing against *Pelagius*, but they could not be at this Synod, because one of them fell sick by the way. *Pelagius* appeared and answered to all the heads of the accusation that were proposed against him, so that the Council declared him absolved, and even approved his Doctrine, according the Interpretations he gave it. Here is in brief, what all was reduced into.

(a) *Pelagius* was accused of maintaining these Propositions. (a) *Aug. de Gest. Palest. Syn.*
I. That none can be without Sin without knowing the Law? He

answered, he meant nothing else by that, but that the Law was a means to avoid Sin, and not that this knowledge was solely necessary to avoid Sin.

II. That all men are led by their own will. He confessed this Proposition in saying, that although Man hath his Free-will, when he chooseth the Good, it is by the help of God.

III. That in the day of Judgment, God will not pardon the Wicked and Sinners. It is, saith *Pelagius*, the Doctrine of the Gospel.

IV. That Evil comes not only in Thought. To which he protested he had only said, that Christians ought to endeavour to have no ill thoughts.

V. That the Kingdom of Heaven is promised in the Old Testament. He maintain'd it out of *Daniel* c. 7. 18.

VI. That Man can be without Sin if he will. *Pelagius* said that he had proved that 'twas possible by the Grace of God, but that he never had taught that any man had lived without Sin, from his Childhood to his Old-age. He also denied the having maintain'd some other maxims whereof he was accused. He was thereupon asked if he anathematized not those that were of that opinion? I do anathematize them, said he, as Fools, but not as Hereticks, for they are ignorant of what they affirm.

VII. He was accused of maintaining some things that were condemned at *Carthage*, which have been before related, and besides it, that a Child can be saved without Baptism. He denied that he had taught any thing in the manner they related it, and particularly that he had ever said, those that have lived before *Jesus Christ* were without Sin.

VIII. In fine, some places were proposed to him, that were said to be drawn from the Books of *Celestius*, but he told them he could not answer for what another had written, and that he condemn'd such as maintain'd any Propositions of that Nature. There was amongst others this Proposition, That Sinners, which repent obtain forgiveness of their Sins, not by the Grace and Mercy of God, but according to their Deserts and Repentance. It may be that was only a consequence, which was drawn

drawn from the Sentiments of *Celestius*, for in all this controversie each Party hath mutually attributed to themselves the advantage of consequences either well or ill drawn, as expresse opinions. Besides this, these propositions that *Eros* and *Lazarus* had drawn from the Books of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, being taken from the sequel of the discourse, might form a contrary sense to what they intended in their Books.

The Council having approved of all these answers, declared him worthy of the Communion of the Catholick Church. But the Enemies of *Pelagius* accused him of having hidden his true Sentiments, and of deceiving these Grecian Bishops to whom he spake but by an Intrepreter. St. *Augustin* saith, that the answers of *Pelagius* were Orthodox,

(a) as the Fathers of the Council had understood them, and not as *Pelagius* understood them. But those that have

not so ill an opinion of *Pelagius* as St. *Augustin* had, observe that he knew not the Greek, and could of himself have no certain knowledge of the Sentiments of the Greek Church upon this matter. If he had been capable, say they, of reading these Discourses, he would have found that they speak

(b) no otherwise than *Pelagius* does, as it may be seen by an infinite number of places of St. *Chrysostome*, and St. *Isidorus de Diamette* his Disciple, whom some Moderns have openly ac-

cusd of *Pelagianism*. It ought not therefore to be thought strange that Greek Bishops should approve of the opinions of this English Monk.

Before the acts of this Council had been published, *Pelagius* writ to one of his friends that his sentiments had been there approved of, & made his Letter publick. He also made a kind of an Apology in the year CCCCXVI. for this Council, which he sent to the Bishop of *Hippo*, who having received no Letter from *Palestine* durst not trust to it. He writ together with some other African Bishops of *John* of *Jerusalem* to have the very acts of the Council of *Diospolis*. Notwithstanding St. *Jerome* who had written against the Pelagians and particularly against the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was the occasion of a disorder that happen'd at *Bethlehem*, where a Deacon was killed, and some Monasteries burned. The Bishop was accused to have excited this Tumult, but there was no time to call him to account, because he died that very year. St. *Jerome* also having offended the Bishops of *Palestine* in despising their Assembly, thought he could not better secure himself than in getting the friendship of those of *Africk*, tho' they were not at all of his opinion, being of the *Semi-Pelagians*, whereof we shall speak in the sequel of this History. Therefore he writ to St. *Augustin* in these terms. I have resolved to love you, to honour you, to respect you, and to admire you, and to defend what you say, as if it were my self that had said it, "mihi decretum est te amare, te

"susplicere, te colere, te mirari, tuaque dicta quasi mea defendere.

Pelagius was every where accused of denying altogether the help of Grace; to justify himself he composd a work of Free-Will, where he shewed that he (a) acknowledged six sorts of Grace.

First, 'Tis a Grace of God, according to *Pelagius*, to have a Soul reasonable and free, that is to say, that can obey, or not obey God without being invincibly determined to the one or to the other. *Pelagius* maintain'd that all men were born in this state, so that if they applied themselves to evil, it was not by an invincible necessity, but in abusing of their liberty: St. *Augustin* in the first place saith, that we ought not to call that Grace, which after this manner we receive from God by Creation, but only that which we receive from him by vertue of our Redemption. But that is only a dispute of words. St. *Augustin* denied moreover, that men were born in any other state than in an absolute and unavoidable determination of doing ill, and said it was impossible for them to do any good, without an immediate assistance from God, which he gave but to some men, and that those who had this aid were unavoidably carried to good. Thus although he admitted of free-will; he gave to these words a new sense, seeing liberty according to him, is no other than a simple Spontaneity, and includes not the power of not doing what we do. The difference only that was between St. *Augustin* and *Pelagius*, is that the first believed, that since the sin of *Adam*, his Posterity had been so much corrupted, that they came into the World with inclinations to evil, which necessitated them to it, that if God had design'd them to Salvation, it was necessary that in every good action, he assisted them with his particular Grace, that would unavoidably carry them to good, and that those he was not willing to give Grace unto were damned; God by a Wisdom that we comprehend not, design'd that Mankind should be born in an unavoidable necessity of offending him, and to be after that tormented by eternal punishments, without delivering from this sad necessity, but a very small number of persons to whom he gives an invincible Grace. St. *Augustin* believed that that was rendering to God the Glory that is due to him. *Pelagius* on the contrary thought God had not permitted the sin of *Adam* to make so great a disorder in the World, that those who were descended from him, were not in a necessity of obeying, or not obeying the Law of God, which hath given to them the power of avoiding evil and doing good; so that it was but by their fault alone that they were damned, not being compell'd to crimes, and everlasting unhappinesses by an unavoidable necessity. Having received of God the Free-Will, it was not needful that God interven'd in each action.

(a) Usher p. 141. To be able to do good, saith

Pelagius,

Pelagius, cometh from God which hath given it to his Creature, but to be willing to do good, and to be Vertuous, depend upon man.

The second Grace that Pelagius acknowledged is the remission of past sins, which God granteth to those that leave them off. Pelagius anathematized in the Council of Diospolis, whosoever should dare to say that God had any regard on this occasion to merit. St. Augustin complaining that Pelagius, contenting himself to acknowledge that God forgiveth us graciously our past sins, granted not that he aideth us in the non-commission for the future. But Pelagius maintained that this pardon served us as well for the future, to carry us to our duty, because we cannot apply our selves to serve God after having offended him, but in the persuasion that he will pardon us what's past graciously. He said likewise that afterwards, in respect of the sins that were committed in the very time of Repentance, that is to say, in the state of Regeneration, they were forgiven us in consideration of our good works by which we also obtain'd glory. And it is in this sense that he maintain'd Grace was given according to merits, that is to say, according to our good actions. As Children before the use of Reason commit no sin, so this Grace regardeth them not.

The third Grace according to Pelagius, is the Law, by which he understands the Preaching of the Gospel, and the example of Jesus Christ, that those who have lived under the old institution had not. He said that this Grace was altogether necessary, to live conformable to Christianity.

The fourth sort of Grace is an interiour illumination of our mind, that Pelagius expressed in this wise, (a) *Apud Aug. lib. 1. de Grat. c. 17.* (a) I maintain that Grace consisteth not only in the Law, but in the assistance of God, &c. But God aideth us by his Doctrine and by his Revelation, in opening the Eyes of our Mind, in shewing us things to come, to hinder the present from making too dead an impression, in discovering to us the Ambushes of the Devil, in illuminating us by the divers and ineffable gifts of his Celestial Grace. Doth it seem to you, saith Pelagius, that those that speak thus, deny the Grace of God? Do they not acknowledge rather the Free-Will and the Grace of God altogether? St. Augustin accuseth Pelagius in this, not for having simply denied Grace, but for denying its necessity; and for having said that God gave it not but to the end that Free-Will should be the easier carried to good. This Grace according to Pelagius, produced not infallibly and by it self the will of doing well, and good works, but induced only to will more easily.

The fifth is the Grace of Baptism, by which, according to him, although Children receive not the pardon of sins that they have not committed, being, according to Pelagius, altogether innocent, they enter into a better condition, which consisteth in that they are thereby adopted by God, and become Heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven.

St. Augustin on the contrary affirm'd that Children being born sinners, Baptism doth confer upon them the Remission of sins, and sanctifieth them by a Grace that God hath applied thereto.

The sixth Grace finally consisteth, according to Pelagius, in eternal Life, and in bestowing the Kingdom of Heaven. He is accused of having distinguished these two things, and of having said that without the Revelation of the Gospel Life Eternal could be obtained, but that God did not give the Kingdom of Heaven but to those that were Baptized. According to Pelagius this Grace was given as the effect of merit, (to wit,) that of a good Life. It is hard to know wherein this distinction consisteth, of Eternal Life, and of the Kingdom of Heaven, and to reconcile it with the accusation that was made against Pelagius; that the Kingdom of Heaven was promised under the Old Testament. St. Augustin said by this last Article was to be understood the legal covenant, that it promised not Eternal Life; but if that were all that was meant by the Books of the Old Testament, it was true that it was promised, tho' there was no mention made of the Kingdom of Heaven, this phrase being of the New Testament. There never was a dispute more intricate than this, because each of the parties finding themselves pressed by some ill consequence, endeavour'd to save themselves by terms, to which they gave a different sense, from what they had in the mouth of the Adversaries. The word Grace, in that of Pelagius signifieth not the same thing as in that of the Bishop of Hippo: and this latter gave the name of Liberty to a thing that was not commonly so called. In short many men believe that if we take the pains to examine the principal words that have been made use of in this controversy, and the Ideas that have been applied to 'em, it will be found that almost none of these Ideas are distinct, so that when the word is spoken to which it is applied, we may perfectly know what is meant by it. There are also according to them some of these words to which there hath been no Idea absolutely applied, so that in some places of this dispute the two parties do very nigh the same thing that a French man and an Arabian would, that should know their natural tongue only, and speak by turns the lowdest they could, and sometimes both at once without understanding each other, and then each should boast to have conquered his Adversary.

This was chiefly what the opinions of Pelagius consisted in, and those of his Adversaries touching Grace. As to the election it seemeth Pelagius hath believed that there were two sorts the one to Grace, and the other to Glory. God hath resolved according to his Judgment to call certain persons to the knowledge of the Gospel, that they might the more easily arrive at everlasting happiness. This was the predestination of Grace. He after that hath resolved to save those that he foresaw would per-

persevere until the end in making good use on these favours. This is the Predestination of to Glory, which is founded upon merits; whereas the other is purely of Grace. St. *Augustin* in disputing against *Pelagius*, hath confounded, (a) as Father *Petau* believes, these two

(a) p. 614.
ibid.

Predestinations, and made thereof but one; because according to his opinion all those, that have received the necessary means to attain Salvation do infallibly arrive at it. 'Twas that made him exclaim so strongly against those that maintain'd Predestination, according to works, as if the Predestination to Grace was in question, whereas they meant but the Predestination to Glory.

The year after the Council of *Diospolis* being Anno 415. there were in *Africk* held two Councils upon the same matter the one at *Carthage*, and the other at *Mileve*. *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* presided in the first, where were LXVII. Bishops more met together also. They had not as yet received in *Africk* the Acts of *Diospolis*; but *Eros* and *Lazarus* had written what had passed therein, and had sent their Letters, by *Orosius* who was returned from *Palestine* to *Africk*. It was resolved on the hearing this Relation to anathematize the opinions of *Pelagius*, to hinder them from spreading any further, and to anathematize him after, with his Disciple *Celestius*, in case they did not absolutely renounce these Errours. After that they sent the Acts of the Council to Pope *Innocent*, to engage him to condemn the same opinions. The Council of *Mileve* consisting of LXI. Bishops, in which *Silvanus* Primate of *Numidia* presided, did the same thing as that of *Carthage*. Besides the Synodal Letters of these two Councils, *Innocent* received particular ones from some Bishops of *Africk*, among which St. *Augustine* was one. The design of these Letters was the same as of the preceding ones; the design being to incline *Innocent* to condemn the Doctrine attributed to *Pelagius*, and to cite him before himself to examine, whether he continued to maintain the same. They insinuated that they might accomplish their end, that it might be, that *Pelagius* had deceived the Bishops of *Palestine*, tho' they cou'd not positively affirm that the Churches of *Africk*, might not be joined to those of the *East*. *Innocent* answered the year following (ccccxvii) to the two Councils, and to the Bishop that had written to him in particular. He said he believed that *Pelagius* and *Celestius* did deserve to be excommunicated, and that the former could not be purged at *Diospolis*, but by Equivocations, and by obscure expressions. Nevertheless having received no new assurances from that Country, and not knowing well how things had passed there; he saith, he can neither approve nor disapprove the conduct of the Bishops of *Palestine*. He likewise excuseth himself in regard of citing *Pelagius* upon the distance of the places. This Bishop writ these Letters at the begin-

ning of the year, and died a little after, for the tenth of *March*, in the Martyrology of *Beda* is marked for the day of his death.

After the death of *Innocent*, (a) St. *Augustine* and *Alypi* (a) c. 10. us writ to St. *Paulin* Bishop of *Nola*, to exhort him to oppose *Pelagianism* in *Italy*, provided he was in a Condition of making any.

An historical Explication of the most weighty Question of the continual Succession and State of the Christian Churches; especially in the West, from the Apostles time until the last Age. By James Usher Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland. Augmented and Revised by the Author. London 1687. in fol. p. 191.

The principal difficulties, which Roman Catholics raise against Protestants consists in these two things; that the Protestant Religion is new, and that it was not remitted from the Apostles unto us; whereas they pretend theirs is that of the Apostles, and hath suffered no Interruption, from their time unto ours. *John Jewel* Bishop of *Salisbury* hath undertaken, in his *Apology for the Church of England*, to shew on the contrary, that the opinions of Protestants are conformable to those of the Fathers of the six first Ages: *Usher* was willing to answer the above cited difficulties, in shewing that from the sixth Age unto the Reformation, to wit, during 900 years, there have always been Churches in the *West* who have received the same Doctrines with the Protestants. To that end he thought he ought to give the History of the Tenets, and conduct of the Popes with those who have opposed their Usurpations, during these nine Ages; without mixing any thing of his own; being contented to cite only the proper terms of the Authors, who have spoken of those times, for fear he should be accused of turning things after a more favourable manner for the Protestants. This History had once appeared imperfect enough, but now very much corrected and enlarg'd in this Edition, and therefore we shall give a compleat Abridgement thereof. We shall not however stay to relate what the Author saith as concerning the thousand years, during which the Devil was to be bound, and the time in which he was to be set free. As there are as many different Sentiments as Interpreters upon this opinion; and that there are but simple conjectures brought, which are likewise subject to a thousand difficulties; 1. Those who have a mind to be instructed therein may consult the Commentaries upon the *Apocalypse*. At what year soever men relate the beginning of the thousand years, whether it be from the Birth of our Saviour, or from his Death, and his Ascension, or finally from the ruine of *Jerusalem*, our Author equally draws his advantage as will be seen in the sequel. It shall suffice to

say that he divides his work into three parts, whereof the first goeth from the seventh Age to the eleventh, in which Gregory the seventh arrived to the Pontificate: The second should have gone to Mccclxx, but the Author could not continue it but to Mccxl. The third reaches to the past Age. So this work is far from being perfect, and we know not what those meant, who had the care of this Edition, in putting in the Latin Title, *Opus integrum*, unless these words signifie only, that there have been inserted, in divers places, additions which the Author had made.

1. For to conceive well the change; which happened by little and little in the Christian Church, we must begin at the Original, and consider the State in which it was for the first six Ages. *Hegeſippus* assures us that during the Life of the Apostles, Hereticks scarcely durst appear, but that as soon as these Holy men were dead, a great number of them were seen openly to oppose the truth. In that time divers Philosophers attacked the Christian Religion, with so much the more boldness that the Christians were destitute of Persons who could refute the Pagan Religion, and defend Christianity with sufficient eloquence. This is what *Lactantius* testifies in these words; *Si qui forte literatorum ad eam contulerunt, defensionem ejus (veritatis) non succurrunt.* And a little lower, after having named *Minucius Felix*, *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, *quia defuerunt apud nostros idonei, peritque Doctores, qui vehementer, qui acriter errores publicos redarguerent, qui causam omnem veritatis orate copioseque defenderent; provocavit quosdam hac ipsa penuria ut auderent scribere contra ignotam sibi veritatem.* This scarcity of able men made many Hereticks to slip in amongst the Christians, and easily seduced the weak and ignorant who were in a very great number. But as soon as there were Christian Emperours, the corruption was much greater; pleasures began to be introduced into the Christian Church, and amongst Ecclesiasticks there appear'd Enmities and Divisions. And because Bishops were rich and considerable they made use of all manner of means to attain Bishopricks, and when they came to it, they assum'd a Tyrannical Authority. These disorders always encreased, until they came to a great head, as *Usher* shews is too evident by many passages of famous Authors, who have left us frightful Characters of the corruption of their Ages.

It encreased particularly in the time of *Boniface III.* who came to the Chair in Dcvi. and who obtained of the Emperor *Phocas* the title of Ecumenick Bishop and Chief of the Church. The Historians of that time describe this *Phocas*, as the wickedest man in his Age, and *Cedrenus* saith that a holy Monk having asked of God several times, why he had made *Phocas* Emperour? a voice from Heaven at last answered him. Because I have found none worse. This History true, or false, marks,

the horreur People had for the memory of *Phocas*. *Usher* believes that it was then that Antichrist came into the World, and that he was during some Ages but in his Childhood. *Boniface*, according to him, contributed not a little to the establishing and extending his Empire. Yet there were Assemblies held, and courageous Persons found, that opposed the progresses of certain Tenets, who have much contributed to the Grandeur of the Ecclesiasticks in general, and Popes in particular, amongst which our Author seeks for Antichrist, as most part of the Protestants do.

A Council composed of cccxxxviii. Bishops condemned in the year Dccliv. at *Constantinople*, the worship of Images, and gave this reason for their proceeding; "that there is but one Image, instituted by Jesus Christ, to wit, the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist, which represent his Body and Blood. Although the second Council of *Nice* opposed it, and re-established the worship of Images in Dcclxxxvii. These Canons were rejected in the West by the Churches of great Britain, as our Archbishop shews by divers English Authors. The Churches of Germany and France did the like, in Dccxciv. in the Council of *Francfort*, the History of which may be seen, as well as that of *Nice*, in a Dissertation of Mr. *Alix's* intituled; *Dissertatio de Concilio quorumvis definitionibus, expendendis*, at Paris 1680 in 8vo.

Charlemagne writ himself against Images, and sent what he writ to Pope *Adrian*, who had had his Legates at the Council of *Nice*, and who had approved thereof. But it is not the custom of Popes to learn Religion from any one. *Adrian* had no respect to the remonstrances of *Charlemagne* whom he endeavoured even to refute; the Images were adored at *Rome* as much then as before, and his Successors did as much as he. 'Twas this that obliged *Lewis the meek* to convocate in DCCCXXV. an Assembly of learned men at *Paris*, who examined the question of Images, and condemned their worship. They even collected a great many passages out of the Ancients, who disapproved them, and sent them to Pope *Eugenius II.* by *Jeremy* Bishop of *Sens* and *Jonas* Bishop of *Orleance*, with order to treat mildly of this Affair, fearing that in resisting too much, they should engage him to an obstinacy, whence he would not recede.

In DCCCXXXIII. The Sons of *Lewis the meek* having conspired against him, the rumour run in France that Gregory the fourth was onward in his way to come thither, to excommunicate *Lewis*, and those of his party, but the Bishops who were engaged in the Interests of this Prince, declared, "that they would submit in no wise to his will; and that if he came to excommunicate them he would return himself excommunicated. *Usher* besides relates divers other examples, by which it appears that the Liberty of the Churches of France and Germany was not yet quite extinguished, even at

at the end of the tenth Age, seeing it was thought strange that a Cardinal, sent from Rome, blessed a Chappel in the Diocese of Tours, without the permission of the Bishop of that City. There are also remarkable words of Arnulph Bishop of Orleance, in a Council of Rheims, held in DCCCCXCII. where he saith, speaking of the Pope: *If he is destitute of Charity, and pufft up only with his Knowledge, he is the Antichrist, who is seated in the Temple of God, and who shews himself as if he was a God. But if he has neither Charity, nor Wisdom, he is in the Temple of God as a Statue, or as an Idol, from whom an answer can be no more expected, than from a Marble. Si caritate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur & extollitur. Antichristus est in Templo Dei sedens, & se ostendens tanquam sit Deus. Si autem caritate fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in Templo Dei tanquam Statua, tanquam Idolum est, a quo responsa petere, marmora consulere est.* If this principle of Arnulph is true, it's requisite the Defenders of Popes discover by what wonder they are all full of Charity and Learning, altho' they appear in our eyes either Ignorant, or Proud, and oftentimes both together.

Usher then sheweth, how that the Tenet of Transubstantiation was much resisted, which began to be introduced in the ninth Age. He rangeth among the Defenders of the spiritual presence, Rabanus Maurus, Bertram, John Scot Erigene, and several others, upon which we may consult Mr. Arnauld and Claude in their dispute upon the perpetuity of the Faith of the Church concerning the Eucharist, and concerning Bertram, in particular his Work intituled: *Ratramne, otherwise, Bertram the Priest, of the Body and Blood of the Lord, printed in Latin and French, with an Advertisement wherein is shewn that this Author is a witness not suspicious of the Faith of the Church in the ninth Age, at Roan in 12.* But the efforts that a great number of Learned men made against the new Tenets, which were introducing in that time, were unprofitable. Whereas those Tenets were too advantageous to the Court of Rome, not to maintain them with all their might. It lacked but one thing only, which was to diminish the power of Emperors, to whom they were submitted until then. It worked powerfully therein, and begun by publishing Suppositious pieces, in vertue of which the Popes pretended that the Sovereignty of Rome and Italy belonged to them, and that they had an universal Jurisdiction over all the Bishops of the World; to that purpose tended the false Donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester, and the Epistles attributed to the first Bishops of Rome, of which Blondel and several other learned men have shewn the falshood.

Notwithstanding the manners of the People, Monks, and Clergy were in the utmost corruption, and a horrible account is given us of the depravation of the tenth Age, drawn as well from the writings of modern Catholicks, as from the Authors of that

time. The conduct of the whole Clergy, from the Bishops of Rome with the least degree of Priests and Monks, was so far from the duties which the Gospel prescribes us, that there have been few Ages, whilst Europe continued in Paganism more corrupt, than that was. This is so known, that it's needless to make a further stop thereat, and those who would be instructed throughly in it may only consult Usher and the Authors whom he cites.

The eleventh Age is in like manner described, and they assure us that the year M. after the Birth of our Lord, was afflicted with divers Prodigies, besides War, the Plague and Famine which ravaged Europe a long-time, as it appears by the testimony of divers Authors, which may be read in Usher. In that time they reckoned amongst Prodigies, the Comets and Eclipses, and the Historians, a little while after, describe them to us in such frightful terms, as, if we never had seen any, we should tremble for fear, in reading what they say thereof. But when once one hath a wounded imagination, nothing ordinary and common is seen, all is great and wonderful; and we see even that which never was, such as was perhaps the Dragon whereof Glaber Rodolphus speaks in his 11. book c. 8. *The Saturday night before Christmasday, was seen in the Air, saith he, a surprizing Prodigy, a frightful Dragon, which was all shining with Light, and which went from the North to the South.* The evils of that time and the reports of these prodigies, true or false, made it to be believed that the time was come in which Antichrist was to appear, after that the Dragon should be untied. This was probably enough grounded upon what is said in the Apocalypse, that the Dragon was to be chained during a thousand years, and then let loose. These thousand years were reckoned, from the Birth of our Lord, by which the Devil had begun to lose his Power, until that time. This calculation was not new, seeing it is found conformable to that of St. Hippolyta's Martyr, of St. Cyril and Chrysostome. It appeared without doubt more just and better grounded, so that they expected from day to day the coming of Antichrist and end of the World. Many People made a difficulty to undertake any considerable business, and even of re-establishing the Churches which were destroyed, fearing they should work for Antichrist. Lastly when they saw it did not come, they were perswaded that they did not well understand the Prophecy, and went about rebuilding the Churches, and to live as before. Richard Victorinus of Scotland, who upon the relation of John Major his Compatriot is the first who maintain'd that the Holy Virgin was exempted from Original Sin, saith in his Commentary upon the xx. Chap. of the Apocalypse, *that as to the Letter the thousand years were already accomplished a long time since, but that it could not be known when Antichrist would come, nor when the Serpent would be unloos'd.* Thus

it is that the Interpreters of Prophecies which they understand not, never miss of a back door to escape at, when the event sheweth that they are mistaken. There is a great likelihood that our age will furnish us with some examples of this truth. As it's desired, in great evils, to know if they shall last long, those who of late have arrived to a great many Protestant Churches, have made a great many to covet a knowledge of the time to come, some thought they foresaw it in the obscurity of the Prædictions of the Apocalypse, and have foretold it with sufficient boldness, tho' they agree not amongst themselves, no more than those who undertook to do the same thing the eleventh and twelfth age.

Glaber Rodolph saith, that in effect the Devil was let loose in 1000, because one *Vilgard* who taught Grammar at *Ravenna*, and some others had essayed in that time to re-establish Paganism. But this event appears too inconsiderable, to apply unto him what is said in the Apocalypse of the Dragon, who was to be loos'd. Also our Archbishop believes that Antichrist was not to be looked for out of *Rome*, and that the Devil was enough at liberty, whilst in the Pontifical Chair sat a Magician, such as was *Sylvester II.* if the Authors of that time may be believed, and whilst great errors were brought into the Church; as the infinite Power of Popes, Transubstantiation, and Prayers for the Dead. And it is observ'd that *Berengarius Wickliff* and his Disciples, have maintained that from that time this Prophecy of the Apocalypse begun to be accomplished. There have been notwithstanding some who have believed, that the thousand years were to begin at the Ascension of our Lord; as *John Purvey* saith, and *Wickliff* seems not far from this thought in a place of his *Trialogue*, which *Usher* cites. Some persons had already been of this opinion in the time of *St. Augustin*, as he testifies in his *City of God*, l. XVIII. c. 53. But these people speak with more precaution than the others, for they did not positively say that the World would end 1000 years after the Ascension of Jesus Christ, but only that it might be, that there were but a thousand years from this term, unto his last coming, *annos mille ab Ascensione Domini usque ad ultimum ejus adventum compleri posse.* One of the new Interpreters of the Apocalypse hath said the same, with much prudence, that the present Persecution may end in three years and a half. God, if he will, saith he elsewhere, can reckon the three years and half of the death of the Witnesses, from the Revocation of the Edict of Nants.

To return to our Author, he remarks that the same prodigies have been related of the year MXXXIII. and the same evils, as of the year M. There was also towards that time a Mortality and Famine, and Signs from Heaven appeared, to wit, Eclipses and Comets, besides, Earthquakes that were in divers places. And that there should nothing be wanting of what had ap-

peared at the beginning of this Age, one *Arnulph* a Monk of *Ratisbone*, testified he had seen in *Hungary* a Dragon suspended in the air, and altogether like the *Leviathan*, whereof mention is made in *Job*. It came also out of the North, and after having appeared sometime as unmoveable, he began to fly with an extraordinary swiftness, and went amongst the Clouds whistling horribly, where he raised Lightnings and Thunders, for more than 24 hours. Notwithstanding ignorance and superstition encreased from day to day. A Bishop of *France*, at the relation of *Sigebert*, would fain make people believe that he had received Letters from the third Heaven, wherein all men were ordered on Friday to live upon Bread and Water, to bear no Arms, to recall nothing, by way of Justice, what had been taken away by violence; and not to pursue the Murderers. Heaven promised Salvation to those who should live thus, not having need of any other penitence but to abstain from flesh on Fridays. There were Bishops so simple or superstitious as to believe, and impose those new Laws upon many under pain of Excommunication, and of being deprived of Burial, if they died in the refusal thereof. In this time likewise were discovered many Relicks of Martyrs, which had been unknown in former Ages. *Glaber* relates that an Impostor sold in divers places of *France* Bones of dead Folks, which he had gathered in some Church yards, for Relicks of Saints, that afterwards did an infinite number of Miracles, and which much benefited the Churches in which they were placed. Fearing he should be suspected, and that men would desire to know whence this inexhaustible fund of Relicks came, he stay'd not in one place, and changed his name when he changed his Habitation. He gave amongst others to the Inhabitants of the *Aps* and *Tarantoise* a Martyr, to whom he gave the name of *Just*, and who did, as 'tis said, so great a number of Miracles, that the sick were carried from all parts to be cured, and that the Saints were sorry if they had not some disease whereby they might have an opportunity to be cured by him: *Pœnitet insuper si non est sibi morbus quo curari se possat.* *Glaber* attributes these Miracles to the Devil, and mightily censures the Bishops of that Country, for not having put a stop to such extravagances of the People.

The Pope who ascended the Apostolick See in the year MXXXIII. was *Bennet IX.* whom *Glaber* accuseth of all manner of impurities, and Cardinal *Baino* of Idolatry and Magick. This Pope coming to the Chair at the age of XII years, lived eleven years only, but he committed so many crimes that he was driven from *Rome*, and was forced to sell his dignity, whereof notwithstanding he would not be deprived afterwards, so that there were at *Rome* three Popes at once, *Bennet*, *Sylvester* and *Gregory*. The disorders of that time are too known to make any stop at them, it will suffice to say

say that the memory of this *Benet*, was in so great a detestation, that there ran a report that his Soul had been sent after his death into the body of a Monster, which was shap'd like a Bear, and which had the Ears and Tail of an Ass, where he was to stay till the day of Judgment, that he would be sent without remission into Hell.

It was at the beginning of this Age, as our Author sheweth, that the dignity of Cardinals begun to be considerable, but it came not to the height till they only had the privilege of choosing Popes; since they have been equalled to Kings, and have carried their Pride so far, that *Nicholas de Cleman-gis* Arch-Deacon of *Bajeux*, who lived in the year MCCCCXVI. describes them in these terms. "The Pride of Cardinals, who sit at the side of the Pope, is so excessive, their words are so fierce, and their ways so insolent, that if a Painter would make a Picture of Pride, he could not better do it than in Painting a Cardinal: *Cardinalium qui Papa assident spiritus, verba tumultuosa, gestus tam insolentes, ut si artifex quisque vellet superbia simulachrum effingere, nullâ congruentius ratione id facere posset, quàm Cardinalis effigiem oculis intuentium objectando, &c.*

It hath been seen that according to our Author, the term at which the Devil was let loose, expired a thousand years after the Birth, or after the passion of our Lord. He afterwards says that if men will take the beginning of these thousand years, from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, it may be said with as much likelihood, that they are in effect expired in MLXXIII. that the Monk *Hildebrand* ascended the Apostolical See, and Governed the Church with the utmost Tyranny, under the name of *Gregory VII.* The unheard excesses which this Pope committed, made the honest men of that time to say, according to the relation of *Sigebert*, in his Chronicle, upon the year MLXXXVIII. that the Reign of Antichrist then begun, according to the Prophecies of the Apostles. *Waltram* Bishop of *Naumbourg*, or the Author of the Apology for the *Unity of the Church*, saith in these terms. "That it seemed then that the Devil was come out of Prison; whereas it is written in the Apocalypse, he went forth to seduce the Nations, and to engage them to War, &c. The Church of *Liege*, in its answer to *Paschal II.* saith as much, as well as divers other Authors cited by *Usher*, who describe *Hildebrand* as the most wicked of all men. He was accused of Witchcraft in a Synod held in MLXXX. and several Catholick Writers have sufficiently declared the same thing, which gives occasion to our Archbishop of applying unto him what *St. Paul* saith of the man of sin, that he was to come accompanied with the work of Satan, and with deceiving Miracles. And also what *St. Paul* saith elsewhere of some Impostors, who were to come in the latter times, and which he describes by two remarkable characters,

which is, that they would interdict Marriage, and order the abstaining from Meats, which God hath created to be eaten with thanksgiving. In effect *Gregory VII.* did 'em both in two Synods assembled the sixth year of his Popedom, wherein he prohibited the Marriage of Priests, and the use of Flesh on Saturdays. *Sigebert de Gemblon* and *Lambert de Schafnabourg*, have written at large the murmurs and disorders which these prohibitions caused. "Priests said particularly, that it was unjust to constrain men to live like Angels, and that in stopping the ordinary course of Nature, the bridle was let loose to Fornication and Impurity. They added that if the Pope grew obstinate in his Sentiment, they would rather quit the Priesthood than Marriage, and that *Gregory* who despised men, should take the care of providing himself with Angels to govern the Church. These good men without doubt spake with much sincerity, and it may be if those, who have endeavoured to blacken the conduct of the Reformers, in that they have introduced anew the Marriage of Priests, would let nature speak, they would not say less. But it is a great unhappiness, and a great prejudice at the same time against the deluders of Virginity, to live in a Church, whereof they are constrained to defend all the Sentiments, unless they would dishonour and destroy themselves.

In fine, the Authors of the time of *Hildebrand*, and those who have written since, give him several times the name of Antichrist, and it cannot be denied, at least, but that it is he who hath established the excessive authority of Popes, and who the first durst to maintain that they have the power of deposing Kings, and to change what they please in the Canons. It is no more than may be seen in the *Decretals* of the Edition of *Rome*, whereof *Usher* cites divers scandalous articles. He also gives the History of the quarrels which this Pope had with the Emperor *Henry IV.* and relates all the evil that hath been said of the first. And with this he ends the first part of his work, which was to have extended to the time in which the Devil hath been let loose.

II. As it is in the Apocalypse, that a thousand years being past, the Dragon was to be unloos'd for a little time, *Usher* begins his second part by the explication of this place, and remarks that according to the maxim of *Aristotle*, nothing being called great or little, but by relation to another thing, the time in which the Dragon was to be unchain'd should be short, in comparison of the time during which he had ravaged the World, before he had been put in Chains.

Roman Catholicks demand of Protestants, where the Church was then, if the Pope was Antichrist? *Usher* answers that the Church was then in the state, in which some Antients, and divers Catholick Authors have said that it would be under the Reign of Antichrist. *St. Augustin* in his XX Letter, which is directed to *Hesychius*, saith

saith that the Church appear'd not, because of the excessive cruelty of the Persecutors. *Ecclesiam non apparituram, impiis tunc Persecutoribus ultra modum saevientibus.* Several ancient and modern Authors, have spoken to the same effect: Usher takes occasion from hence to make a parallel of the State of the Churches, which followed the Council of Nice, in the times that the Arians were the strongest, with that wherein the West was found in these corrupt Ages. The Arians reproached others with their small Number, and their Poverty, as it appears by these words of Gregory of Nazianza: *Where are those who upbraid us with our Poverty, who say that the greatest Number forms the Church, and who jeer the smallness of our Flock?* But as there lived in the Roman Empire several People who were not Arians, Usher conceives that under the Government of the Pope there was a pretty great number of Persons, who were not of these opinions.

To shew that he doth not advance a simple conjecture, he gives the History of the Original Opinions of the *Vandois*, who have rejected several of the Sentiments of the Church of Rome. But he speaks more of them in the sequel, as being a place wherein he should properly speak of them, which obligeth us to pass to the *vii. Chapter*, and afterwards we will return to the *Vandois*.

Usher divides the time, during which the Dragon hath been delivered from his Prison, into three Periods; the first reacheth to the time of Innocent III. The second unto Gregory XI. And the third unto Leo X. The first comprehends two Ages, taking it's beginning from the year 1000. The State the Western Church hath been in during the first of these two Ages, and the complaints that the Authors of that time made against Corruptions, which were equally seen in the Ecclesiasticks and People. There have been no less complaints made of the Disorders of the twelfth Age, as is plain in our Author, who relates a great number thereof, amongst which is this famous distich of Hildebert Bishop of Mans, who saith in speaking of Rome,

*Urbs felix, si vel Dominis Urbs illa careret!
Vel Dominis esset turpe carere fide!*

"Happy City, if it had no Masters! or
"if those who possess it believed it a shameful thing to want Faith.

The Popes took great care in that Age to have paid to them from England a kind of Tribute, that they called St. Peter's pence, which Alexander II. in a Letter written to William the Norman saith, had been paid by the English, ever since they had embraced Christianity. It appears by this Letter, that the English sent this Money at first to Rome, only thro' Liberality; but this Liberality becoming a Necessity, because the Kings commanded absolutely to do it, the Authors of those times looked upon it as a Tribute. Therefore Bertold of Constance, who lived towards the latter end of

the eleventh Age, saith that it was then that the Prophecy of the Apocalypse was accomplished; which saith, *That no Person could sell, or buy, without having the Mark or Name of the Beast, or the Number of its Name.* The Reason of this is, that according to the Relation of this Author, in his Appendix of *Hermannus Contractus* towards the year Mlxxxiv. William the first King of England rendred his whole Kingdom Tributary to the Pope, and suffered none to sell or buy, but such as submitted himself to the Apostolick See, that is to say, before he paid the Rome-scot or penny of St. Peter. Notwithstanding this same William refused to swear an Oath of Fealty to Hildebrand, and punished Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks, who had offended him, as he thought fit, without having any regard to the Prayers and Exhortations of this Pope. Some other Kings of England resisted the Popes likewise with the same vigour, and we have proofs that the opinions of Rome were not yet spread every where. Here is one that is pretty remarkable, which is that Frederick Barbarousse being gone into the Holy Land to fight the Infidels in Mclxxxix. *Niatas Choniates* observeth, that the Germans were welcomed by the Armenians, because the adoration of the Images of Saints was equally prohibited with the Armenians and Germans. Hereby it appears that they had not as yet forgotten in Germany the Council of Francfort. It is also remarked that several English Authors, who have written after the arrival of the Normans, said that the Church had in abhorrence the worship of Images. The Doctrine even of Lanfranc concerning the Eucharist, which the Normans brought into this Island, was contrary to divers ancient Forms and Writings of the English. And this is the cause that a long time after the Condemnation of Berengarius, there were in this Country several People of his Opinions, against whom Matthew of Westminster, published a Book in the year Mclxxx. Our Author gives the History of Berengarius in this Chapter, but this matter having been treated at large in French Books, by Arnould and Claude, the Reader will be there better satisfied. We shall only take notice here, that towards the middle of the twelfth Age, they had an Idea of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist far different from that which the Roman Church hath at this day, seeing Peter Lombard Bishop of Paris, who is called Master of the Sentences, speaks thereof thus, *l. iv. dist. 12.* "What is offered and consecrated by the Priest, is called a Sacrifice and Oblation, because it includes the Memory and Representation of the true Sacrifice and Immolation made upon the Altar of the Cross; Jesus Christ, adds he, once died, and hath been immolated upon the Cross in himself: But he is immolated every day in the Sacrament; because the Sacrament includes a Commemoration of what was once made. *Semel Christus mortuus est in Cruce, ibique immolatus*

latus est in semetipso, quotidie autem immolatur in Sacramento, quia in Sacramento recordatio fit illius, quod factum est semel.

The Beringarians have given exercise enough to some Popes successively one after another. But the *Vandois*, who begun to be known in Mclx. gave them much more. Reinier a Dominican, and an Inquisitor, who lived in the year Mcll. less than 100. years after the *Vandois*, speaks thereof in these terms: "Amongst all the Sects which are, or have been, there hath been none so pernicious to the Church, as that of the *Leonists*; and this for three Reasons. The first is, that it hath lasted longer, for some say, that it hath been from the time of *Sylvester*, others from the time of the Apostles. The second, because it is more general, for there is scarcely any Country, where some of this Sect, are not found. The third is, that whereas all other Sects gave a horror to those who so much as heard of them, by the excess of blasphemies which they vomited against God, the Sect of the *Leonists* hath a great shew of Piety, because they live well in the eyes of Men, and that their belief towards God is good, seeing they embrace all the Articles of the Creed. They blaspheme only the Roman Church and Clergy, against whom the multitude of Laicks suffer themselves easily to be overcome. Hereby we may see, that the *Vandois* boasted then, that there had been People since the Apostles time, who had been of the same opinions with them, so that they pretended not that theirs begun only in the twelfth Age. As to what concerns the purity of their manners, several of those who have written against them, give them a good Name, as appears by the passages — which Usher cites thereof. An Inquisitor saith, with Ingenuity enough speaking of them, *Cognoscuntur Heretici per mores & verba, sunt enim in moribus compositi & modesti, superbiam in vestibus non habent, &c.* "Hereticks are known by their manners and Discourse, their Manners are well-ordered and modest, and there appeareth no Vanity in their Cloaths.

It is not easie to know their belief; because those who have spoken thereof do contradict each other almost of them, and that most have endeavoured to blacken them the most they could. Monks are such Lyars, and so well known for so long a time, that one scarcely dares trust them, how little soever their Interest is of telling a lye, and such are the principal witnesses which may be produced upon this matter. "Wickliff said facetiously enough in his *Trialogue*, that as it is a Topick Argument to say, that a man is luxurious, because he is too well dressed; it's also a Topick Argument to reason thus; this opinion comes from a Monk, therefore it is false: for the lyes of Monks, render this Topick Argument evident. *Sicut est Argumentum Topicum, quod homo compus ex hinc est luxuriosus: Sic est Argumentum Topicum; ista opinio origina-*

tur à fratre, ergo est falsa. Nam eorum mendacia faciunt evidentiam ad hoc Argumentum Topicum. If any would have a more express Testimony of a Monk, let him read these Words of *Thomas Walsingham* a Benedictine. *This is a Monk, therefore he is a Lye, is as good an Argument in form, and matter, as this Argument; That is white, therefore it is coloured. In ore cujuslibet, bonum fuerit Argumentum, tenens tam de forma, quam de materia; hic est frater, ergo mendax: Sicut & illud, hoc est album, ergo coloratum.*

Usher sheweth that the contrary Testimonies of divers Authors, that opinions have been attributed to them which they never had. Their principal Heresie is, that they rejected the excessive Authority of Popes, and that they condemned the Tyranny, Disorders and violent Superstitions of Monks. They were called *Vandois* not only by one *Peter Waldo*, who according to some lived in MCLX, and according to others much sooner, but also the *Poor of Lyons*, or *Leonists*, *Insabbatharies*, *Cathares*, or *Gazares*, *Paterines*, *Publicanes*, *Agennese*, *Petrobrusians*, *Henericians*, *Passagines*, *Josephines*, *Arnaldists*, *Humilists*, *Albigese*, *Goodmen*, &c. These Names are drawn either from the opinions which were attributed to them, or of some famous Doctors amongst them, or of places where they lived, as our Author hath at large shewn in *Ch. viii.* It's much to be desired, that there was as much method as reading, and that the additions which he made in the first Edition, were either better ranged, or better distinguished from the Rest: For it must be granted that in this great confusion are many repetitions, which all sorts of Readers are not equally fit to digest.

Peter Waldo, according to some Historians, was of *Lyons* and engaged himself after this manner to form a new Sect. One of his acquaintance dying suddenly, he was so frightened thereat that he gave all his Goods to the Poor, and so drew many of the People, which he went about to instruct in expounding unto them the New Testament. He was reprehended therein by the Ecclesiasticks of *Lyons*; which made him withdraw into *Gasconny*, and into the neighbouring Provinces, where he always taught the People, and censured the manners of the Ecclesiasticks, praising voluntary Poverty, and blaming the covetousness of Priests. A great number of Laicks joined themselves to him, in spite of the Excommunication, which the Council of *Tours* held by *Alexander* the III. in Mclxiii, and the Bishops of each place darted against them. They assure us that in the beginning there were no learned men amongst them, but that afterwards there were. So that we cannot be certain that they at first had all the opinions which since appear amongst 'em; because nothing hinders, but that there might be some introduced by learned men, who entred into this party. If what *Gautier Mapes* an Author of that time, saith of the *Vandois* be true, they were also extremely

treably ignorant in the time of the III. Council of *Lateran* held under *Alexander III.* in MCLXXIX. This Author saith, that some of them presented to the Pope, divers books of Scripture translated into French, with Comments, and demanded instantly of him the Power to preach. Two amongst them, who passed for the most able, were introduced in an Assembly, where *Mapes* was Commissioned, as he saith, to Question them. He asked of them, if they believed in God the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost. They answered Yes. Do ye also believe, added he, in the Mother of *Jesus Christ*? The *Vandois* replied they did, and made themselves thus, saith the Author, to be laughed at by all Men. Notwithstanding as it appeared not, that they were willing to desist from their design, they were excommunicated in the Council, yet they continued their Assemblies in *Gasconny*, and in the Neighbouring places, where they begun from that time to exclaim against the abuses they had observed at *Rome*.

History tells us, that *Manicheans* were mixed among them, tho' they were very different in opinions, and some were burned who were discovered in divers places of *France* and *Germany*. *St. Bernard* hath written in the following Age against I know not what Hereticks, whereof he speaks very contemptibly, and to whom he also attributes, some of the Sentiments of the *Manicheans*. He assures us, that they chose rather to die than to be converted, and that they not only shewed Constancy, but even rejoiced when they were led to the place where they were to be put to Death. *Mori magis eligeabant, quam converti; nec modo patienter, sed leti, ut videbatur, ducebantur ad mortem.* We may see hereby that seduced Persons as sincerely believe a false Doctrine, as the Orthodox do theirs, who defend the Truth, for infine, one would not be burned for what one look'd upon as a lye.

An Author of that time named *William de Puylaurens*, in the Prologue of his Chronicle, besides adds Arianism to them, and saith, that they as well as the *Vandois*, tho' in different opinions (*licet inter se dissides*) agreed equally against the Catholick Faith. They made the greater progress by reason that Priests were fallen into the utmost contempt, whereof here is a proof drawn from a vulgar way of speaking which this Author relates. To shew that they were far from doing a thing, they were accustomed to say, *I would rather be a Jew*; But the Proverb changed, and it is said in *Gasconny*, *I would rather be a Priest, than to do that: Mallem esse Capellanus, quam hoc vel illud facere.* Men were every where so wearied with the Ecclesiastical Tyranny, and so scandalized at their lewd course of Life, that those who spake against them, were hearkened to with Delight and Pleasure, as they did to one *Arnand of Bresse* a Disciple of *Peter Abailards*, who went to censure them at *Rome*. The Poet *Guntber* speaks thereof more at large, in the third book of his *Li-*

gurin, and concludes thus what he says of em.

*Veraque multa quidem, nisi tempora nostra fideles
Respuerent monitus, falsis admixta monebat.*

Our Author relates divers of the violent proceedings against them, and amongst others a Declaration of *Alphonfus King of Arragon*, published in MCXCIV, wherein he drives the *Vandois* out of his Estates, prohibits his Subjects to give them any succours, upon pain of Confiscation of all their Goods, and orders them to add all manner of grievances and affronts, to beat and abuse them, yet upon Condition they will neither kill nor cripple them, *prater solummodo lesionem mortis, aut membrorum detractionem.* This is a cruel mildness, which sometime Persecutors have practis'd, and whereof it would not be hard to find fresh Examples.

The second period of time, during which *Usher* believes the Dragon was let loose, extends from the beginning of the Pontificate of *Innocent III.* unto the beginning of that of *Gregory XI.* to wit, from the year 1194. unto 1370. *Innocent* endeavour'd not a little to establish the indirect Authority of Popes, over Kings, and that which they pretend to have over all the Bishops of the World. He named himself, in a discourse which he made upon the Consecration of Popes, *the Spouse of the Church*. He maintain'd that all Bishops were but his Vicars, and that it was he alone, who retain'd an absolute Episcopal Authority. So that other Bishops might say of him as of God, *we have received of his fulness.* He caused a Synod to be held at *Rome* in MCCXV, which is called the fourth of *Lateran*, where he confirmed a Canon of the III. Council held in the same place, by which *Alexander III.* had absolved from the Oath of Fidelity the Subjects of a Prince, who had favoured Hereticks, against the Remonstrances of the Court of *Rome*. Here are the terms of the second decree: "If a Temporal Lord required and advertised by the Church, neglect to purge his Lands from the pollution of Heresie, let the Metropolitan and the other Bishops of the Province excommunicate him. If he makes not satisfaction in a year, let the Sovereign Pontif be advertised, that he may declare his Subjects absolved from the Fidelity which they owe him, and give his Countrey to be possessed by Catholicks, who, having rooted out the Hereticks, may possess it, without any contradiction. As this Decree is quite contrary to the Authority of Princes, some Catholick Authors, who have lived in places, where this indirect Authority of Popes is refused to be acknowledged over the Temporalities of Kings, they say that the Canons attributed to this Council were supposititious, or at least that things did not pass therein after a canonical manner, so that these Decrees obliged no Body. But a famous English Protestant

Protestant hath shewn that these Decrees are not suppositious; that they are obligatory, according to the Principles of the Roman Church; that they have been received in *England*; that the distinction of those who say that the Decrees of Councils oblige in matters of Faith, and not in matters of practice are unreasonable and contrary to the Principles of the same Church; and that tho' this distinction was true, it could not exempt them from submitting themselves to the Decrees of the IV. Council of *Lateran*. It was in this same Council that *Transubstantiation* was established, and that a *Croisade* was published against the *Vandois*, as it was usually done against the Infidels. *Antoninus* in his Chronicle affirms that the County of *Thoulouse*, and *Lombardy* being full of Hereticks, who amongst other errors endeavoured to take from the Church all it's Temporalities (*omnem Temporalitatem*.) *St. Dominick* set himself to preach against them, and converted a hundred thousand of 'em. He took, adds he, to his help some devout and zealous Persons for the Faith, who conquered these Hereticks corporally with the material Sword, when they could not convince them with the Sword of the Spirit. *Qua corporaliter illos Hereticos gladio materiali expugnarent, quos ipse gladio verbi Dei amputare non posset.* They were called the *Brothers of the War of St. Dominick*.

At that time *Innocent* established an Inquisition at *Thoulouse* and in other suspicious places; because the Bishops being employed about their temporal Affairs took not care enough to extirpate Heresie. *St. Dominick* was Commissary over *Gasconny*, and established his Order there that they might assist him in the Work; there never was before regular and perpetual Inquisitions. Another Order of begging Monks was established, besides that of the Dominicans, to wit, the Minor Brothers founded by *St. Francis*, and that of the Augustines, as an assistance to the Bishops and Pastors. But it soon appeared that instead of helping them they pretended to take the care upon themselves alone, which the Pastors were invested with; this necessarily caused a great many complaints, as our Author sufficiently shews. There was particularly a great quarrel in *MCCLIII*, betwixt the University of *Paris* and the Preaching Brothers; which was hard to be appeased, because the King favoured the University, and the Pope upheld the Monks, who pretended to a Right of Teaching Divinity without having any regard to the Laws of the University. During this quarrel *John of Parma* an Italian Monk, and General of the Minors, published a Book intituled the *Eternal Gospel*. This Book was full of Impieties, and of as strange absurdities as those of the *Alcoran*. The Author amongst other things maintained, that the Gospel should be abrogated, as not being capable of conducting to perfection, and that this was reserved to the Order of the begging Monks, who in the latter

end of the World should teach a Doctrine much more perfect than that of *Jesus Christ*. This Book was condemned at *Rome*, and the Author was obliged voluntarily to quit his Charge, with the least noise that could be, not to irritate an Order then powerful enough, and which was of great use to the Court of *Rome*. A Book was also condemned, which four Doctors of the University of *Paris* had read against the former, intituled, *De periculis novissimorum temporum*. It was burned at *Anagnia*, where the Court of *Rome* then was, and at *Paris* likewise, not for any Heresie which it contained, saith *William de Nangis*, a Monk of *St. Denis*, who lived in *MCCC*, but because it might give scandal and cause a Sedition among the Monks.

Since the time of *Peter Abailard*, to wit, from the year *MCXL*. the Philosophy of the Age, as *Trithemius* says, begun by its vain curiosity to corrupt Divinity. The new Order of the begging Monks furnished Doctors, which accomplished its Destruction by the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, and a thousand ridiculous subtilties. There was amongst the Franciscans in *MCCXL*. *Alexander de Hales*, who was call'd the Doctor of Doctors, the source of Life, and the irrefragable Doctor. He commented on the first four Books of the Sentences of *Peter Lombard*, and summed up all the heads of Divinity, by order of *Innocent IV*. About the same time *Gaultier Bishop of Poitiers* made the first work de *Quodlibetariis*, which gave birth to the custom of disputing for and against all sorts of Propositions. *Bonaventure*, surnamed the Seraphick Doctor, was their Contemporary, and so much esteemed by *Alexander de Hales*, that he was accustomed to say, it seemed to him that Adam had not sinned in *Bonaventure*. *John Duns* a Scotchman, who flourished at the beginning of the IV. Age, and who was a Disciple of the same *Alexander*, acquired to himself the glorious Surname of *Subtil Doctor*. *Thomas Bradwardin*, had towards the middle of the same Age, that of *Profound Doctor*. The Dominicans also have not fail'd of having Divines also in their party, whereof these are the two chief: *Albert Bishop of Ratisbone*, who died in *MCCLXXX*, surnamed *The Great*, even during his Life, and *Thomas Aquinas*, the Angelical Doctor, who was his Disciple. There hath besides been in this Order the famous *Durand de S. Porcien*, surnamed, the most Resolute Doctor, *resolutissimus*. There was at the same time a Carmelite named *Gilles Romanus*, who was called the most *Profound Doctor*, *Doctorem fundatissimum*; and a little time after, in the Order of *Cisteaux*, *Alain des Iles*, who was named the *Universal Doctor*.

Usher hath also collected without much Order, divers things concerning the Original and Sentiments of the *Vandois* and *Albigese*, and there begins to make the History how they were persecuted, from the beginning of the third Age, until the year *MCCXL*. (As these events are found in

divers French and Latin Histories) we shall not relate them.

Here is only an Example of the barbarity of that Age. *William le Brebon* contemporary Poet, saith in his *Philippide* LXVIII, with an Ingenuity particular to himself, speaking of the taking and facking of *Bezi-ers*: "60000 Souls had their throats cut, which the inordinate fury of the Vulgar, and the indiscretion of the *Ribaldorum* kill'd, without the consent of the Governours, making the faithful die with the incredulous, and not much mattering which deserved Death, or ought to have his Life saved.

Yet what he saith of the Consent of the Heads of the party is not altogether True. *Arnold Abbot of Cisteaux*, since Archbishop of *Narbonne*, and Legate of the Pope in this occasion, was so much afraid that some Heretick should escape, that he ordered the Soldiers to cut off indifferently all those they met. He is a witness not to be suspected who tells us it, to wit, *Cesaire de Heisterbach* Monk of the same Order, in the Diocess of *Cologne*, and who lived in the time this Massacre was. "Knowing, saith he, by their Confessions, that there were Catholics amongst the Hereticks, they said to the Abbot, what shall we do, Sir? we cannot distinguish the good from the bad. But the Abbot and the rest fearing that the Hereticks would counterfeit themselves to be Catholics, only for fear of Death, and should return to their old Heresie, when the Army withdrew, the Abbot, I say, answered, as they tell us; kill them, for God knoweth those who are his: *Cedere eos, novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus*.

If *Usher* could have continued, he might perhaps have recovered Authentick pieces, to end his History. There was one seen, a little while since, which could have served his purpose, and would be of great use to those who would be willing to prosecute his design. It is an Original Register of the Inquisition of *Thoulouse*, written and collated by two Notaries of the same Inquisition, which contains what it hath done against the *Albigeses* for sixteen years, from the year *Mcccvii*, to the year, *Mcccxxiii*. The forms of the Oath are therein which Civil Judges tendred to the Inquisition, to defend it, and not to protect Heresie directly or indirectly; and the Excommunication which was design'd against those who favoured it; amongst whom were reckon'd even those who accused those Hereticks which were of their acquaintance. There is the process of a great number of Persons condemned for Heresie, to divers punishments according to the exigency of the case. Some of those were condemned who repented, after having kept them some time in Prison to put upon their cloaths violet colour'd Crosses; which they thus wore all their Life, not being suffered to appear with other cloaths, and with this clause that the Inquisition reserved a full power of change-

ing the Sentence pronounced, as it should be thought fit, whether those who had been condemned to wear the Cross were accused anew, or whether there was no accusation at all. Those whom they resolv'd to mortifie by a sad imprisonment were kept between four Walls, where they were constrained to go of themselves, and where they were nourished only upon Bread and Water. The obstinate Hereticks were put into the hands of the Secular. There was at that time in *Gasconny* of divers forts, as well as before. In this Register are *Vaudois*, and *Albigeses* condemned for divers pretended Heresies, as of denying Transubstantiation, and the seven Sacraments of the Romish Church, of maintaining that we shall not rise in spiritual Bodies, &c. There have been besides *Baguins*, certain Monks of the third Order of *St. Francis*, who thought that it was not lawful for them to possess any thing whatever, who called the Pope Antichrist, because he suffered the Religious of *St. Francis* to possess Riches, and who suffer'd themselves to be burned rather than to retract these Fantastick Opinions. There is also the Condemnation of divers Manicheans. And the proceeding against *Peter Ruffit*, who quite to overthrow Concupiscence, had with a Woman the same commerce, as some Priests had with Young Women in the time of *St. Cyprian*, a Custom which lasted so long, that the Council of *Nice* condemned it. As being us'd in the beginning o'th' fourth Age, and that *St. Basil*, *St. Chrysostome*, and *St. Jerome*, employ'd all their Eloquence to cure several Ecclesiasticks of this Custom in their time, an exact account hereof may be seen in *Mr. Dodwel's* third Dissertation upon *St. Cyprian*.

Two small pieces of *James Usher* Archbishop of *Armagh*. One of the Original of Bishops, and the other of Proconsulary Asia, to which is added an Appendix of the Privileges of the British Churches. At London, by Samuel Smith, 1687. in 8vo. And at Rotterdam, by Renier Leers.

THIS is another Posthume Work of the Learned *Usher*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, which sufficiently testifies that profound Learning that hath rendered him so famous, and makes him still respected as one of the Oracles of *England*. The Question he starteth here has so employ'd the wits for some years past, that instead of reuniting for the common Interest, they cannot without much ado calm the Agitation; which this dispute hath caused, tho' it only concerns Exterieur Order.

It is therefore pretended, that in this Work, Episcopacy is a Divine Institution founded upon the Old and New Testament, and the Imitation of the Ancient Church. *Usher* immediately remarks, that the chief of the Levites bore a Title, which was translated in Greek by that of *Επισκοπος* *Deivotoi*, The

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Bishop of the Levites, he expounds these Words of the Apocalypse *Write to the Angel of Ephesus*, as if the word Angel was the same thing as that of Bishop. The Succession of the Bishops of *Ephesus* appeared evident enough at the Council of *Calcedon* held in 451. And there 'tis likely enough that *Timothy* or one of his Successors, was the Angel to whom the words of St. *John* are directed. St. *Irenaeus* says, that he had seen *Polycarp*, who was established Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles. Lastly he adds, that *Tertullian* in his Book of *Prescription* against *Hereticks*, and St. *Irenaeus* pressed the Hereticks, by the Argument of the Succession of Bishops from the Apostles unto their time; and chiefly upon that of the Bishops of *Rome*, beginning with *Linus*, *Cletus*, or *Clement*, that the Apostles had placed there, and continuing until *Eleutherius* the twelfth Bishop from the Apostles. And it was *Eleutherius*, who had the Glory of receiving into the Christian Faith *Lucius* King of *England* with all his Kingdom: and that there were Bishops so well established from that time, that ten years before the Council of *Nice*, held in 325. three English Bishops assisted at the Council of *Arles*.

After having proved the establishment of Bishops by the Apostles, *Usher* examines the origine of the Metropolitans to whom he gives the same Antiquity. For supposing as we have said, that St. *John* speaking of the seven Angels understands nothing else but Bishops, he extends his conjecture so far as to say, that St. *John* having written to the seven Churches of *Asia* without denoting them more particularly, it necessarily follows, that they had some Preheminence, and that they were distinguished by themselves; that is to say, by their quality of *Metropolis*. He confirms it by this circumstance, that the Prefects of the Romans resided in these Cities as Capitals, and that the Adjacent Cities came for Justice thither. Whence he concludes, that they were as Mothers to the other Churches. He concludes in shewing it to be the Sentiment of *Beza* and *Calvin*, and proceeds to the second part of his Work, which treats of the *Proconsulary* or *Lydian Asia*.

He observeth, that the Name of *Asia* properly belonged to *Lydia*, for they pretend that *Asia* was the Name of an ancient King of the *Lydians*; and that it was *Vespasian*, that made a *Proconsulary* Province on't. After that these three Questions are resolved. The first if at the time of the Council of *Nice*, all the Bishops were subject to the three Patriarchs of *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. It's proved by the very Canons of the Council of *Nice*, and by the first Council of *Constantinople* assembled under *Theodosius* the Great, that each Patriarch had Power no farther than the extent of his Territory, and over the Bishops of his particular Province. And to inform us, where the Patriarchats were limited, he saith that, that of *Alexandria* comprised *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*; but that *Africk*, *Thebes*, nor

the *Maeotides* were not subjected to it. That of *Antioch* had not the whole Empire of the *East*, whereof *Constantinople* was the Capital. But only all that extended from the Mediterranean Sea towards the *East*, to the Frontiers of the Empire. That of *Rome* contained ten Provinces. The Islands of *Sicily*, *Corse* and *Sardinia* were three of them, and the Continent of *Italy* on the East-side made the other seven, that the ancient Lawyers called *Suburbicaries*. But not to leave the work imperfect, upon this Subject, he examines in what dependance the Churches were, who set up no Patriarchs. To this purpose he observes, that the Roman Empire was divided into thirteen Dioceses, seven on the East-side, and six on the West-side, in all 120. Provinces. Each Diocese had a Metropolis, where the *Primate* resided as well as the *Prator* or *Vicar*, who decided appeals in Civil Affairs, as also each Province had it's Metropolis. It will not be useless to add, that tho' Primates had the same Authority as the Patriarchs, they preceded them notwithstanding in Councils; and that *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Antiochia* were honoured with this dignity, which gave them the Preference, because they were the three chief Cities of the World.

The second Question is, whether the Bishop of *Carthage* was subject to the Patriarch of *Rome* or *Alexandria*; and answer is made, that he was subject to neither, because he was a Primate himself of one of the thirteen Dioceses, whereof we have spoken.

As to Jurisdiction, he saith, that according to the Canons of the Councils, the order of the differences amongst Ecclesiasticks, and all that concerned the Clergy was immediately to be carried before the Metropolitan, and by an appeal before the Primate without acknowledging the Superiority of the Patriarchs. That which makes the difficulty is, that St. *Augustine* said that St. *Cicilian* in his difference with *Donatus*, appeals to the Bishops beyond Sea. But answer is made, that that ought to be understood of the Council, and not of a particular Bishop, as that of *Rome*, who would draw the honour thereof to himself; and attributed that Right to himself from the time, that the *Vandals* under their King *Genferick* destroy'd all *Africk*; as the Popes have done since, in regard to the Greek Church by the fall of the Eastern Empire.

The third Question is, an enquiry whether or no *England* ever depended on the Patriarch of *Rome*; and its decided in the Negative. It had it's Primate, who was the Bishop of *York*. For although *London* according to the Relation of *Tacitus*, was already famous through commerce, notwithstanding the City of *York* was the Capital, the Vicar of the Empire resided there, and the Emperor *Constance*, Father of *Constantine* the Great died there.

If the Gallican Church hath it's Liberties, the English Church is not wanting; this

this is examined in a Treatise, which followeth those we have already spoken of, but 'tis not *Ushers*. The Author establisheth for a Foundation, that under the ancient Law, the Priesthood and Royalty was joyned together; and that when they were separated, the whole Authority always remained in the Person of the Prince. Which is justified by the example of *Solomon*, who nominated *Abiathar* to perform the Function of High Priest, and by other Examples inserted in the request that was presented to King *Philip the Fair*, by all his Subjects against the enterprizes of *Pope Boniface VIII*. And he thence concludes, that the outward Policy of the Church belonged always to the Prince, and that it's he alone, who hath the power to convocate Councils, and in particular by that of *Nice* and *Constantinople*, which were assembled by the Authority of the Emperours, and confirmed by *Constantine the Great*, and *Theodosius the Great*. For tho' the Intrinsick Authority depended on the Word of God, the Extrinsick nevertheless depended on the Imperial Seal, to give them the force of publick Law.

From whence he infers, Patriarchs were not erected but by the Councils and Authority of the Emperours; and chiefly that of *Rome*, the Author evidently demonstrates, this dignity was not attributed to it, but by the respect that the Fathers and Councils had for the Capital of the Universe; which was adorned with the Senate and Empire. To convince these who are most prejudic'd in favour of the Court of *Rome*; we shall relate but the terms of the last Council save one. The Canon of the Council of *Calcedon*, as it is to be seen in the Manuscripts of the Libraries of *M. de Thou*, and *M. Justel*. He says, that the Priviledges of *Rome* were granted by the Fathers, because it was the *Mistress* of the World; *Quod urbs illa imperaret*. Neither by Divine, nor Apostolick Institution, as he observes, but a motive purely Temporal. Therefore also the same Canon grants to *Constantinople* new *Rome*; the first rank after *old Rome* for the same reasons, because it was also honoured by the Senate and Imperial Throne.

After that, the Author descends to the Priviledges of the English Church; and maintains it did not depend on the Roman Patriarch, because it was a different Diocess, and that it was not in the number of the Suburbicary Provinces. This Verbe only is a proof on't.

Ad penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

It's also further justified by this particular circumstance, that the English celebrated the Passover, according to the Custom of the *East*, and conformed not to the *West*.

Having thus prepared the Mind, he shews that the Order of Parliament under *Henry the 8.* who shook off the Popes Yoak was not a new Law, but the re-establishment of the Ancient Laws, and Maxims of the Kings of *England*, who have maintained in

all Ages, that the Excommunications of the Pope were void in *England*; and he brings many Examples to prove it. He thence draws this Consequence, that the Church of *England* cannot be aspers'd with the odious term of *Schismatick*; because it hath not raised *Altar against Altar*; that it hath kept it's Ancient Government, and can shew a Succession of Bishops not interrupted since the beginning of Christianity; and consequently it had sufficient Authority to reform it self.

There is added to these Treatises, the advice of *John Barnesius* a *Benedictine Monk*, Who much disapproved these flatterers of the Court of *Rome*, who have incens'd the Minds of men, in maintaining that the Kingdom of *England* owes any homage to the Holy See, and have caused this breach with the Pope. He saith, it would be very happy, if the Pope for the good of Peace, would again receive into his Communion the Kingdom of *England*, without rendering it dependant on him, until a Council may cure the evil. But the Court of *Rome* never lets go its hold, and it's long since that *Pope Paul* the fourth answered to this Proposition of *Barnesius*. For the Embassadors of *England* under Queen *Mary*, asking him Absolution in the Name of the whole Kingdom, he omitted not to demand of them if he might send an Exactor of the Tribute of *St. Peter*, declaring unto them that they should not expect this Apostle should open them the Gate of Heaven, whilst they retained his Patrimony upon Earth. *Barnesius* confesseth it's very hard to be submitted to the Pope, who when he pleaseth Arms the Subjects against their King; and adds, that the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* having declared those Hereticks, who hold that the Pope was not Inferiour to General Councils, the Modern Popes are in the Case of Excommunication declared by these Councils. This he saith, not to quarrel with his Holiness, but humbly to insinuate unto him the means of bringing back so fine a Kingdom into the bosom of the Church. Notwithstanding the good Intentions of this poor Monk, have been very ill acknowledged; for he was sent out of *Paris*, strip'd of his habit, tied like a fierce beast, and uncompassionately dragg'd to *Rome*, and there cast into the dark Dungeon of the Inquisition, where he miserably expired.

An Extract of the Letters of Grotius,
I. PART, The Subject, Criticks and
Divinity.

WE have not seen until now but a very small Number of the Letters of this Great Man; the Volume of those that he hath written to many Learned Men of *France*, which were Printed in *Holland* and *Germany*, contain two hundred and four, and we find no more than sixty nine in the Volume

lume of the Epistles intituled,
 * *Amst. in* * *Præstantium ac Eruditorum Vi-*
 Fol. 1684. *rorum Epistola Ecclesiastica &*
Theologica, which he hath writ-

ten to some other of his Friends in *Holland* and elsewhere. Besides all those which have appear'd abroad until now, one may see in this Edition a great number that have been drawn from his Papers, and the Publick (without doubt) will receive 'em with the same satisfaction. In these he hath excepted against some *Divine Pieces* Printed for *Monsieur Bleau* in the year 1679.

This Volume is compos'd of more than two thousand five hundred Letters that are placed according to the order of the time in which they were written: The first whereof was directed to *Monsieur Thon*, and dated the first of *April* 1590. and the last, which was to *William Grotius*, bore date the 18th of *July* 1645. just a month before the death of the Author, which happened the 18th of *August* following. It's true, there's about 750 Letters at the end, which cou'd not be put in the same order with the former, because they were receiv'd too late, notwithstanding they were mixt together in this same Method.

These Letters treat of an Infinite Number of Subjects, but without stopping at those which contain nothing very important, as are the Letters of pure Civility, or those which speak of Domestick Affairs, I shall relate here what I find most curious on *Criticks*, *Divinity*, *Law*, *History* and *Politics*: These are the five Heads to which one may reduce all that is remarkable in the Epistles of *Grotius*.

* Things be-
 longing to the
 Criticks.

* 1. To begin with *Criticks*, we find in the 54th Letter of the first part, Advice to *Monsieur de Maurier* touching the manner whereby he ought to regulate his Studies. But as this Advice is fitted to the Age, Charge and Employ of this French Ambassador in *Holland*, it shall not be related in particulars. He gives also to his Brother in the third Letter of the second part, that which he judges the most proper Method for the first Studies of those who are design'd for the Law.

* The Original of the
 Latine Tongue.

* *Grotius* being at *Paris* after he was escap'd from the Prison of *Louvesstein*, receiv'd Visits there from many Learned Men, and amongst others, from *Monsieur Peiresc*, who hath done so much honour to the *Ingenious* of his time, and who hath also receiv'd from them the praises that he merited. In these Visits they often discours'd of *Science*, as it appears in the first page of the 107th Letter, where *Grotius* proves something that he had before advanc'd in a Conversation: 'Tis this, that the Latine Tongue hath very few words that come from the *Phrygians*, from whence the Latines drew their Original, or from the *Hetrurians*, which was the most Antient Tongue of *Italy*, from which we may believe the Romans had theirs. He shews that the Original of the

Latine must be sought in a Dialect of the Greek Tongue, because that the Greeks inhabited a part of *Italy*, as well as the Neighbouring Isles, from whence 'tis called *Magna Græcia*, very near that which he calls the *Kingdom of Naples*. They formerly divided all the People that spoke Greek into *Ionians* and *Dorians*, which were the two Principal Dialects. The *Attick Idiom*, according to *Grotius*, is but a Branch of that of the *Ionians*, and differs only in certain *Proprieties*. The *Aolian Dialect* is also but a part of the *Dorians*, which they used in *Sicily*, as appears by the *Eclogues* of *Theocritus*, which are pure *Dorick*, whereas they spoke *Aolian* in the Isles of that name. 'Tis this last Dialect that *Grotius* maintains comes from the *Latine Tongue*, as he proves by many Examples. The other *Dorians* changed into A long, the common termination of the Feminins in η, but the *Aolians* changed it into A short, and for example νύμφα *Nympha*, γάμος *Fama*. The 6th Letter in the Antient Greek Alphabet was formerly called βεϛ, as it is called Van in the Phenician Alphabet, from whence the Greeks have derived theirs. Others call it the *Aolian Digamma*, and, altho' its not seen in the late Alphabets, it ceases not to retain its place in the Greek numbers, for F, or ς, make fix. The *Aolians* used to place it before words which begin with a Vowel. As for Ελεν they used to say Φελενα, according to *Priscian*. The Latines followed their Example, and instead of εσπερος they said *Vesperus*, instead of δινος *Vinum*, &c. The *Aolians* put their Βαν before those words which begin with R, as Ρεχω *frango*, for the *Dorick* ραγω which comes from ριγω, is out of use, for which they say ριγισω. It is apparent from the *Aolick frago* comes the Latine *frango*, since there is no difference at all, only an N more in the last, which sometimes was omitted, as appears by the Latine word *frago*, and *confrages*. The *Aolians* also used an S before the Vowels, as well as the Latine, who for ερπω say *serpo*, for υς say *sus* &c. Thence it comes that one finds in the *Aolian Dialect* only divers Latine words whereof no foot-steps are to be seen in the others, as νούχιος *Nuncius*, νεπός *Nepos*, &c.

The same matter is treated on more at length in *Vossius* his *Etymologicon*, and in some of *Salmatius* Letters.

Grotius having consulted the last, to know if C or S was not taken for fix with the Greeks, answers yes, and gives some proofs of it, which *Grotius* confirms by others in the 2d. page of 480. Letter. Our Author makes use of these remarks to prove, that *Trajan* is the same, whereof *St. John* speaks in the 13. of *Revelations* and 18. v. because in the word ΟΥΑΝΙΟC, which is the Name of that Emperour. The number 666. is found in taking C for fix, and not for two hundred, according to the general acceptation of the Σ.

In matters belonging to the *Criticks*, there is also some Explications of divers passages of Scripture, and of prophane Authors.

He shews for example in the 91. Letter 1.

(a) An Explan-
ation of Prov.
19. 4. p. that this passage of the (a)
Proverbs and the 4. v. which
is translated, *God hath made all
things for Himself, and the Wicked*

*ked for the day of Calamity, ought to be trans-
lated thus: God hath disposed all things, so
that they answer one another, and the Wicked
in the day of Adversity; that is, that God
hath ordered it so, that even by the course
of Nature, the Wicked should be punish-
ed. A passage very like to this in the 33.
of Ecclesiasticus 14. v.*

He maintains also, that these Words of
the 1. of Timothy 3d. Ch. 2. v. *Let the Bi-
shop be a Husband of one Wife*, ought to be
explained in this Sense; *That a Bishop should
have but one Wife only.* Which excludes not
simply the Plurality of Women at the
same time, but second Weddings also.
'Tis thus, that *Lycophron* calls *Helena* τεινός,
Wife to three Husbands, altho' she never
had three at a time; *Theseus* being dead,
when *Paris* took away *Helen* from *Menela-
us*. *Afranius* hath called the same *Bivi-
ram*, a Woman that married a second time;
and *Tertullian*, *Univiram* a Woman inarri-
ed but once. The ancient Christians build-
ing upon this passage, as does the present
Impiety of the Romans, who permitted not
the High-Priest to marry a second time,
forbid the same thing to the Clergy. It is
thus, that the same Apostle c. 5. v. 9. *would
have the Widows that they chose for the service
of the Church to be the Wife of one Husband
only.* That is, that they had married but
one Husband, for it was never permitted
to Women to have more at the same time,
and St. Paul took no care to prohibite a
thing that might never happen. But as the
Roman Law suffered Women to repudiate
their Husbands, so it came to pass that un-
chast Women changed them too often;
witness this passage of *Seneca* cited by our
Author: *Illustres quadam ac Nobiles Feminae
non Consulunt numero, sed Maritorum, annos su-
os computant, & exeunt Matrimonii causa, nu-
bunt Repudii.*

— Sic sunt octo Mariti,
Quinque per Autumnos.

As *Juvenal* saith; see the Letters 297. 323.

Peter du Puy Counsellor in Parliament,
demanded one day of *Grotius*, the reason

(b) The design
of the Evang-
list. (b) the Evangelist said nothing
of what happened to our Lord
before his 30th. year, except
one thing only that befel him

at 12. years, as St. Luke reports. *Grotius*
answers to that, that it is, by the end which
is proposed in an Author, that we must
judge of what ought to be said, and what
omitted: That the Evangelist had no de-
sign to write only the Life of Jesus Christ,
but to give the Gospel to Posterity, that is,
a Doctrine under the Conditions of Re-
pentance, promising to men the Remission
of Sins, and Life Eternal: That it is com-
posed of two parts, whereof the one hath

a respect to the Doctrine, and the other
to History, as much as is useful to confirm
this Doctrine, as the History of the Mira-
cles, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension
of Jesus Christ: That this History begins
properly, but at the Baptism of Jesus Christ,
because from that time he began to teach
publicly without Intermission, and that he
had done Miracles: So that the Evangelists
have omitted all which passed in that time;
and if they said any thing, it ought to be
looked upon rather as a kind of Preamble,
to make known the Person of Jesus Christ,
than as the beginning of an exact History
of his Life. Letter 143. first part.

(a) We may add here to
the Criticks, that which is in (c) *Nicholas* of
264. Letter to Monsieur de *Damascus*.
Pegrese, touching the writings
and Life of *Nicholas* of *Damascus*. Mon-
sieur de *Pegrese* having recovered a Manu-
script Copy out of the Collections of *Con-
stantine Porphyrogenete* put them into the
hands of the famous *Henry* of *Valois* then
but young, who caused them to be printed
in Greek and Latin with Notes of his own,
1634. in 4. at *Paris*. *Grotius* having seen
this work before it was printed, writ to
Monsieur de *Pegrese*, all that he knew con-
cerning *Nicholas* of *Damascus*, of which
there are many fragments in this Collection.
He treats of the writings of this Author,
who was a particular Friend to *Herod* the
Great, his universal History, and his Life of
Cesar Augustus in 180. Books. He speaks
of his Style, and manner of Writing; and
shews that that which bears his Name in
the Manuscript of Monsieur de *Pieres* is
really this Historians. He after that, writ
his Life in Latin, and the fragments of his
Works, that he found in *Josephus*, *Athena-
us*, *Phocius*, &c. In fine, he sends to his il-
lustrious Friend a Latin Version of a part of
Nicholas's which was in the Collections of
Constantine.

There is a remarkable place in the Dis-
course of *Epietetus* collected
by (d) *Arian* Book 2. c. 9. (d) A passage
Why do you call your self a Sto- of *Arian* explica-
ick? saith this Philosopher to
a Jew who counterfeited a Heathen: Why
do you deceive the Multitude? Why feign you
your self a Greek, since you are a Jew? see you
not why they call a man a Jew, Syrian, or
Egyptian, and that if any one is seen leaning
on both sides, we are accustomed to say, that
he is not a Jew, but feigns himself to be so: But
when he comes to be of the mind as those who
have been baptized, and who have embraced
this Sect; they call him a Jew, and he is so in
effect. And thus we, who have been vainly
baptized are Jews by Name, but in effect ano-
ther thing: εἶπε καὶ ἡμεῖς παραβαπτισαὶ λέγοντες ἡ-
μεῖς ἐργε δεῖλαιοι. *Ruarus* who proposed this
passage to our Author, demanded of him
who *Epietetus* meant by those, that he cal-
led (παραβαπτισαὶ) baptized in vain, if they
are not Christians? and from whence it
comes to pass that *Epietetus* puts himself in
their number? *Grotius* answers, First, That
we

we must read in these last words, *οπαδουδς* (or rather *οπαδουοι*) which makes this sense: In like manner we resemble those who have been baptized in vain, we are honest men by name, but in effect another thing. Secondly, That the Author speaks not of Christians, which he else where calls *Galileans*, but of the Jews, which received none into their Religion that were not first baptized; Letter 322, 336. See the first Century of the Letters of *Ruarus* Epistle the 31. and

We find also in the first page of the 673.

(a) *Corrections* of *Stace*. Letter, (a) divers Corrections upon the works of *Stace*, that *Grotius* sent to *Gronovius*, who was then preparing an

Addition thereof.

The most noble part of the Criticks, if (b) we may believe those who make a Profession of it, is that which teacheth us to judge of Authors to discern their true

Works, from those which are Suppositious, to distinguish their stile, to find out the defects thereof, and to remark the faults they commit. For that Reason, we shall place here the Judgment that *Grotius* hath made of divers Books both Ancient and Modern.

The first Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*. *Grotius* judgeth it to be much the same that *Phocius* read; that there is no reason to believe, that that which *Phocius* read is not the same, that *St. Jerome*, *Clement* *Alexandrinus*, and *St. Irenaeus* read, who were nearer the time of the Author. That the stile according to the remarks of *St. Jerome* is very near that of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; as also there are many other marks of a true Antiquity, as this, *Quod de Christo semper loquitur non ut posteriores* *απατονιστες*, sed simpliciter plane, & ut *Paulus Apostolus* solet, & quod alia quaeque dogmata, postea subtilius explicata tractat, *απελυσεν*, &c. For what regards the High Priest, Levites and the Laicks, relates (according to our Author) to the Priesthood and to the Custom of the Jews. This Epistle being written about the end of *Nero's* Empire, or at least before that of *Vespasian* whilst the Temple yet stood, Letter 347.

I. p.

Tacitus. After having said, that many learned men have discovered, of what use *Tacitus* is in Politicks, without excepting the Italians, who pretend to be the great Masters in this Science; He saith, that *Berneggerus* and *Freinshemius*, had given at *Strasbourg* an Edition of it in 8vo. with a very large Index and most useful Notes in the Margent. He adds, that he read it with pleasure, and that it was esteemed by all the Ingenious of *Paris*. The same Author undertook to make an Addition in Folio, with a perpetual Commentary drawn from all the Notes, which had appeared till then upon *Tacitus* Letter 1092. 1. p.

Theophilactus. 'Tis the abridgement of the Greek Fathers, which had written before him and is, as the Voice of the Greek Church, who gave us the opinions of *St.*

Paul, which he had preserved with much Fidelity, Letter 1243. 1 p.

Predestinatus. 'Tis the Title of a Book, in 8vo. printed at *Paris* 1643. by *Father Sirmond*. *Grotius* saith, that he hath drawn this Book from a Manuscript, which was formerly *Hincmar's* Archbishop of *Rheims*, that this work is oppos'd to those that believe absolute Predestination. And that the Stile is strong and elegant, Letter 673. p. 2.

Father Casaubon. I have not had less veneration saith our Author, for his natural openness and sincerity, than for his great Learning. He told me in the year, 1613. at *London*, where I was almost every day with him, when he went out of *France*, he quitted all Studies, which belong to the ancient Souldiery, to which he had been persuaded by *Henry the 4th.* who was as great a Soldier as a Prince, and that in *England* he had turned his Studies of that side, which most pleased *King James*, who was given more to peace than War. *Casaubon* had no Collection, except in his memory, Margents of his Books, and upon loose Papers. Wherefore we have no Notes upon *Polybe*, but what is upon his first Book, and they are imperfect also 184. Letter p. 2.

Selden. This Author who made his wit appear in many pieces, hath given to the Publick his book entituled *Mare Clausum*, in opposition to another intituled *Mare liberum*. This work is very learned, and attributes in particular to the King of *England* all the Sea that extends it self from the Coasts of *England*, *Spain*, *France*, the Low Countreys and *Germany* unto that of *Denmark*, Letter 590. p. 1.

Selden, saith *Grotius* in another place, hath taken figurative Expressions (whereof I have made use in my Poetry) to defend the Laws of the King of *England*; and hath opposed them to others more serious. I am very much obliged to him for the honesty with which he hath spoken of me, and I believe I shall not injure the Friendship that is between us, by this Epigram that I have made upon his Book.

Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat (c) Ennosigaeum,

Est graeca Xerxes multus in Historia.

Lucillum Latii Xerxes dixere Tagatum, (c) Nep-

Seldenus Xerxes ecce Britannus erit.

Letter 371. 2. p.

The Bishop of *Bellai*. I know him, saith *Grotius*, not only by his writings, but also by Conversation. He is an honest man, and well versed in Controversie. This is the Title of one of his Books, *The Demolishings of the Foundation of the Protestant Doctrine*. He hath a great hatred to the Monks, and would not have them instruct the People, but have it referred to the Ordinaries. He is very much esteemed amongst the Bishops, and of an exemplary Life, Letter 1716. p. 1.

Crellius. I thank you, saith our Author to him, Letter 197. p. 1. both for the Letter

ter and the book you sent me. I have resolved to read over and over with care all that you have written, knowing how much profit I have gain'd by your Works. When I received your Letter I was employed in reading your Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*. You have very happily found the design and occasion of this Epistle as well as the sequel of this discourse. I have cast my eye, saith our Author, elsewhere in speaking to *Ruarus* friend to *Crellius* upon his Commentary to the Epistle to the *Hebrews* which is very Learned. I have profited much thereby, as well as upon that which he hath made upon the *Galatians*, of which the Ministers of *Charonton* make the same judgment as I do. Let. 552. p. 1. He saith to his Brother, speaking of the Book that the same *Crellius* had written against that of *Grotius*, *de satisfactione Christi*, that he hath written modestly, and with much learning, altho' he approves not of his opinions p. 2. Letter 138.

George Calixta Professor of Divinity at *Helmstadt*. I know not whether you have seen the preface that *Calixta* hath put before the books of *St. Austin de Doctrina Christiana*, and of the *Commonitorium of Vincent de Lerins*, the book that he hath made *de Clericorum calibatu*, and the first part of his divine Morals with a digression touching the new Method, *de Arte nova*. I approve the judgment of this Man and the respect he hath for antiquity, joyned to the love of Peace. *A. M. des Cordes Canon of Limoges*. p. 1. Letter 350. see Letter 339. p. 1.

Salmatius. I have run through the book of *Salmatius* upon *Simplicius*. There is, as you say, much reading. I wonder he disposeth not his thoughts in a better order. 'Tis sometimes difficult to reconcile him to himself; he often disputes about words, &c. To *William Grotius*, p. 2. Letter 326. *Salmatius* hath been with me, he is dispos'd to defend every thing to the utmost extremity, and even maintains that *St. Peter* never set foot in *Italy*. I wonder the spirit of a Party should have so much strength; says he, in the same Letter 533. *Salmatius* is pleas'd to defend Opinions abandoned by all the World, for even *Blondel* who is a Minister in *France* maintains in a book, Printed at *Geneva*, that *St. Peter* was at *Rome*. He denies also a Woman was ever Pope, but *Salmatius* affirms it in the same Letter 536.

A great friend of *Salmatius*, hath told me a little while since, that a Book could not easily be made *de lingua Hellenistica Rediviva*, drawn from this, that he saith he is constrain'd to confess in many places that he acknowledges the thing, and disputes but of the Name. He saith that no body hath remark'd that *ἀπὸ τοῦ* answereth to a manner of speaking Latin. But I had, and even in three places, *Mat. vi. 2. &c.* in the same book 6921.

Daniel Heinsius, I have read the Works of *Heinsius* upon *Nonnus*, which was not worth my while, for others have said several things which he remarks upon *John*. I find that speaking of the Trinity he contradicts him-

self in many places, as it happens to those who would know too much upon this matter. In the same Let. 149. there are many things which are not to be despis'd in the book of *Heinsius*, but he hath not drawn a few thereof out of the Epistles of *Scaliger*, and the Works of *Peucerus*, of *Fuller* and *Selden*, without naming them. The more I consider him, the more I find that those who would know more concerning the Trinity than Scripture tells us, are punished for their pride. The desire they have of contradicting others, makes them to contradict themselves. See only p. 272. He calleth practice [*πρᾶξις*] which is really different, and not simply according to our manner of conceiving. After that he saith that Essence in Trinity is really distinct, and the proprieties of the Persons, only according to our manner of conceiving, &c. Let. 152. *Grotius* censures such like absurdities in his Letters 156. and 157.

Ph. Cluvier. After having cast my eyes upon the *Germany* of *Cluvier* I cannot but approve the application, which alwayes produceth some fine thing, when it's applied altogether to one subject. He doth not seem to me so haughty, as he appear'd in a little book which he had sometime since publish'd, yet he shews a great boldness therein. A sensible proof of this is, that he often blots out and changes words in the antient Writings, without following any Manuscript but his conjectures only. He hath also much delight to reprehend others, and when it's any that's still living, 'tis the more easily to be suffered, but he often accuseth *Cesar*, *Strabo*, and several other excellent Authors, of great Ignorance, &c. to *Isaack Pontanus*, Let. 11. P. 2.

C. Graswinkelius. Thus Author made an answer to *Seldens* book Intituled *Mare Clausum*. Here is what *Grotius* saith on't. Let. 999. 2. par. The book of Mr. *Graswinkel* ought to be very dear unto me, seeing it hath cost me 11 l. 1 s. 2 d. Carriage. I approve his exactness in gathering all that can serve for his subject. He writes even Latin better than the most part of your Authors, &c.

Father Petau the Jesuit. *Denis Petau*, saith *Grotius*, hath publish'd three Books *de Dogmatibus Theologicis*. He promiseth more upon other questions, more, or less necessary. He applies himself to the opinions of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and speaks not of the Scholasticks. He distinguisheth the Tenets defined by the Church, from those upon which it is permitted to say what we will. He expounds them all very well; his Books are extream useful. *Salmatius* is abused therein, and it's said it was he who named himself *Wallo Messalinus*. But I could not but laugh to see him call *Conrad Vorstius* Calvinist, Let. 678. p. 2.

Mr. *Arnaud* Doctor of the *Sorbon*. All the World knows that *Grotius* was very far from the opinions of Mr. *Arnaud*, upon *Predetermination*, and *Grace*, but this hath not hindered *Grotius* from giving him the praises he de-

deserves. This he saith of his book of *Frequent Communion*. Mr. Arnaud will have publick penitence re-established in regard to the publick sins, & that those who shall make their sins known but by their Confession to the Priest, abstain from the Communion, untill they are assured that they are amended in it. This book was approved by five Archbishops, thirteen Bishops, and one and twenty Doctors; some have already introduced this Custom into their Churches. For it is lawful for Bishops to bring again into use the ancient Canons, even by the Authority of the Council of Trent, & by the example of Cardinal Berronius Archbishop of Milan, who hath been Canonized. Let. 669 p. 2. to William Grotius. Advertise your Stationers, saith he, in the 671. Letter, to send for the book of the frequent Communion, and to get it Printed anew. You will do thereby a good service to Christianity. And elsewhere: They make it a crime in him for having said in what he has written against a Jesuit, that he believes those who feel in themselves their ancient inclinations to vice, do not ill to abstain from Communion; and that he judgeth that even those who are given but to venial sins, do not amiss to abstain, and other such like things. The ancient severity, which we are no more able to suffer, as one saith, annoy'd him. *Nocuit antiquus rigor, cui jam pares non sumus, ait ille.* The Prince of Conde (for he hath also Written upon this matter, but without adding his name) thinks it's believ'd hitherto, that if any one hath confessed his sins, is in the resolution of never more returning to 'em, and to undergo the penitence that will be imposed on him, he may morally be assured that he is in a State of Grace, and that he doth well to Communicate. The Queen demanded the judgment of the Sorbon upon these matters. The Parliament and Sorbon think it is against the Laws, that a Subject of the King should be constrained to quit the Kingdom, especially the Abbot Dubyse (Dubylum) who going to Rome to justify himself, was immediately put into prison. Therefore Mr. Arnaud, being a Man of so good a life, that his greatest enemies could find nothing to say against him, being thirty six years old, and submitting himself to the judgment of the Sec of Rome, to the Catholick Bishops, and particularly to the Archbishop of Paris and the Sorbon, as you may see by what I have sent you, we may judge here of his affair, adding to these Judges those which the Pope hath Commissioned for that purpose. For my part, as I favour those who would reestablish the ancient satisfaction, I see that the most part of those who favour Mr. Arnaud are Jansenists, to wit, Calvinists upon matters of Predestination. Thus it is that Grotius speaks to his Brother in a Letter dated the 9th. of April, 1644.

Peter Hoofet. I have begun to read the History of Hoofet, 'tis a fine work, his expressions after the ancient manners of speaking will not please others. But Thucydides and Salust have given him the example, as well as Tacitus who lived a great while after them, Let. 636. 2. p. He also praises the History of Henry the Great Writ in Dutch by the same Author.

Justus Vondel. This famous Flemish Poet

published in 1638. a Tragedy, which is acted once a year at Amsterdam, entituled *Gisbrecht van Amstel*. He dedicated it to Grotius, who makes this judgment thereof in a Letter to Vossius the 28th. of May the same year: Vondel did me a kindness in dedicating unto me (as to a man who hath some gust of these sort of things) a Tragedy whose subject is noble, whose order is excellent, and expression fine, &c. It is a folly not to have in a subject of 300 years, the customs of that time represented. Thus it is that those of Geneva in a French Edition of Philip de Comines, have observ'd every where, where the Author saith that the King heard Mass, that he was at the Lords Supper.

II. These are the chief things of the Criticks, which are in the Epistles of Grotius. We shall observe in short the Theological matters before our Author was put in Prison, being still in possession of his Employments, he Writ several Letters touching the Controversies of Grace and Predestination, which then were maintain'd with much heat, and which was the occasion of his ruine.

In Letter 31. p. 1. He quotes some words of St. Jerome, whom he saith 'tis hard absolutely to excuse of Semipelagianism, as well as St. Chrysostome. He endeavoureth notwithstanding, to give a favourable interpretation thereof. Here is one of these passages of St. Jerome, drawn from his third book against the Pelagians: *Ubi misericordia Dei & Gratia, ex parte cessat arbitrium, quod in eo tantum est ut velimus & cupiamus, & placitis tribuamus assensum. Jam in Domini potestate est ut id quod cupimus, quod laboramus ac nitimur, illius ope & auxilio implere valeamus.* Grotius saith, that perhaps St. Jerome and the other Fathers, who speak thus have call'd Grace, but that which renders us holy and acceptable unto God, and not that which excites us to do well, and which prevents the first motions of our will. He speaks more of this preventing Grace in the 31, 33, 34, and 62. Let.

He treats in Epistle 62. and 31. of Predestination, and he maintains that on this occasion we ought not to prefer the authority of St. Augustin, to that of all the Fathers who lived afore him in the purer Ages of the Church, and such as were also troubled with disputes. But he clearly maintains that all these Fathers rejected absolute Predestination, and maintain'd that God hath predestinated to Salvation, those only whom he foresaw would make good use of his Graces, and on the contrary hath resolved to Damn those only whom he foresaw would continue impenitent, according to the formal Concession of Prosper Disciple to St. Augustin. *Retractatis priorum de hac re opinionibus, sane omnium par invenitur & una sententia, qua propositum, & predestinationem Dei secundum presentiam receperunt.* He cites upon this occasion divers passages of Justin Martyr, St. Irenaeus, St. Chrysostom and several others. But these things may be seen

treated on more at large in the *Pelagian History of Vossius*, which our Author approveth of in several places of his Letters.

Moreover he treats of Liberty, Universality, and Sufficiency of Grace, of Perseverance, and of the certainty of Salvation in Letter 62. But as he speaks of these difficult matters only by the by, to comprehend well the sentiment of the Remonstrants, which he maintains thro' the whole, we should read in those amongst their Doctors who have treated thereof *ex professo*, as *Episcopius, de Courcelles, &c.*

Grotius seems to have believed in his Youth that the Socinians were far from deserving the name of Christians, and merited not barely to be called Hereticks, as appears by a Letter Written in 1611. to *Anthony Walaus*. But afterwards he was of another mind on this occasion, tho' he always protested that he was not of their opinions touching the Divinity and satisfaction of Jesus Christ. He cou'd not however hinder his being suspected of having too much inclination to their opinions, tho' he took great care to Write the contrary to his Friends. See Letters 880, 883, 1035. P. 1. 411. 456. P. 2. He assures us in this last Letter, that after having had some Conversations with *Ruarus*, this Unitarian had in fine answered him upon the Article of satisfaction, so that there scarcely remain'd any Controversie amongst them. *Alios quosdam*, adds he afterwards, *qui in illo casu fuerunt, plene ad meam perduxerunt sententiam*. This may be seen in their Confession of Faith, and in the Apology which they made about it a little after. This renders one thing credible enough which Grotius saith in the same Letter, which he had learned of *Bisterfeldius* and of some others, *viz.* that *Crellius* said on his death-bed that he would never have undertook to Write against his book of the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, if we had read what Grotius had remarked in his Book de jure Belli ac Pacis, concerning the Communication of Punishments.

The same thing happened to our Author in respect to the Roman Catholicks, as it did in regard to Socinianism. As he grew mild concerning the opinion of the Socinians, which was the cause why his Enemies accused him of being an Unitarian, so he growing more moderate in regard to the Roman Catholicks, he was accused of being of their Communion. It may be seen by some Letters Written in his Youth, that he had the same sentiments of the Roman Church as the generality of Protestants, tho' he was then more moderate than several Reformed Divines. See his Letters 14. and 15. of the 1. p. and the 15th. of the 2. p. There is also a Letter from *Paris* of the 7th. of June 1622. wherein he exhorts *Episcopius* to refute the grounds of the followers of *Cassander*, who maintain that those who disapprove most of the errors of the Roman Church, ought not for that to separate themselves from it's Communion. He saith that we ought principally to examine

two questions against these Gentlemen: the first is, to know if an action permitted of it self, such as is genuflection in Communicating, becomes unlawful by the Interpretation which those give it who govern the Church, that this action hath Jesus Christ for an Object present under the accidents of Bread, or even the visible Signs: the other, to know if it be lawful for one to joyn with an Assembly, whose Pastours maintain certain Tenets which are disapproved, are necessary to enter into their Communion; tho' they exact not of Particulars a distinct profession. But Grotius believeth, that it's needless to prove against these Gentlemen, that the Pope hath not the whole Authority which the Court of *Rome* attributes to him, because they do agree therein. He saith that they bow not their knee before the Images; that they shun the Processions wherein the Eucharist is carried; that they hold the belief of the Invocation of Saints, and that of Purgatory, as Opinions that are unnecessary; as they do not hold themselves obliged to embrace the definitions of the Latin Church, and that they place the force which is used to make them to be received, in the Rank of Persecutions which good Men ought to suffer, as well as the denying of the Cup.

It seems that in process of time the Correspondence which Grotius had with some of those whom he calls *Cassandrians*, made him almost of their Opinions, as may be seen by the notes upon the Consultation of *Cassander*, and the other books which he published, touching the means of reuniting Religious. He testifies in many places of these Letters that he desired passionately the Reunion of Protestants amongst themselves, and of Protestants with Roman Catholicks. But it appears also that when he reflected upon the difficulties of reuniting, which are already, and upon those w^{ch} arise every day, he look'd upon the Reunion as a thing which ought to be wished for, but of which there is but little hopes. Thus it is that he speaks in several places. In the first part may be seen Letters 422. 426. 519. 649. 976. Where he complains particularly of the new Institution of the (a) *Scapular*, and of the (a) *Monks dress worn over their faces*. books of the Office of the Virgin, which he looks upon as obstacles to peace. This is what makes him speak thus to his Brother *William Grotius* in a letter of the 21. of February 1625. *Hoc voti magis est quam spei, praesertim cum Roma M. Antonii de Dominis damnata sit memoria, corpore exstis. Et tamen sunt qui me Romam invitent:*

Sed quae tanta, precor, Romam mihi causa videndi?

But as when we ardently desire a thing, this Passion often makes the difficulties disappear which are in the obtaining thereof, so Grotius hoped sometime that he should see it but rather as a simple object of his wishes

wishes than his hopes: so it appears by the Letters 534. and 637. of the 2. p. that he flattered himself that in time the Roman Church might relinquish several of its Tenets, and correct several abuses whereof the most understanding persons of that Communion complain every day. He hoped nevertheless to see it, but this Idea flattered him so pleasantly, that he could not but say,

Amare liceat, si potiri non licet.

What he had written in his youth was objected against him, as contrary to what he maintained towards the end of his life. But first he saith, that if all this be examined there will no contradiction be found in it, and he adds in the second place, that if by a more advantage, by the conversation of the Learned; and by much Reading, his judgment is become more solid, he ought no more to be accused of inconstancy than St. *Augustin* who retracted in his old age, several things which he had advanced in the first books he published. P. 2 l. 647.

Besides these matters of Divinity which respect Controversie some Questions of Morality are found in these Letters, which are not of a less importance; for example, What rule men should keep in the estimation of things which are exchanged and sold, and in the Interest which can be demanded for ones money? l. 953. p. 1. As this depends on infinite circumstances, the Laws have defined nothing upon these matters. People have been forced to be referred to natural equity, which all men ought to have for one another.

Ruarus demanded of *Grotius* if a Man can espouse two Sisters after one another, because the Divine Laws say nothing on't, tho' human Laws prohibit it? and if a Christian is oblig'd to follow but mans Laws? *Grotius* answers that Princes have Right to declare null these sort of Marriages, just as the other Contracts, and that a Christian is oblig'd to follow the Laws, unless they are altogether unsufferable. Let. 327. and 336. P. 1.

In the Letter 1057. *Grotius* expounds a place of his book *de Jure belli ac Pacis*, and sheweth in what sense these words of Jesus Christ ought to be understood, *He that will take your Coat from you, let him take your Cloak, &c.* The sense of the explication which he gives in this Letter, cannot be comprehended without comparing it with the book above mentioned.

One *Nicholas de Bye* of the Society of the Menonites, which *Grotius* calls *genus hominum non malum*, had sent him a great letter, by which he endeavoured to prove that it was prohibited to Christians to make War, & to punish with Death. *Grotius* answers to that several things in the Letters 545 and 546. of the 2d. P. which may be added to what he hath said upon these matters in his book *de Jure Pacis ac Belli*.

An Extract of the Letters of Grotius, II. Part, Treating upon Law, History, and Politicks.

WE have run thro' the Criticks and Divinity in the Letters of the famous *Grotius*. It remains that we should make an extract of the matters concerning Law, History and Politicks. Tho' he undertakes not to treat thoroughly on this subject, there are nevertheless several places which may contribute much to the understanding of divers hard questions in the Law, History and in the Government of States.

III. The famous question concerning the Domination of the Sea may be referred to Law, which hath been so often agitated in the North. There was at the beginning of this Age a dispute between the *English* and the *Dutch* concerning the fishing for Whales. Commissaries were named on both sides, to regulate this difference. *Grotius* was one of the Commissaries of the Province of *Holland*, and he relates the success of the Conference which they had with the *English* Commissaries in his Letter 56. 1. p. He saith they silenced the *English*, and made it appear that neither the Country of *Greenland*, nor the Sea belonged to them, and that the *Dutch* could not lose the liberty of their Navigation, nor of fishing for Whales, whereof none had any right to claim the Propriety to himself. We clearly shewed, saith he, that the Land belonged not to them, seeing before the year 1596. no body had gone to it, that the *Hollanders* discovered it, and gave it the Name which it hath yet, as is evident in all the modern Geographers Spheers, and Mapps. They would fain have persuaded us that *Hugh Willoughby* discovered it in 1553. But we prove by the very Journal of this Voyager, that he being parted from *Finland*, took Anchor at the Isle of that Name, which is very far from *Greenland*; that he in fine died with Cold and Hunger, with all his Companions, upon the Coasts of *Lapland*, where some *Laponians* found them the next Summer, and whence their journals were carried into *England*. The *English* could answer nothing to all this, only that there had been much wrong done to their master to contest a Right with him, which he had till then peaceably possess'd.

In the letter 15. P. 2. He treats of this question, to wit. Whether a Lord of *Holland* might yield something touching the Rights of Navigation and Commerce without the Consent of the States. He maintains he cannot, because the Lords of *Holland* were but the Guardians of the Rights of the People, without being able to Alienate them, as he says may be shewn easily by the Laws of the Countrey. Upon this occasion, he saith that *Holland* was a free Countrey, even under its Lords, and that this liberty began not when the King of *Spain* was declared a Receder from his Rights or when a Truce was made with him. *Grotius* brings some reasons for this,

this, which may be read in the Original.

Grotius had written in 1615 to the Ambassador of the States at the Court of France, touching the Controversies which were in agitation at that time in Holland, and his Letter was shewn to Peter du Moulin as then Minister of Charenton, who had made some Reflections upon this Letter, which were sent to Grotius. This gave him occasion to write to the same Ambassador the 62 Letter of the 1. p. Where he treats of some of these Controversies, and amongst others those which respect the Authority of the Magistrate in Ecclesiastical things. It seems by what Grotius saith, that du Moulin should believe that a Magistrate ought to be Learned to have some Authority in Ecclesiastical things. Grotius refutes this thought. He applies himself again to shew, that the Authority of a Prince depends not on the truth of his opinions in matters of Religion. He brings the words of St. Augustin in the Letter ad Vincentium: *Reges cum in errore sunt pro ipso errore leges contra veritatem ferunt, cum in veritate sunt, similiter contra errorem pro ipsa veritate decernunt.* He cites besides, the example of the Emperor Aurelian, who, at the prayer of the Christians, drove from his Bishoprick Paul de Samosate, who would not submit himself to the Authority of the Councils, which had condemned his Doctrine. Grotius saith several things upon the Power of Princes, in the regulating of Controversies which arise in matter of Religion. But he hath treated on all this more fully in his Book *de Imperio summarum Potestatum circa sacra.*

We find in the Letter 329. the solution of another question which belongs to the Canon Law. It was to know if the Religious to whom the Pope permitted to Preach and Confess, can do it without consulting the Bishops, and without asking their Permission. Mr. de S. Cyran under the Name of Petrus Aurelius maintain'd they could not, and the Jesuites pretended that these privileged Fryars needed no permission from the Bishops. Mr. des Cordes Canon of Limoge and a great friend to Grotius, had demanded of him his opinion thereupon. He answers that the Antiquity of Mr. de S. Cyran was certainly reasonable, and that even where these Commissions are received, they ought to be interpreted in such wise that they make the least prejudice to the Canons and received Uses. But he adds that he cannot tell how Mr. de S. Cyran, as well as the Jesuits, attributing to the Pope an almost absolute Authority, can maintain that he has not the power to do what Bishops do every day, to wit, to give the permission of Preaching and Confessing. He saith that in giving the Pope the power that is given him, they ought to fall into the same inconveniency wherein the Romans were under an Emperor, who would have all the questions of Law to be sent to his Oracle.

In Letter 693. directed to a Polish Lord, who had asked him his opinion concerning Torments, he answers that there is nothing less certain than a Confession extorted by

Torments, upon which he cites this word of an ancient: *mentietur qui ferre non potuerit, mentietur qui ferre potuerit.* I have (saith he) infinite examples of People who were unjustly put to Death, upon so uncertain a foundation. I do not wonder that there have been grave persons who believed that Christians should not make use of Torments to extort Confessions, seeing it's certain there is no such thing in the Law of Moses: That in England Men live in as great security as any where, tho' Tortures are not in use there, and that whilst Rome conserv'd it's Liberty the Citizens were never tortured.

William Grotius had made some questions to his Brother concerning the publick Law, upon which occasion our Author shews in his Letter 4. P. 2. the difference which is betwixt particular and publick Laws, and sheweth that they are equally founded upon Nature, the Law of Nations, and the Civil Law. He treats afterwards on this Question, *If natural Right can suffer some change?* He divides this Law into divers branches, and shews in what sense there may happen some change. He also treats on the same matter in Letter 6. It had been it seems objected against him that the Civil Laws do sometimes alter the Law of Nature, when they make void all the promises that a Pupil might make without the consent of his Guardian, seeing he violates this Right of the Law of Nature, *that one must keep his promises.* Grotius shews how Civil Law agrees herein with the Law of Nature, and also expounds some like cases; as if a Pupil having borrow'd without the consent of his Tutor, and being become rich by this borrowing, whether he is oblig'd to pay? Grotius answers, that although by the Ancient Civil Law of the Romans, a Creditor could not have an action against a Pupil, altho' the Pupil is bound to pay by the Law of Nature, whereof here is an inviolable Law: *That none ought to enrich himself with the damage of another.* He cites divers Laws upon this subject.

He treats in Letter 4. of the same Part, of *Servitudes*, and sheweth that it is a Right established by Men against Liberty and Natural Freedom. He expounds the Law in *fine ff. de aqua*, where it is said that the low possessions have commonly this Servitude, that they receive their waters which run from those that are highest. In Letter 12. He speaks fully enough of Conventions in general, and of Stipulations in particular. He shews that the Law of Nature necessarily obligeth one to keep his word, whence several Philosophers have given the name of *Truth* to justice, and *Simonides* said that Justice consisted in speaking the truth, and in giving what one hath received; notwithstanding *Plato* and *Theophrastus* were of opinion that no body ought to have the power of forcing any one to keep his word by virtue of the Laws, but that it should be free not to keep it, as it is free not to be generous. But this Philosophy, saith our

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Author, agrees not with our Age, where in few Folks are virtuous by their own motion, without the fear of Laws. He enters after that, upon a great Question, to wit, how Civil Law can derogate from the Law of Nature, in matters of agreement and promises? He expounds in a few words in what manner the Roman Laws have taken away, from those who submitted themselves thereto, the Liberty of promising certain things, so that on these occasions they have rendered contracts void, as well as when they were not extorted after the manner which these Laws prescribed. He shews that the Laws have not in all that, injured the Law of Nature.

We find besides in Letter 352. p. 2. The examination of this Question: *Utrum voluntas testatoris coram septem testibus ad id convocatis declarata, nolle se Testamentum ante factum valere, habenda sit pro Testamento tali quale esset, si heredes ab intestato instituisset diserte?* Grotius answers yes, and that it is thus he understands those terms, *Voluitque intestato decedere in l. 1. §. Si heres. D. si tabula Testamenti nulla extabit.*

IV. Grotius hath also by the by spoken of some other Questions of Law, which are not necessary to be related here. We shall pass to what is Historical in his Letters, whereof one part belongs to ancient History, Profane or Ecclesiastical; and the other to the History of his Time, or of his own Adventures. We shall in a few words observe, what's most curious upon these matters.

We have already noted, that there is in a Letter to Mr. de Piereſc, the Life of Nicholas of Damascus. There is no other profane History but this, except some allusion by the by, to some fact which he relates not, as Letter 399. p. 2. One of the finest works, saith he, of Parrhasius is written in Pliny. He represented the People of Athens, after a very ingenious manner. He would represent a People Cholerick, Unjust, Inconstant, and at the same time easie to be perswaded, Merciful, Clement, Proud, Cowardly, Fierce and Timorous. He painted the figure of a man, much as I would have the Republick of Holland, or that of the United Provinces, to be represented by a Virgin. I would have a Virgin to be painted, who hath yet her Virginity, but who makes it known, that it is burthen-some to her.

In the Letter 122. p. 1. He remarks the Oaths that the ancient Jews were accustomed to make use of, but in things of small consequence, they believed one should not swear by Divinity it self, but by ones Father and Mother, by the Earth, by the Stars, by Heaven, or by the Universe. It's apparent in the beginning of the Book of Philo, intituled *de specialibus legibus*. Which serves much, according to the Judgment of Grotius, to clear what Jesus Christ saith of Oaths, in ch. v. of St. Mat. Where he prohibites us to swear at all, (ὅλας) to wit, after any manner which the Jews swear.

He makes besides, some other remarks upon this place of the Gospel, but as he most enlarged upon this matter in his Annotations, it's better to send the Reader to them, and to take notice of another thing which is in his Letters touching the Jews. He saith, that since the Jews were banished from their Countrey, and dispersed amongst Nations who hate them, they are more exposed to calumny, and that we ought not slightly to believe the evil which we may hear of them; that notwithstanding he would not always answer for their innocency, seeing they believe it is lawful to curse Christians, as appears by the *Thalmud*, and by other Books. They are not satisfied with words, they proceed to effects, when they think themselves strong enough for it. You may see, adds he, in the History of Dion, what the Jews of Cyrene have done in times past; and in Sozomen l. vii. c. 13. and Socrates l. vii. c. 17. what the Jews did who lived between Calcedon, and Antioch. Nicephorus passeth for an Author, on whom one cannot well rely. It's not amiss however to hear what he saith of the Jews of Arabia, Samaria, and Antioch, l. xvii. c. 6. & 24 l. xviii. 44. because, what he saith, is upheld by the Testimony of Paul the Deacon, l. xviii. and by Zonaras in the Life of Phocas. Polydor Virgil assures in l. xvi. of his History, that they were banished from England, because a cruel design was discovered which they had formed. Stumphius, Thomas Barbariensis in his *Fortalitium fidei*, Michael Neander in his *Erotemata lingue sanctæ*, accuses them of having killed Children, and gather'd their Blood for he knew not what uses at Munster, Zurich, Berne, at Weessensch, in Turing, at Uberlingue near Ausbourg, at Dieffenhof, &c. Sabellicus affirms the same thing of the Jews of Trent, l. viii. Ennead. x. Bonfinius saith as much of those of Turnave in Hungary, l. iv. Dec. v. For to say nothing of the Magic and Superstitious uses which may be made thereof, the Blood of Infants being a remedy against Leprosie, whereof several Princes have been accused to have made use; Jewish Physitians might have easily undertaken to make a trial of it, because of the hatred which they bore to Christians, when they believed they had no reason to fear the Laws. It's then visible, 'tis a long time since this crime was imputed to them true or false, *Let. 693. p. 1.*

There is another observation touching a Sect of the ancient Jews, wherein perhaps more likelihood of Truth will be found. The most exact Chronologists, according to Grotius, say that Pythagoras lived towards the end of the Empire of Cyrus. Numenius, Porphyrius and Hermippus followers of this Philosopher say, he was in Judea, and that he followed in several things the Sentiments of the Jews. If we seek, what Sect of the Jews might have served for a model to Pythagoras, none will be found, upon whom this suspicion may fall, but that of the *Esseans*. There was nothing more alike than

than the Assemblies of these Jews, and the Common Auditories of the Pythagoreans, such as Porphyrius, Jamblicus, Heracles and others describe. In effect Josephus says, that the manner of living of the Essenes and Pythagoreans was the same. If Josephus speaks of the Essenes, only in remarking what happened under Janathas, an Asmonean Prince, it was but by the by, and on the occasion of mentioning the Sadduces and Pharisees, without telling when this first Sect begun. Grotius believes, that their Sects were formed upon those of the Rechabites, and Nazarenes, Let. 552. p. 1.

Speaking of Ecclesiastical History in general, he cryeth out, Let. 22. p. 1. What do those read, who read the Ecclesiastical History, but the Vices of Bishops? *Qui Ecclesiasticam Historiam legit, quid legit nisi Episcoporum vitia?* and elsewhere, upon the occasion of something which Heinsius said of the Trinity, he remarks that the Greek and Latin School agree not, after which he adds, *Mibi constat Patres in explicatione harum rerum plurimum dissensisse, etiam si vocum quarundam sono inter se conveniant: qua sex repta sunt bono affectu, successu non semper optimo.* There arose in 1630. a pretty warm dispute between Mr. de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Orleans, and Mr. Rigaut, who had printed some Books of Tertullian corrected upon some old Mss. touching the sense of a passage of this Author, in his Book, *de Exhortatione Castitatis*. Mr. Rigaut thought Tertullian meant, that it was permitted to Laicks to Consecrate, being in places where they could have no Priests. Mr. de l'Aubespine upheld, that in this place, he did not speak of the Eucharist, but of what we now call Blessed-Bread; because the Council of Trent defined, that it belonged to Priests only to consecrate. These are the Words of Tertullian; *Nonne & Laici sacerdotes sumus? scriptum est, regnum quoque nos & sacerdotes Deo & Patri suofecit, Differentiam inter ordinem & Plebem constituit Ecclesia, & honor per Ordinis confectum Sanctificatus: adeo ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis non est Confessio, & OFFERS & TINGUIS, & Sacerdos es tibi solus. Sed ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licet Laici, &c.* Grotius took the part of Mr. Rigaut his Friend, and then printed a small Dissertation; *de Coena administratione ubi Pastores non sunt.* It is in the third Tome of his Theological Works. We may also see an Abridgment thereof in a Letter to Salmatius, which is 260. of the 1. p. where our Author testifies, he was of Erasmus's opinion, to wit, that in the Primitive times the Faithful consecrated the Bread and Wine, and communicated together, there being often no Priest in the Company. See the Letter of Erasmus to Cuthbert Tonstar, l. xxvi. Epist.

Grotius seems to have much respect for Christian Antiquity, as may be seen by all his works, and by this place of the Letter 191. of the 2. p. Perhaps those who are of Vorerius's opinion will think, it will be a Socinianism to make the principal part of Religion con-

sist in the observation of the precepts of Jesus Christ. But I see that the Christians of the first Ages, the Assemblies, the Doctors, Martyrs have been of this Judgment, that there are few things which we ought necessarily to know, and that as to the rest God Judgeth us, according to the obedience we have rendered to him. The same also appears by a Conversation, that Grotius had with the Prince of Condé in 1639. and whereof he gives an account to Chancellor Oxenstiern in Letter 1108. of the 1. p. He relates to this Swedish Lord, that the Prince had given him a visit, that they had discoursed of several things, and that this Prince had approved his Opinions; that in this Age one may attribute to himself the Name of a Christian, and the Surname of Catholick, the Scripture must be believed, interpreted, not according to the particular Judgment of each one, which hath caused Seditions, Schisms, and often Wars, but according to the universal and perpetual consent of the Ancient Churches; which we find in the Writings of several excellent men, and chiefly in the Symbols and Acts of the true Ecumenick Councils, which were held before the Schism of the Eastern and the Western Churches; and which the Emperors, and all the Churches have approved of: That moreover, we must abstain from calumniating any one, to leave off the Spirit of Parties, to endeavour the Unity of the Church, such as Jesus Christ hath ordained, and the Apostles have founded, and to hold for our Brothers, to wit, for Christians and Catholicks, all those who are in these opinions, although those who rule over the Churches have separated themselves from the External Communion. *Hæc omnia Princeps & sibi dicebat probari, & sapientissimis quos cognosset hominibus.*

Not that Grotius was very much conceited with the antiquity he believed, as some are, that the Ceremonies which it hath constantly kept to, are all of Divine Right. Thus he speaks to Mr. des Condés about Confirmation and Imposition of hands, Let. 329. 1. p. I have found by reading, that the imposition of hands was a Jewish Ceremony, which was introduced, not by any Divine Law, but by Custom, every time that any Body prayed God for another. For the Jews prayed God, that his Power should accompany that Man, as the hands which were put upon his Head, and which were the Symbol of the Divine Power, were united to him. Jesus Christ followed this Custom, as several others of the Synagogue, whether Children were to be Blessed, or the sick were to be Cured, in joining Prayer to this Ceremony. It is according to this Custom, and not consequent to any Precept, that the Apostles laid their hands on those to whom they conferred the Gift of the Holy Ghost by Prayer. Thus it was, that not only Priests used the same, when they received any into their Body, as it appears by the Example of Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 15. But the Apo-

bles themselves received anew the imposition of Hands, when they engaged into any new design, *Acts* xiii. 2. So if at every time, that hands were imposed, a Sacrament was conferred, we shall find Sacraments in all the Prayers, which have been made for any one; which is contrary to the true Signification of the word, and to the use of the Ancients.

It's from this Ceremony, continueth our Author, which was not ordained by God, but which hath of it self been introduced amongst the Jews and Christians, that sprung the Sacraments of Confirmation, of Ordination, and Penitence, of Extream Unction, and even of Marriage; for the Ancient Churches, laid their hands on those who were Married, as the *Abyssines* this day do.

The Baptism of Christians, adds he, consisted in times past in immersion only, as that of the Jews who baptized all those who embraced their Religion. It appears not that any laid hands on those who were baptized, but those who had the Gift of conferring the Holy Ghost. This hath been introduced rather in honour of Bishops, to persuade the People, that they had succeeded to the Rights of the Apostles. In the second Age, and the following, divers Ceremonies were added to Baptism, by allusion to some passages in Scripture, according to the Custom of the Ancients, who expressed themselves not only by Words, but also by Signs and Symbols. It is for that, that they made those who were baptized to tast of Honey and Milk. But it was thought fit to represent particularly by these Symbols, that those who believe in Jesus Christ receive in their Soul the same Graces which Jesus Christ made the sick feel which he cured, in their Body, or that those who make profession of believing in him, feel the Eyes of their Soul to open, as well as the Ears of their Heart, that they are cured of all their spiritual maladies, and that the Devil hath no further Power over them. Therefore Exorcisms were made use of, and the term of *Ephphata*, be opened, also of Spittle, of Oyl, whereof Jesus Christ and the Apostles made use of in curing corporal maladies.

Posterity was not content with this. 'Twas thought it ought to be made apparent, that Christians are Kings and Priests, in anointing with a more odoriferous oyl. This Unction was joined to Baptism, as it is yet with the Greeks, and as it hath been a long time in the Latin Church. The Priests who baptized, administered it as well as the Bishops, the Bishop according to the Testimony of St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, differing from the Priest, only in this, that the Bishop had the sole right of Ordaining Priests. Our Author, after having made these Remarks, gives his Sentiment concerning a Canon of a Council of Orange, which caused then great disputes betwixt Mr. de S. Cyran, and F. Sirmond, and maintains that the latter had well cited

and understood it, tho' his Adversary accused him of falshood. Grotius believes, that this Canon gives the Power to Priests to administer the *Chrisme*, and orders that it should be administered but once: *Nullus Ministrorum qui baptizandi recepit officium, sine Chrismate unquam debet progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel Chrismari. Nam inter nos Chrismatis ipsius non nisi una benedictio est. Non ut prejudicans quicquam dico, sed ut necessaria non habeatur Chrismatiorepetita.* But according to him, this hinders not, but that when they use two *Chrism*s in Italy, as it appears by the famous Decretal of Pope Innocent, who speaks of a *Chrism*, which Priests as well as Bishops administered in Baptism, and of another which Bishops alone administered in Confirmation: *Presbyteri, seu extra Episcopum, seu praesente Episcopo baptizant, Chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab Episcopo fuerit consecratum, non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur Episcopis, cum spiritum tradunt Paracletum.* Grotius also believes, that Father Sirmond had reason to follow the *Miss.* where there is *non habeatur*, and not the Editions, where this Negation is omitted, but that he hath not well expounded *prejudicans* by *nocens*, a signification which hath been given to this Latine word only in the time of Bartolos, or of Baldus. He saith it signifies *condemnans*.

Grotius wonders, that Christians dispute so much amongst themselves for indifferent things as these, which are neither commanded, nor prohibited, and which make nothing of themselves to the distinction of Bishops and Priests. He treats besides of the same Ceremonies in Letter 355. 1. p. where he saith, much the same thing. One may see what he thought thereof, before he was gone out of Holland, in Letter 62. Where he speaks very respectfully of these ancient Ceremonies.

Writing to one of his Friends, from whom he had received Letters, from Grand Cair, and who had consulted him touching the Schism of the Nestorians and Eutychians, he answers thus: The Schism of Alexandria whereof you write unto me, was begun from the time of Dioscorus, of whom there are several Profelytes in this Countrey, in spite of the Condemnation of the Council of Calcedon, and who are spread even into Ethiopia, as the party of Nestorius stopped at Babylon, whence it extended it self into all Asia. I doubt not, but Nestorius hath used hard ways of speaking, who inclined too much on one side, as well as Eutychus did on the other; and I freely follow in this, the consent of the greatest number of Churches. Nevertheless it seems to me, that the Ancients were too forward in putting out of the Church, those who were not of their Opinion in all things. See Letter 239. p. 2. As Grotius believed, that his Friend was in Abyssine, he takes occasion to speak of some Ceremonies of the *Abyssines*, as follows; Suarez in his Book of the Laws, says, that although the *Abyssines* retain Circumcision

cumcision, provided they believe not that it is absolutely necessary to Salvation, they may be received into the Church. I believe, they make use of this Mark not in imitation of the Jews, or from the time of Solomon, as they speak, but that it is much ancients, seeing Herodotus puts it amongst the Customs, which were always received in Ethiopia. I should believe, that it owes its Original to the Children, which Abraham had of Keturah; who according to Josephus went to inhabit Ethiopia. I suppose, they abstain from certain Meats rather for health than for Religion. The annual Commemoration of Baptism is a tolerable Ceremony. It is better to interpret favourably the Ceremonies, affirmed by the Observation of so many Ages, than to rend the State and the Church all at once.

To mix some diverting Subjects to these which are so serious, we shall not omit a remark touching the Original of Academies, which is in Letter 285. p. 1. In the time, saith he, that the Roman Empire was the most flourishing, each City had Professours, not only in Eloquence, *Non Eloquentiae tantum & Philosophicarum Hæresium* (non dum ob id nomen comburi homines cæperant) sed *Medicina quoque*, and in all the Heresies of Philosophy, thus the Sects of Philosophers were called in the Ages, wherein Heresie was not a Crime worthy of Fire, but also in Physick. An arrest only of the Decurions was needful. It's what the *Pandects* the *Code*, and several Greek and Latine Authors teach us.

In the time of the Controversies about Grace, Grotius made a small Treatise intitled, *Disquisitio an Pelagiana sint ea dogmata quæ nunc sub eo nomine traducuntur*. It is in the third Tome of his Theological Works. He endeavours to shew in this small work, that the Sentiments which then were called Pelagian are not so: But he doth more in the 19. Letter of the second part, where he maintains that these same Sentiments are far from those of some Pelagians. The Divines of *Marseilles*, saith he, who were called Semi-pelagians, pressed the necessity of Grace, after such a manner that they denied Grace prevented the first good motions of the Will, at least in some Persons. We need only to see the Council of *Orange*, which hath condemned the Errours of the Semi-pelagians. This was all their Errour, which the Council disapproved so, that notwithstanding the Communion was not refused those, who were of this opinion. But those who believe, adds he, that Predestination is founded upon foresight, the universality of sufficient Grace, and the opinion of those who maintain that Grace can be resisted, and that it can be lost, are Tenets of Semi-pelagianisme, *ritu sabino quod volunt somniant*, according to the Latin Proverb. And as to the Semi-pelagians, we shall find a passage of Vincent of Lerins in Letter 31. p. 1. upon which Grotius makes some Reflections.

To return now to more modern Histo-

ries, Grotius relates, Letter 366. p. 2. A quarrel which happened between the Pope and the Venetians, in 1636. about an Inscription which the Pope caused to be put under a Picture, of Pope Alexander III. and Frederick Barbarousse at his Feet, with these Words; *Alexander Papa III. Frederici Imperatoris iram & impetum fugiens abdidit se Venetiis, & à Senatu perhonorifice susceptum, Ottone Imperatoris filio navali praelio à Venetis victo, captoque, Fredericus pace facta supplex adorat, fidem & obedientiam pollicitus. Ita Pontifici sua dignitas Veneta Reipublica beneficio restituta est.* These terms did too much honour to the Republick of Venice, the Pope caused the Inscription thus to be corrected: *Fredericus I. Imperator Alexandrum III. Pontificem, quem diu insecutus fuerat, post constitutas cum eo pacis condiciones, & damnatum Schisma, Venetiis supplex veneratur.* Grotius sends to his Brother a Latin Epigram, where he equally disapproved the action of Alexander and that of Urban, and which ends with this distich,

*Nolite in fastum titulo pietatis abuti,
Esse jubet Regum libera colla Deus.*

This quarrel of the Venetians with the Pope, makes me remember a rumour that ran at Paris, in 1630. they said that Fra. Fulgentio, a Divine of the Republick of Venice, and Successor to Fra. Paolo, endeavoured to inspire into the Greeks of the State of Venice, the Sentiments of the Protestants, to introduce the Reformation into Italy, by that means. See Letter 238. p. 2.

It may be, this was but a bare Report. Grotius was too far from the places, to be thoroughly inform'd in it, but he had opportunities to be perfectly instructed of some other things, which happened in Holland, whilst he was there. He saith, Letter 11. p. 1. That in a Conference, which Arminius and Gomarus had before the Gentlemen of the States of Holland, as Oldenbarndvelt said to these two Gentlemen, that he praised God for that the Controversies which was amongst them, were not upon any fundamental Article, Gomarus answered, that the Opinions of Arminius, his Colleague were of such a nature, that he could not appear before the Tribunal of God with 'em. The whole dispute concerned Predestination, and the greatest difference that was betwixt their opinions, was that Gomarus believed God had resolved to create the most part of men to damn them, without having any respect to their Actions, only for the Manifestation of his Power; whereas Arminius maintained that God damns not men, but because of their unbelief and impenitence. This last opinion is Melancthon's, as Grotius saith, Ep. 58. p. 1. and elsewhere.

The Gentlemen of the States of Holland made in 1614. an Edict, which may be seen in the 3. Vol. of the Theological Works of Grotius, by which they ordered the two parties, which then were in the Reformed Churches of the Low Countries, to support

port each other, and to treat with moderation the controverted matters, the then King James of England at first praised this order, also divers Bishops approved it, as Grotius saith in his Letters 28, and 29. But this Prince changing his opinion afterwards disapproved this conduct, as appears by Letter 111. p. 1. to Mr. Anthony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro. But that which was most fatal to Grotius and those of his party, was, that from that time divers Provincial Synods were held where they were not favoured, as he himself says, in Letter 64. p. 1. The Magistrates of every City, promised Pastors of that party, shou'd exercise their charge as before, but those of the contrary party, thought the same toleration ought not to be given to them. Some refused to Preach in publick Churches, because the other party were suffered there. They assembled themselves in private Meetings, so that the Magistrates feared these divers Assemblies wou'd cause trouble in the State, as they had in the Church. There was an attempt made at Rotterdam, as Grotius relates Letter 65. p. 1. to calm these troubles by a particular conference, where the reasons of those Pastors were heard, who would not Preach in publick Churches with those who were not of their opinion nor communicate with them. But this Conference had no good effect, as may be seen in this Letter of our Author, and in the following, where he gives an account of what happened on both sides in this Assembly.

Lastly the Schism was made after such a manner as all the World knoweth, and that besides many other reasons was no little hindrance, according to the Judgment of Grotius, to the design which several Pious persons formed some years after, of reuniting all Protestants. The King of Swedland too endeavour'd it a little before his Death, having assembled at Leipswich divers Lutheran and Calvinist Divines. The authority of this great King, made this Conference end with mildness on both sides, but his Death which hapned a little while after, made all hopes of accommodation vanish. It was at that time that an English Divine named Dureau, who had as'twere consecrated himself to endeavour this reunion, ran vainly over all the Protestant States to induce them to Peace, which the Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud, whose Encomium Grotius makes in divers places, (v. p. 2. Ep. 405, 406. 532. 540.) and several Bishops of England passionately desired: Grotius saith, that an answer of Doctor Hois Preacher to the Elector of Saxony being too violent against the Reformation, hindered it very much; see Let. 444. p. 1.

Protestants not being able to unite with one another, there was no likelihood that the Union between them and the Roman Catholicks should succeed. Yet there was a great talk on't in France, and Cardinal Richelieu, if we believe Grotius Let-

ter 531. p. 2. affirm'd that it would be agreed on. *Cardinalis quin evasores negotium in Gallia successurum sit dubitare se negat.* This made several persons apply themselves to writing, to propose to the publick means and projects of an Union. Amongst whom none appeared that made so much noise as Theophilus Brachet dela Millitiere, which seemed the more surprizing, because before the taking of Rochel, this Author had attacked the Kings party, and all the Roman Catholicks with an extraordinary heat, in a little Book which he Printed for the defence of some Assemblies held at Rochel. Grotius speaks of it in divers places, but particularly in Letter 373. p. 1. 385. 343, 345. p. 2.

There was then a report at Paris, which gave some hope to those who penetrated not the policy of Cardinal Richelieu, that there would happen a change in the Gallican Church, which would much contribute to an Union. Which was that the Cardinal had a design to render himself Patriarch in France, and thus to draw the Gallican Church from the obedience of the Court of Rome. To this design was applied, according to the relation of Grotius Letter 982. p. 1. this Tetrastich of Nostradamus.

*Celui qui etoit bien avant dans le Regne
Aiant chef range, proche Hierarchie,
Apré & cruel, & se fera tant craindre
Succedera à sacree Monarchie.*

Some are so far from taking away from the obedience of the Apostolick See, that they scarcely dared to defend the Liberties of the Gallican Church. The King who had given orders to make a Collection of the Edicts of the Kings of France, and of the Acts of Parliament, by which until then the excessive power of the Court of Rome was opposed, got this collection suppressed in 1639. when the impression thereof was finish'd, Grotius who had promised himself much from the courage of the French on this occasion, could not dissemble his grievance, which he too strongly expresseth: *Ita sub Regibus aut ignavis, aut ignavis, tantum saepe fit damni, quantum successores ægre sarciant: mirumque est pro Regibus scribi Lutetia non licere, cum Roma quotidie contra Reges & eorum jura libere fiant.* He speaks thereof also in as weighty terms in Letter 1105. to Lewis Camerarius, Ambassador from Swedland into Holland.

This event and some others made Grotius doubt of the Roman Catholicks ever giving any satisfaction to Protestants, concerning the complaints made of the abuses which they believe to be slipt into the Roman Religion. He testifies these doubts in Letter 85. p. 2. where he saith that there is more reason to wish than to hope for peace, particularly since the Memory of M. Anthony de Dominis had been condemned, by burning his body. It's known this

Prelate

Prelate believed that it was easie to reunite Religions by correcting some abuses in the Roman Church; and Grotius saith of him, Let. 37. p. 2. *Marc Anthony de Dominis* now saith Mass at Antwerp. He followeth the opinions of Cassander, only he attacks more openly Transubstantiation, and some other Tenets. I know not what he will say of changing his Religion, if he says not that he hath not changed. For he believes that the Religion of Protestants and Catholics is the same. Another thing which made Grotius despair of ever seeing Religious united, was the establishing chambers for the Propagation of Faith, whereof he complains in a Letter to the great Chancellour of Swedland dated June 29. 1639.

Besides these matters wherein great Kingdoms have been interested, there are several particular Histories in these letters, whereof we shall here relate some. *Ambrosio Spinola* Besieging *Breda* prohibited duels in his Army upon pain of Death. His Son having afterwards transgress'd this Order, was seized and condemned to Death, but the Guards letting him escape, he turned all his severity against them, and hanged six of them. He demanded his Son of the King of France, into whose Countrey he was withdrawn, to punish him, but he had not his desire, Let. 83. p. 2. Here is moreover another example of a Roman severity. A Venetian Senator of the Council of Ten, named *Zeni*, after he had punish'd the Sons of the *Doge*, who had done something against the State, he was attacked by assassins, who wounded him in divers places. The People running to him, he was carried to his house, where he ordered his Sons and his Men to take his Bloody Cloaths, and thus to carry them to the Palace of *St. Mart*, to call for Justice. The Senate thereupon promised a great recompence to those who should discover the Accomplices; some days after the *Doge* himself came to accuse his own Son, who was withdrawn from the State of *Venice*, after having done the Fact, and was of opinion that a far greater reward should be promised to him who could deliver the guilty dead or alive, into the hands of Justice, Let. 166. p. 2.

Grotius relates in the Letter where he speaks of *Spinola*, which we have cited, a History of another kind, and which is more diverting. He saith that a Courrier named *Doublet*, who was sent in 1625 from *Holland* to the Ambassador of the States at *Paris*, not knowing his aboad, nor even himself, made a pleasant equivocation: Which is, that having asked where lived the Ambassador of the Low Countries, he was carried to the Envoy of *Brussels*, to whom he gave the Packet, and immediately begun to speak of affairs of great consequence, afterwards perceiving his mistake, he got himself conducted to the Ambassador of the States, where he yet committed another fault, in opening his Port-mantle before those who conducted him, and shewed them that there was Money in it, after which going abroad about some affair, he

returned no more, and this caused in the Ambassador a great uneasiness.

It was doubtless a great imprudence to commit matters of State to so unhandy a Man, but Grotius relates another fault of a witty man, which is as great, if it be true. He saith that famous *Peter du Moulin* was obliged to go out of France by reason of a Letter he had written to King *James*, wherein he exhorted him to succour the Elector *Palatine*, who was of late chosen King of *Bohemia*, to which he added, that the Reformed of France would see what they could expect from him in such an occasion. These Letters being fallen into the Hands of the King of France, *M. du Moulin* staid not to be bid to withdraw, nor until he should be seized, Let. 640. p. 2.

Here are other Histories for the diversion of Naturalists and Philosophers. Grotius assures us in Letter 361. p. 2. that the whole Court of England had seen in 1635 a man aged 153 years, who was in good health, but that he lost his sight 20 years before. In the Letter 405. p. 2. a Soldier, saith he, lying in the Trenches before *Landrecy*, was advertised in a Dream speedily to retire, unless he was willing to be overwhelmed by a Mine which was going to play. Scarcely was he up, but the Mine blew up the place he lay upon. This will surprize you, but if you had *M. de Saumaïse*, he would relate unto you a History which he has of his Father. A certain man who knew not a word of Greek, came to see *M. de Saumaïse* his Father, who was a Counsellor at the Parliament of *Dijon*, and shewed him these words which he had heard, at night in his Dream, and which he had written in French Characters as soon as he awaked, ἀνδρὶ ἐν ὁπρεσίν τινι οὐκ ἔγνω; he asked of *Mr. de Saumaïse* if he knew not their meaning; *Mr. de Saumaïse* said unto him that they signified, Away! perceivest thou not thy Death? This man quitted the House where he lived, and it fell the night following.

If this History is true, it is assuredly surprising. It includes a prediction, which may be attributed to some Invisible power, who had advertised this man in a Dream of what was to happen the next day, but here is another prediction, which deserves not less our Relation. Grotius not only made a kind of Horoscope of a great Prince who was born the fifth of September in 1638. in the Letter 1079 of the 1. p. directed to Queen *Christine*, but foretold upon a simple passage, that he would be one day a great Conqueror. This Prince troubled several Nurfes which were to be given him in biting the Nipple of their Breasts. *Fugiant eum conquista ad hoc Faminae*, saith Grotius Letter 189. p. 1. quod ubera earum morsicando lancinet robustus calidique Spiritus puer; non sine omine futura rapacitatis. Grotius seems to have taken delight in this thought, seeing he repeats it in his Letter 1231. written to *Barleus* the following year: Nutrices, saith he, non lassat tantum, sed & lacerat, caveant vicini sibi à tantam tura rapacitate. The Fable teacheth us some

some such thing of *Hercules*, whom *Juno* was obliged to abandon; after she had undertaken to Nurse him, because he dealt too violently by her Paps. See *Diodorus Lib. IV.*

To finish the Extract which we are to make of the Historical things which are in the Letters of *Grotius*, we need no more but to add some matters which concern himself. *Mr. Aubery*, who caused to be Printed some years ago a Book Intituled *Memorials of the History of Holland*, hath made in this Book a kind of an abridgment of the Life of our Author; where he praiseth and blameth him, according as he thought him to have deserved either. But it is astonishing that being a particular friend to this great man, and having often seen him in the time wherein he was Ambassador to the Court of *Swedland*, he notwithstanding doth advance divers things, which are contrary to what *Grotius* saith himself in his Letters. He saith for example, that *Grotius* being vext because Cardinal *Richelieu* had cut off his Pension, the first time he was in *France*, and had caused him thus to leave it, See not the Cardinal under this fine pretence, that he helped not the Ambassadors. It's what *Mr. Aubery* calls an unconceivable stand, or for a better expression, a Dutch obstinacy, which hindered his reconciliation with this potent Minister, tho' he had a very great need of him for his service in his particular affairs, so that he treated but with the subaltern Ministers. *Grotius* saith on the contrary, that he saw him pretty often, and relates some discourses he had with him, as may be seen in 1. p. letter 491, 505, 535: and elsewhere. There is no great likelihood that *Grotius* gave the Chancellor of *Swedland*, long relations of any affairs which he had negotiated, as he saith, with the Cardinal himself, if he had never seen him during his Residence in *France*, as *Mr. du Maurier* assures. But it seems this Author hath confounded the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, with Cardinal *Mazarin*, of whom *Grotius* thus speaketh in a Letter dated the 26th of September, 1643. *I have caused your Letters to be given to Cardinal Mazarin; I shall not see him, without an Order from our Queen, because at his own house he gives not the hand to the Ambassadors of Crowned heads, and being treated with the Title of Eminence, he treats not again with that of Excellence, pretending to be equal to Kings, according to the Opinions of the Court of Rome, and very difficultly yields precedence to Princes of the Blood.*

Mr. du Maurier also says another thing, which is not conformable to the Letters of *Grotius*, viz. that the Ministers of *Charenton*, who despised *Grotius* during the time he was but a private man in *France*, used him quite another way when he was Ambassador of *Swedland*. Having considered, saith this Author, that it would be a very great honour to them, that an Ambassador of so considerable a Crown should be present at their Assemblies, they sent unto him one of their Ministers, with the Elders of the Consistory, to pray him to honour

their Sermons with his presence; telling him, that the very Lutherans were of late admitted to their Communion, by an Act of the last Synod of *Charenton*, but he answered them haughtily, that they having neglected him whilst he was a private man and a Refugee, he would neglect them in his turn, being Ambassador. It's very well known, that the Ministers of *Charenton* endeavoured to draw *Grotius* to their Assemblies, from the first time that he was in *France*; but as we see nothing of it in these Letters, we do not at all rely upon it. It's true, some were deputed to *Grotius*, as he says himself in the Letters 378. p. 1. 340, and 350. p. 2. but he refused not to go to the Sermons of *Charenton*, after the manner which *Mr. du Maurier* saith; he thus tells us himself, he received the Deputies of *Charenton*, Letter 350. p. 2. *I have had this day at my House three Learned Reformed Ministers, le Faucheur Minister of Montpellier, and Mertrezat and Daille Ministers of this Church. They desired me to join my self to their Communion, and told me that what was in times past established at Alez and Charenton, being changed by new rules, wherein Lutherans are admitted to the Communion, they hoped we should hold their Confession for a Christian Confession, as they had the same opinion in respect to the Remonstrants: that they remembered what I formerly writ against Sibrandus, to wit that I should be very much surprized if the Reformed refused the Communion to Chrysostome and Melancton if they came again into the World: That they had read and approved my whole Book of the Truth of the Christian Religion, and the admonition I gave at the end to Christians, to bring them to an agreement. I told 'em I was satisfied with what they said, being conformable to my maxims: that the opinion of Melancton had always extremely pleased me, and that I had sufficiently shewn it; that as to what concerns Ecclesiastical Peace, I knew well that it ought not to be troubled by a turbulent manner of acting. That there should be free conferences amongst the learned. They also said that they endeavoured to bring the Remonstrants of Holland into their Communion, and that they had written about it to M. Rivet: that they were become more prudent with time, and that they hoped that the Dutch after having well examined their reasons, would do somewhat in their favour. After having said these things on each side, I added that I was ready to testify by the external signs the Communion of the Spirit, in which I had always joined with them; and that it was never my fault that it was not so: that if I went into a Country where Lutherans, knowing my opinions of the Eucharist, would receive me into their Communion, I would make no difficulty to communicate with them. They approved this conduct. *Grotius* seemed after this to be inclined to go to communicate at *Charenton*, but there was an obstacle which never could be taken away, that hindered him; 'twas that *Grotius* would have had a distinct place in the Temple, and to be received there in the quality of Ambassador of *Swedland*; which the Consistory of*

Charenton

Charenton would not grant him. Grotius complains thereof in these terms, in Letter 358. *I am surprized at the inconstancy of these people, who having invited to their Communion the Lutherans, say that they cannot receive an Ambassador of Swedland, in the Quality of Ambassador, because of the difference which is between the sentiments of that Kingdom and theirs.*

Grotius notwithstanding in the Letters which we have cited praiseth the moderation of the Ministers of Charenton. But here is a good character of Mr. Daille in Letter 232. p. 2. A Roman Catholick having put several questions to M. Daille in a Letter, and amongst other things why the Reformed had condemned the Arminians; he answered that seeing peace was oftentimes offered to the Lutherans who are of the same opinions, it was not so much the Arminians who had been condemned as Arminianism. *I fear saith Grotius, that those who are here stronger than they, shall say one day that they drive not away the Calvinists but Calvinism; which I pray God may not befall them.*

M. du Maurier relates a pleasant History of a Lutheran Minister that Grotius had at his House, whom he names Doctor Ambreus, whereas Grotius complains of Brandanus, Letter 840. p. 1. 410. p. 2. He saith that this Ambreus, instead of expounding purely and simply the Word of God, flung himself into controversy with so much violence, that his Sermons were full of invectives, which Grotius being at last weary of, exhorted him to expound the Gospel, without wounding Christian Charity. Upon which Doctor Ambreus told him he could not but say what God inspired him with: and Grotius having at last ordered him, either to abstain from railing, or Preach no more, this Ambreus leaving him in anger, and coming down stairs, said grumbling, that it was a strange thing that the Ambassador of the Crown of Swedland, would shut the Holy Ghost's mouth. Which Grotius related unto me, adds Mr. du Maurier being ready to split with laughing, and said that this Ambreus complained every where that he shut the Holy Ghost's mouth, because he hindered him from speaking against his Neighbour. Yet Grotius complains only of Brandanus, and also contradicts in another thing M. du Maurier. This Author saith that one M. d'Or who was of the same Sentiments with Calvin, Preached in the Afternoons, and that he would also engage himself in Controversie. Grotius had only a design to take this M. d'Or after he had sent away Brandanus, and this M. d'Or was formerly of the Judgment of the Arminians, on which account he came out of Sedan, where he was Minister before the Synod of Dordrecht. See Let. 410. p. 2. by the following Letters we see that Grotius made no use of him, tho' he had a design so to do.

We shall end the Extract of what concerns the Person of Grotius, by his Epitaph which he made himself, and which is in Let. 536. p. 2.

*Grotius hic Hugo est, Batavum Captivus & Exul,
Legatus Regni, Suedia magna, tui.*

Concerning his works, he telleth us himself that his Book of the Truth of the Christian Religion, was translated not only into High Dutch, French and English, but even into Arabick and Persian, to serve for the Conversion of Infidels. See the 2d. p. Letter 411, 444, 534. He saith also that the Queen of Swedland caused his Book *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, to be read which some Divines said included Socinian principles. Grotius saith laughing thereat: *Fiet & Regina Sociniana, si quid Voetii, Riveto, Cleopenburgio credimus.*

V. To come, in fine, to what is in the Letters of Grotius concerning Politicks, we believe we may say to the publick what Peter Grotius Son to our Author, esteeming so much the Letters which his Father had Written during his Ambassy, that he said they were as excellent in respect to Policy, as his Annotations upon the Gospel were in matters of Divinity. It is what the Publick may Judge, and whereof persons would yet judge better, if divers places, which undoubtedly contain the most important things, were not written in figures, or if the Author had not made use of invented names, which are not easie to be understood M. du Maurier is of a sentiment very different, since he saith, *that Grotius being withdrawn from the society of the Living, and passing whole days, and the most part of the Night with the Dead, he could only send into Swedland news about new bridge in fine Latin.*

We shall not undertake to decide which of the two had most reason, because here we write a History, and not an Apology. Those who will take the pains to compare the news which Grotius writ to the Chancellor of Swedland with the events of those times may judge thereof. But it would not be surprising that an Ambassador, who is obliged to write very often and hath not always considerable affairs, should write news either not of great consequence, or perhaps false. Howbeit, we shall here collect some political places, which are spread through this great Volume.

In the 364. L. p. 1. we find a dispute something extraordinary, concerning the power of sending Ambassadors. The great Chancellor Oxenstiern, who after the Death of Gustavus, had a full power to do all he thought convenient for the good of the state, to send Ambassadors, &c. sent Grotius into France. Some difficulties were raised thereupon, which Grotius refutes in this Letter by divers examples, and particularly by that of the Ambassadors, who having been sent from Flanders by Arch-Dukes, in vertue of the power they had received from Madrid, were received in France and England, as Ambassadors from the King of Spain. Grotius then tells us in what manner he was received, after he had been acknowledged Ambassador from the Crown of Swedland.

He

He sometimes makes political remarks upon the Nature of Nations, and upon the manner wherewith one ought to treat with them, as when he says of the French, Let. 371. p. 1. that they are at first harder to be dealt with, but that by little and little, they become more tractable, according as they perceive they get nothing by acting haughtily. The same Nation, saith our Author Let. 582. p. 1. boasts of its riches, when it seeks for Allies; but when any thing is to be paid, 'tis not asham'd to say that it is extremely poor: *Galli cum socios querunt, maximas præferunt divitias; Ubi solvendum est aliquid, ultimam paupertatem.* So he speaks elsewhere in what manner the French do use the Court of Rome, that when they do not obtain of them what they would, they menace it. People, saith he, might make use of this way, to diminish the Pope's Power; but for the most part (when the affairs of private Men go on well, those of the State are neglected. It's thought the Cardinal would frighten the Pope, that he may make him here a perpetual Legate to the Apostolick See. For the Romans of these days do through fear, many things which they would never do with their good will, Let. 1292. part 1.

In this Letter also is the manner wherewith Cardinal Richelieu negotiated, and how he employed the most famous Father Joseph in the most difficult negotiations. Grotius tells us that the Cardinal made use of him, to begin the negotiations, and to put them in a way of succeeding, after which he would put in himself. *Butillerius Pater*, saith he, & *Josephus Capucinus negotia cruda accipiunt, cocta ad Cardinalem deferunt.* Let. 375. p. 1. An example hereof may be seen in Let. 371. In the 380. is the History of a Conference which Grotius had with the Cardinal and F. Joseph. This Capuchin at first speaks there with the Ambassadour of Swedenland, and goes thro' the hardest part of the Contestation. Afterwards the Cardinal intervenes, as to make them agree in proposing a Medium. *Dixit deinde Cardinalis*, they are the words of our Author, *videre se inter me & Josephum minus convenire: velle se esse Conciliatorem mutua inter nos benevolentia.*

After having observ'd in a Letter to Lewis Camerarius, that the Swedes had run so much in debt, that they were no more trusted, and that the neighbouring Nations were not less drained, he adds this political reflection: *Pro divitiis nobis erit eadem apud hostes paupertas*; the poverty of our Enemies will serve us instead of Riches. Let. 884. p. 1. But there are few places of the Politics that are stronger and livelier, than a Description of the Court of France in 1635. whereof here are some words, for it is too long to be all inserted: *The Cardinal burthened with care, unloads it on a Monk, this Monk discharges it very slightly. Boutiller the Son only runs about, the Father defers every thing, the Commissaries of the Treasury, and the Ge-*

nerals of the Armies, think they are all called to a Harvest of Gold. The Cardinal is charged with the Sins of all the World, and even fears his life.

It happened in 1637. that Grotius and the Earl of Leicester, the English Ambassadour having sent their Coaches to meet an Ambassadour of Holland, the Swedish Ambassadours Men took the Precedency, in sight of the English, which made the latter draw their Swords. The Duke de la Force who went for the Ambassadour ran to the tumult, and thought he could easily decide it, but the Swedes made it appear they were prepared for this accident in giving the reasons they had to do so, which may be seen in Let. 722. p. 1.

I almost forgot to remark that in the 2. part which contains much fewer political Letters than the first, that the Opinion of Grotius may be seen upon these two questions: to wit, if one is obliged to send a Prince such succour as hath been promised him, when we are attacked our selves? Letter 16. and after what manner the Republick of the United Provinces hold Democracy? Let. 209.

This is what was thought fit to relate of the Letters of Grotius concerning Politicks. The subject of his Embassy may be seen in the new History of Swedenland by M. Puffendorf, lib. vii c. 4.

In this great number of Letters one may well judge that there are some of all sorts: but we were contented to mark the principal subjects. The Letters of Consolation may be added, whereof these are the most considerable, the 133. to M. du Maurier upon the Death of his Wife: The 334. to G. Vossius upon the Death of his Son Denis: The 445. to M. de Thou: The 1116. to a Prince of the House of the Palatinate.

What follows is a Continuation of Bishop Uthers Works, Entituled, The Antiquities of the British Churches, &c. And should have followed in pag. 37. after these Words, Day of his Death, but was there left out through the Printers mistake.

After the death of Innocent, (a) St. Augustine and (a) St. Paulinus writ to St. Paulin Bishop of Nola, to exhort him to oppose Pelagianism in Italy, provided he was in a Condition of making any progress. In the mean time Celestius that was return'd from Asia, whither he was gone after having made some little abode in Sicily, came to present himself

self of his own accord to *Zozimus*, Born in *Cappadocia*, and successor to *Innocent*. He gave him a small Tractate, wherein he had particularly expounded his Opinions.

He ran over therein all the Articles of Faith, from that of the Holy Trinity, to the Resurrection of the Dead, and declared that he held all these Articles, after the same manner the Catholick Church did. He added likewise, "that if disputes were rais'd in things that were not matters of Faith, as for his own part he had not attributed to himself the authority of forming an absolute Judgment thereof, but offered to be examined by *Zozimus* what he had Written upon these subjects drawn from the authority of the Prophets, and Apostles, that it might be corrected if there was any error. In fine every sentiment he there explain'd that we have before spoken of, and denyed manifestly Original Sin. *Zozimus* cited *Celestius* to appear before him in the Church of St. *Clement*, where he caused this Writing to be read, and asked of the Author, if he verily believed what he said therein. *Celestius* answered, Yes; after which *Zozimus* put divers questions to him, the sense whereof may be contain'd in these two: If he condemned the Doctrines that *Paulinus* Deacon of *Carthage* had accused him of maintaining? He said to that, that he could prove this *Paulinus* to be an Heretick, and would not condemn the propositions whereof he had accused him. The other question that *Zozimus* put to him, was if he agreed not with *Pope Innocent* in what he had condemned, and if he would not follow the sentiments of the Church of *Rome*? *Celestius* answered, yes.

After these formalities *Zozimus* Writ to the Bishops of *Africk* a long letter, where he relates in what manner *Celestius* had appeared before him, and how he had been examined. After that he reproacheth them with having acted in this affair with too much precipitation (*fervore fidei prefestinatum esse*) and that they had too lightly believed extravagant reports, and saith the same to certain Letters of *Eros* and *Lazarus*, not being well assur'd of their worth. Lastly he citeth those that shall have any thing to say against *Celestius* to appear at *Rome* in two Months at farthest. Notwithstanding he took not away the Excommunication that the Bishops of *Africk* had pronounced against him.

As in that time the judgment of a Synod, or even of a Bishop, and particularly that of the Bishop of *Rome* was of great weight in what manner soever they had proceeded, and that afterward *Zozimus* was accused of having prevaricated in condemning *Pelagius* after having approved his Doctrine, St. *Augustine* (a) de pecc. c. 5, siue (a) hath endeavoured to give the best turn he could to this conduct of *Zozimus*, as if this Prelate had acted mildly on *Celestius's* account, only for pity, and thinking to

have an account of his Opinions only for the better instructing himself, & that seeing they could not not be attributed to him as obstinate Heresies, it would not be so difficult even to bring him back to the truth. *Zozimus* in a Word according to St. *Augustine*, look'd upon *Celestius* as a Man of great wit, and who being corrected might be very useful to others. The will of rectifying, but not the falsity of Opinion is commendable. (b) *In homine acerrimi ingenii, qui profecto si corrigeretur plurimis profuisset, voluntas emendationis, non falsitas dogmatis, approbata est.* 'Tis a long while ago, saith our Author, (c) that the Learned *Vossius* hath (c) p. 147. shewn this great Bishop endeavour'd in vain to hide the broken back of *Zozimus*, with his Purple. It cannot be doubted after reading the Letters that he Writ to the Bishops of *Africk*, that he not only favoured *Celestius*, but also *Pelagius*, as being Catholicks, without dissenting much from the true Faith.

Zozimus having sent his Letter unto *Africk*, received a Packet from *Palestin* directed to *Innocent*, whose Death was not yet known. There were Letters of *Prayle* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and an Apology of *Pelagius*, with a small book wherein he expounded his Opinions very clearly, as it may be seen by the reading of it. *Prayle* openly took the part of *Pelagius*, and *Zozimus* caused to be read publicly these Letters and Writings, which were approved by all, as appears by what *Zozimus* writ a little while after to the Bishops of *Africa*. Would to God, saith he to them, my most beloved Brethren, that some of you could have assisted at the reading of these Letters? What was not the joy of the holy Men that were present? In what admiration were they all in? Some could scarcely keep themselves from shedding tears. Is it possible that you could have defamed persons of so unspotted a Faith? Is there any place in their Writings, where they have not spoken of the assistance and Grace of God?

He condemned moreover in these Letters *Eros* and *Lazarus*, accusers of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, as persons guilty of great crimes, *erubescenda factis & damnationibus nomina* and spoke with much contempt of others that were parties against them.

Notwithstanding the Bishops of *Africk* took no notice of these Letters, but assembled themselves at *Carthage* to the number of ccxiv, and condemned anew *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, until they acknowledged the necessity of Grace in the same sense, that it was maintain'd in *Africk*, without making use of any equivocations as they had done till then. This Assembly was held at the beginning of the year CCCXVIII, they sent their Constitutions with a Letter to *Zozimus*, wherein these Bishops exhorted him to act against *Pelagius* conformably to them. Their Letter had the effect they desired, and *Zozimus* and all his Clergy (who had admired the Writings of *Pelagius*, where they

they freely declared their sentiments, giving attention, as St. Augustin, says, to what the Romans believed thereupon, whose faith might be spoken of with Praise to the Lord. I saw that all their Opinions, which were conformable to each other, were very zealous for the Catholick Faith against the Opinion of Pelagius. Notwithstanding Zozimus in condemning him, spoke not so strongly, as he had in judging in his favour, as it may be seen in Usher. The Emperors Honorius and Theodosius, received also the acts of the Council of Africk, and thought fit to prop them with their authority, in making an edict which they sent to the three Prefects of the Prætorium, for to publish it in the whole Empire, by which they banished Pelagius and Celestius from Rome, and likewise condemned to a perpetual banishment and confiscation of Goods all those that should maintain their Tenets, where e're they were, authorizing all persons to accuse them. The Prefects of the Prætorium accompanied this Imperial Law with particular Edicts, whereof one is still remaining, and may be seen in the Centuriators of Magdebourg. It is of Palladius's, and in these terms, "If he that is fallen into the infamous Opinions

(a) T. v. Col. 849.

"of this dangerous Heresie be (a) Laick or Ecclesiastick, whosoever he be that bringeth him before the Judge, without regarding the person of the accuser, the accused shall have his Goods confiscated, and depart immediately into perpetual banishment: *Et si sit ille plebeius ac clericus qui in caliginis hujus obscuræ reciderit à quocunque tractus ad judicem, sine accusatricis discretionem personæ facultatum publicatione nudatus irrevocabile patietur Exilium.* Suspicious Persons may believe that this Edict, conceived in so emphatical terms, came from the Pen of some Zealous Ecclesiastick; but it is nothing in comparison to those of the Emperours Honorius and Theodosius, that may be seen more at large in Usher, p. 151. Those that know the Style of the Preachers then, will be persuaded easily that it was requisite to follow the like method for some time, to begin an Imperial Edict in these Terms. *Ad conturbandam Catholica simplicitatis lucem, puro semper splendore radiantem, dolosa artis ingenio, novam subito emicuisse versutiam, pervulgatâ opinione cognovimus: quæ fallacis scientia obumbrata mendaciis, & furioso tantum debacchata luctamine, stabilem quietem celestis conatur attrahere fidei. Dum novi acuminis commendata vento, insignem notam plebeie vilitatis sentire cum cunctis, ac prudentia singularis palmam fore, communiter approbata destruere, &c.* All the rest are of the same Style, by which may be seen the Spiritual Excitations in Honorius time to convert Hereticks, were not very different from such as have been made use of in these latter Ages.

Notwithstanding the same Bishops of Africk, who had lately condemned Pelagius, knowing nothing yet of the Emperours E-

dicts which were dated the last of April, assembled themselves again at Carthage, the next day, and anathematized those that should say, "that the first Man was by his Nature mortal. 2. That little Infants ought not to be Baptised, or that they might be so, tho' they were not infected with the Sin of Adam. 3. That the Grace by which we are justified, serveth but for the Remission of Sins, and is not sufficient to make us abstain from them for the future: 4. That Grace assisteth us only to know our duty, and that it produceth not obedience of it self. 5. That Grace is given us, that we may the more easily by its means do, what we should do with most difficulty without it. 6. That it is only by humility that we are all obliged to say that we are Sinners. 7. That every one is not obliged to say, *pardon us our sins* for himself, but for others only that are sinners. 8. That the Saints are obliged to say the same words by humility only.

It seemeth that this Council intended not only to condemn the Opinions of Pelagius, but also to anathematize aforehand those that could fall into the sentiments that should have any connection with theirs. For it's apparent according to these principles, he could absolutely deny the four last propositions. He believed not that Grace made us simply to know our duty, nor that there had been any man that had passed his life without Sin, excepting Jesus Christ. But it hath always been the custom of Councils to anathematise some supposed errors that no body held, in condemning the real Opinions of Hereticks; it may be to inspire more horreur for Heresie, and to hinder that none should be so bold as to protect Hereticks.

Thus as (a) St. Augustin speaketh, By the Vigilance of Episcopal Councils, with the help of the Lord, who defendeth his Church (and that of the Imperial Edicts) Pelagius and Celestius were condemned in all the Christian World, if they did not repent.

Nevertheless Pelagius, who was still at Jerusalem pressed by Pinianus and Melanius, made a declaration of his thoughts concerning the necessity of Grace, which he acknowledged to be necessary to every act: and at every moment. He also saith, that he always was in regard to Baptism of the same sentiments, he had mention'd in his profession of Faith to Pope Innocent, which is, that Children must be Baptized as accustomed. But whatever he could say, it was not believed that he understood what he spoke in the same sense with the African Church. Nevertheless Julianus Bishop of Celenes in Campania, published Commentaries upon the Song of Songs, a book de Constantia, and four books against the first of St. Augustins de Concupiscentia & Nuptiis, where he maintained the sentiments of Pelagius. In the last of these Works he treated openly the Bishops of Africk, as seditious and Innovators, and said that they could

could not have Reason on their side, "since
"in the dispute, they frighted those that
"resisted them, with the Imperial Edicts,
"but that acting after that nature they per-
"suaded not intelligent persons, but the
"fearful only: *laborare illam*

(a) *Ap. Aug. partem rationis inopia, que in*
cont. Jul. lib. 3. differendo cum terrorem surro-
c. 1. gat, nullum a prudentibus impe-
trat, sed cecum a meretriculis ex-

torquet assensum. He accused Zozimus of
having used Prevarication in condemn-
ing Pelagius, after having approved
his sentiments, and as to the Synods
of Africk "he said that those that had
"been condemned by them, could not de-
"fend their cause; that none can well
"judge of controverted things, if he doth
"not bring a mind free from hatred, friend-
"ship, enmity, or anger, that the Bishops
"of Africk were not thus qualified, having
"an aversion to the Opinions of Pelagius be-
"fore they knew them, that his sentiments
"were not to be received, but weighed;
"and finally all that hath been usual to be
"objected to the judgments of great As-
"semblies.

A new Council was afterward held
in the year CCCCXIX. at Carthage, com-
posed of CCXVII. Bishops, where all that
had been done in the former against Pela-
gius was confirmed, and in effect to make
use of the terms of St. Prosper, in his Poem
of the Ungrateful,

An alium in sinem posset procedere sanctum
Concilium, cui dux Aurelius, ingeniumque
Augustinus erat.

But the Episcopal Authority was still
upheld in this rencounter by that of the Em-
perours, who in a Letter directed to Au-
relius confirmed their precedent Edict,
and ordered, that if any knew in any
(a) "place of the Empire
(a) p. 161. "Pelagius and Celestius kept
"themselves hidden, and dis-
"covered them not, or did not immediate-
"ly drive them away, he should be liable
"to the same punishment those Hereticks
"were. And to correct the stubbornness of
"some Bishops who maintained, by a si-
"lent consent, those that disputed in favour
"of the Heresie, or that did not destroy
"it in publicly attacking it, Aurelius should
take the care to depose those that would
not sign the Condemnation of Pelagia-
nism, and should be excommunicated and
banished. Aurelius had orders to publish
this Edict in all Africk, and he executed it
punctually, joyning to it a circular Letter
to the Bishops of the Byzacen and Arzigitan
Provinces, by which he compell'd them
to sign the acts of the last Council, as well
those that had assisted at it, as those that
could not be present, that it might be ac-
knowledgeed that there was not in Bishops
neither dissimulation nor negligence, or fear-
ing that by chance there might remain some
lawful suspicion of some bidden Heresie. The
Bishops that were of the same Opinion

with Pelagius subscribed the acts, but with
great difficulty; and eighteen of them
Writ to the Bishop of Thessalonica endea-
vouring to draw the Eastern Bishops on
their side. That they might the easier in-
gage them in their own cause, they accu-
sed their adversaries of Manicheism, because
the Manicheans maintained also the una-
voidable necessity of Sinning, and the na-
tural corruption of Man. This accusation
was the rather more odious, that St. Au-
gustin the principal defender of these Opi-
nions, had been in his Youth infected with
the Opinion of Manicheus, and that having
abjured them, he had attacked them by
the same principles whereof the Pelagians
had made use, when he was come to the
Episcopacy. On the other side Julianus
Writ to Rome, and Celestius sent to Con-
stantinople in the year CCCCXIX, to en-
deavour to win some Profelytes there. But
after the Imperial Edicts that we have
already observ'd, they could in no like-
lihood have a good issue. Celestius was ill
received by Articus who had succeeded to
Arsacius, substituted next to St. Chrysostom,
but dead a little while after. The Pelagi-
ans were also very ill treated, according
to the relation of St. Prosper, at Ephesus and
Sicily; and Constantius that Honorius had as-
sociated in the Empire, made in the year
CCCCXX, an Edict like to that of this
Prince against those that should hide Cele-
stius. St. Jerome died this year, and St. Au-
gustin composed his four books address'd
to Boniface Successor to Zozimus, and the
six against Julian address'd to Claudius. He
made therein the Elogium of St. Jerome
and assures us that he was of the same sen-
timents with the Bishops of Africk, because
it seems he had attack'd the Pelagians,
tho' on the other hand he did not make
use of St. Augustins reasons, as it may be
seen in the first Tome of this Library. p. 21.
St. Jerome said (a) that the
"Commandments of God are (a) lib. in Pe-
"possible, but that every lag.
"one cannot do that which is
"possible, not by any weakness of nature,
"which would be injurious to God, but
"the custom of the Soul, which cannot al-
"ways have at the same time all vertues.
Possibilia precepit Deus, sed hac possibilia cun-
cta singuli habere non possumus, non imbecilli-
tate natura, ut calumniam facias Deo, sed ani-
mi assuetudine, qui cunctas simul & semper non
potest habere virtutes. St. Augustin was so
far from this Opinion that in the CXII.
Sermon de tempore he speaketh thus: We ab-
hor the Blasphemy of those, who say that God
hath commanded Man any thing impossible, and
that the Commandments of God cannot be kept
by each in particular, but by all in common.
"Execramur Blasphemiam eorum qui dicunt
"impossibile aliquid homini a Deo esse precep-
"tum, & mandata Dei non a singulis, sed ab
"omnibus in commune posse servari, here
"must be understood by the help of
"Grace.

Whilst

Whilst (a) Pelagius remained hidden in the East, and was silent, Julian composed four Books against the second of St. Augustine de Concupiscentia & Nuptiis, having refuted the first in the four, whereof we have spoken. St. Augustine undertook to answer to the last work of Julian, as he had done to the precedent, but he could not end his answer, being dead before. We have two books thereof, with the two books of Julian, that he refuteth, Printed at Paris, by Claudius Menard in 1616. Julian kept no measure in his Books, and seems to have been willing to abuse the Adversaries of Pelagius, to vindicate himself of the severe Edicts they had obtained against him. But this conduct did him no good, seeing Celestinus Bishop of Rome banished him out of Italy, with Florus, Oroncius, Fabius, and all the Bishops of the same party.

It seemeth notwithstanding that Pelagianism did spread it self in spite of all this, seeing the Emperour Valentinian, to clear the Gauls of it, published an Edict at Aquileia in Ccccxv, by which he ordered Patroclus Bishop of Arles, to visit divers Bishops that followed the opinions of Pelagius, and to declare unto them, if in 20. days they did not retract their Errors, they should be banished from the Gauls, and deprived of their Bishopricks.

John Cassienus, originally a Scythian, that some call an Athenian, others a Roman, and some a Gaul, who had been a Deacon to St. Chrysostome, and made a Priest by Innocent the first, being retired to Marseilles began to compose Books, by which sweetening a little the Sentiments of Pelagius, whom he also condemned as a Heretic, he gave birth to the opinions, to which were since given the Name of Semi-pelagianism. His Sentiments may be seen in his Collations, or Conferences that St. Prosper hath refuted, and maintain'd against the pure Pelagianism.

(b) Petrus lib. (b) Here in a few words
laud. c. 7. is what they were reduced
unto.

I. The Semi-pelagians allowed, that men are born corrupted, and that they cannot withdraw from this Corruption, but by the assistance of Grace, which is nevertheless prevented by some motion of the Will, as by some good desire; whence they said, *meum est velle credere, Dei autem gratia est adjuvare*; to Will to Believe dependeth of me, but it's the Grace of God that helpeth me. God according to them expecteth from us these first motions, after which he giveth us his Grace.

II. That God inviteth all the World by his Grace, but that it dependeth of the Liberty of men to receive or to reject it.

III. That God had caused the Gospel to be preached to Nations that he foresaw would embrace it, and that he caused it not to be preached to Nations, that he foresaw would reject it.

IV. That notwithstanding he was willing all should be saved, he had chosen to Salvation none but those, that he saw would persevere in Faith and good Works.

V. That there was no particular Grace absolutely necessary to Salvation, which God gave only to a certain number of men, and that men might lose all the Graces they had received.

VI. That of little Children which died in their Infancy, God permitted that those only should be baptized, who, according to the foreknowledge of God would have been pious if they had lived; but on the contrary those that were wicked, if they came to a more advanced Age, were excluded from Baptism by Providence.

VII. The Semi-pelagians were yet accused to make Grace entirely outward, so that according to them it chiefly consisted in the preaching of the Gospel; but some of them maintained that there was also an interior Grace, that Pelagius himself did not totally reject. Others allowed that there was preventing Grace.

So it seemeth, that the difference that was betwixt them, and Pelagius consisted only in this, that they allowed Men were born in some measure corrupt, and also they pressed more the necessity of Grace, at least in words. Tho' the difference was not extremely great, he notwithstanding anathematized Pelagius. But this they did, it's like, in the supposition, that Pelagius maintained all the opinions condemned by the Councils of Africk. St. Augustine accuseth them to have made the Grace of God wholly to consist in Instruction, which only regardeth the understanding, when as he believ'd it to consist in a particular and interior action of the Holy Ghost, determining us invincibly to Will good, this determination not being the effect of our understanding. The other Sentiments of this Father, are known opposite either to the Doctrine of Pelagius, or that of the Semi-pelagians. We may be instructed herein particularly, in his Books of Predestination and Perseverance, that he writ at the entreaty of St. Prosper against the Semi-pelagians, and in the works of the latter.

To come back to the History, 'tis said, that in the year Cccxxix, one Agricola Son of Severianus a Pelagian Bishop carried Pelagianism into England, but St. Germain Bishop of Auxerre, was sent hither by Pope Celestin, or by the Bishops of the Gauls, and extirpated it suddenly. Several miracles are attributed to him in this Voyage, and in the stay he made in England, as Usher observes. But if what (c)

Hector Boetius saith, a Historian of Scotland, who lived (c) Hist. Scot.
lib. 8. in the beginning of the past Age, be true, he used a means that is not less efficacious for the extirpation of Heresie, which was that the Pelagians that would not retract, were burned by the care of the Magistrates.

But whilst St. Germain purified England,
S the

the Seeds of Pelagianism, that *Cassian* had spread amongst the Monks of *Marseille*, and in the *Narbonick Gaul*, caused it likewise to grow in *France*. *St. Prosper* and *Hilary*, had writ of it to *St. Augustine*, and had specified it to him, that several Ecclesiasticks of the *Gauls* looked upon his opinions as dangerous novelties. *St. Augustine* answered to their objections in the books, which we lately have named; but the support that *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, and *Maxim* Bishop of *Riez* granted to the Semi-pelagians, hindered any body from molesting them, tho' they shewed much aversion for the Doctrine of *St. Augustine*.

Julian and the other Bishops banished, as I have already observ'd, from *Italy*, were gone to *Constantinople*. where they importuned the Emperour, to be re-established, but as they were accused of Heresie, he would grant them nothing, without knowing the reasons why they were banished. *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople* writ about it to *Celestine*, who answered him after a very sour manner, and as if it had not been permitted to be informed of the reason of their condemnation, reproaching him at the same time with his particular Sentiments. His Letter is dated the 12. of *August* in the year Cccxxx.

It was at that time, that *St. Augustine* died, whose Elogium may be found in our Author who approveth of the praises that *Fulgentius* giveth him in his 2. Book of the *Truth of Predestination*, where he speaks of him as *Inspired*. A little after his death, the Letters of *Theodosius*, that had called him to the Council of *Ephesus*, arrived in *Africk*, whence some Bishops were sent thither.

In the year Cccxxxi, the 22. of *June*, this Council composed of CCX. Bishops was assembled for the Condemnation of *Nestorius*. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* presided there, and whilst it was holding, *John* Bishop of *Antioch* was assembled with 30. other Bishops, who made Canons contrary to those of this Council. The particulars were, that the party of *Cyril*, and that of *John* reciprocally accused each other of Pelagianism; but the greater part approved of the Deposition of *Julian* and other Bishops of *Italy*, that *Nestorius* had used with more mildness. He is accused to have been of their opinion, and to have maintained that *Jesus Christ* was become the Son of God, by the good use he made of his Free-will, in reward whereof God had united him to the Everlasting Word. This was the cause, that in this Council Pelagianism and Nestorianism were both condemned together.

But notwithstanding all this, and the cares of three Popes, *Celestinus*, *Xystus*, and *Leo* the first, Semi-pelagianism was upheld amongst the *Gauls*. It may be that the manner wherewith *Celestine* writ to the Bishops of *France* contributed to it, because that tho' he condemned *Pelagius* with heat, and praised *St. Augustine*, he said at the

end of his Letter, "that as to the deep and difficult Questions, which were found mingled in this Controversie, and which were treated at length by those that opposed the Hereticks, that as he durst not despise them; he did believe it not necessary to make a party therein."

Our Author shews (a) what pains *St. Prosper*, and (a) Cap. 12. the Popes *Xystus* and *Leo* took to refute, or to destroy Pelagianism, and Semi-pelagianism. It was in the same time that *Vincent of Lerins* made his *Commonitory* to wit, three years after the Council of *Ephesus*. He is suspected to be the Author of the objections that *St. Prosper* hath refuted, under the Title of *Objectiones Vincentianæ*; this *Commonitory* was Printed lately in 12. at *Cambridge*, with the Notes of *Mr. Baluze*, and the Book of *St. Augustine* of Heresies.

Usher in this same Chapter relates the Ravages, that the *Scotch* and the *Picts* committed in *England*, the arrival of the *Saxons* into this Island, the manner how they became Masters on't, and the other events of that time.

Before (b) that these disorders happened in *England*, a (b) C. 13. Monk named *Faustus* retired from hence into the *Narbonick Gaul*, where he became Abbot of *Lerins*, and afterwards Bishop of *Riez*, after *Maximus*, whom he also succeeded in the Abbey of *Lerins*. He assisted at a Council, which was held at *Rome*, towards the end of the year Cccclxii, where it was concluded that every year there should be a Council held amongst the *Gauls*, which should be convoked by the Archbishop of *Arles*. There was assembled one, in this City which ordered *Faustus* to express his Sentiments touching the matter of Grace, and another at *Lyons* by the order of which he added something to what he had already writ, because some new Errours had been discovered. These Errours are those to which the Divines of *Marseilles* gave the Name of *Predestinarian* Heresie, that some maintain to have been a real Heresie, and others the opinions of *St. Augustine*. We have no more of the Acts of these two Synods, but the work of *Faustus* subsisteth yet. It is intituled, *de Gratia & libero arbitrio*, directed to *Leontius* Archbishop of *Arles*, and very clearly containeth Semi-pelagianism. *Erasmus* got it first printed at *Basil*, in M. D. XXVIII, and it hath been since inserted in the 8th. Tome of the Library of the Fathers. *Faustus* sent the opinions of the second Council of *Arles* to a *Predestinarian* Priest named *Lucidus*, to oblige him to retract his Errours, and to subscribe this Doctrine of the Council. His Letter to *Lucidus* is still to be had, and the answer of this Priest directed to the Bishops assembled at *Arles*, where he declares that he condemns the Sentiments of those that believe, that after the fall of the first man, Free-will was entirely extinct. That *Jesus Christ*

Christ died for all men; that some are destined to death and others to life: that from Adam to Jesus Christ no Pagan hath been saved by the first Grace of God, to wit, by the law of nature, because they have lost the free Will in our first Father: That the Patriarchs and Prophets, and the greatest of Saints have remained in Paradise untill the time of Redemption. This is almost a full Abridgment of the Book of *Faustus*. Some learned men have maintained that *Faustus* had passed his Commission, and that many of those that had assisted at the Councils of *Arles* and *Lions*, had not subscribed his Book. It is nevertheless difficult to believe that a Bishop that was very much esteem'd as *Faustus* was, as it appears by the Letters of *Sidonius Apollinaris* Bishop of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, who makes his Elogy in several places, and by *Gennadius* who praiseth this work; it is I say, difficult enough to conceive how he could have the boldness to attribute to a Council, opinions which were so odious to the greatest part of 'em, and to think the Members of this Council could not shew their Resentment thereof. Neither do those who say that *Faustus* exceeded his Commission, give any reason, only that they cannot persuade themselves that there were so many Semi-Pelagians amongst the *Gauls*. In our Author are the different Judgments that divers learned men have made of *Faustus* and the greatest part of 'em are not very favourable to him. *Baronius* too speaketh ill enough of him. So that it happeneth now to the Semi-Pelagians, what did in times past to the Pelagians; which is, that those who believ'd their principal Tenets, condemned them only because those who have been more considerable than themselves have formerly condemned them.

The Book of *Faustus* is (a) (a) C. 14. not unknown, it being carried to *Constantinople*, where mens minds were divided concerning the Doctrine it contained. Some maintained it was Orthodox, and others Heretical, as it appeareth by a Letter of *Possessor* an African Bishop, who was then at *Constantinople*, and who writ of it to Pope *Hormisdas* in the year DXX. to know his thoughts thereupon. Persons of the first quality amongst which were *Vitalianus* and *Justinian*, who hath been since Emperour, desired to be instructed what Sentiments the Church of *Rome* had of it. *Hormisdas* disapproved the Book of *Faustus*, and sent them to consult these of St. *Augustin* of *Predestination* and *Perseverance*. There was then at *Constantinople*, a Monk named *John Maxence*, who writ an answer

(b) Tom. 5. Bibl. (b) to the Letter of *Hormisdas*, P. P. Ed. Col. where he compareth the opinions of St. *Augustin* and those of *Faustus*, and desperately censures *Possessor* and those that maintained that the Book of *Faustus* was Orthodox. It appears by that, that *Possessor* was a Semi-Pelagian,

and consequently that the Councils of *Africk*, had not been able as yet to submit all the Bishops of this Church to their Decisions.

The *Vandals* were become Masters of *Africk*, during the heat of the Pelagian Controversies, and as they were *Arians*, they drove away a great number of Bishops that followed the decisions of the Council of *Nice*. *Thrasamond* King of the *Vandals* had sent 60 of them into exile from the Province of *Byzacene*, into *Sardinia*. They were consulted from the East upon the Controversies of Grace, rather to have a publick Declaration of their opinions, than to draw instructions from them, seeing those that did write to them, had already taken party and condemned in their Letters not only the *Pelagians*, but also the Books of *Faustus*. *Fulgentius* Bishop of *Esfagnes* answered in the name of the others, and exposed the sentiments of St. *Augustin*, in a Letter, and in a particular Book directed to one *Paul* a Deacon. The same *Fulgentius* made also other works upon this matter, whereof several places may be seen in our Author. He had composed seven Books against the two of *Faustus* of *Grace* and *Free-Will*, but they are lost. These *African* Bishops returned to their Churches in the year DXXIII. which was that of the Death of *Thrasamond*, as *Victor* of *Tonnens* informeth us in his Chronicle. But *Fulgentius* had refuted *Faustus* before he had left *Sardinia*, whence it followeth, as well as from the Letter of *Possessor*, that *Binus* hath not well related the third Council of *Arles*, whose opinions *Faustus* had expounded in the year DXXIV. But this is not the only fault he hath committed, he hath corrected, or rather corrupted as he thought fit, an infinite number of places of the Antient Councils, without having respect to the MSS. which makes Usher (a) to give him (a) P. 235. the Title of Contaminator Conciliorum.

As *Hilary* and *Leontius* Archbishops of *Arles* had favoured Semi-Pelagianism, *Cesario*, who succeeded *Leontius* inclin'd to what the Divines of *Marseille* called *Prædestinianism*, to wit the Sentiments of St. *Augustine*. It was by his direction, that the second Council of *Orange* was held in the year DXXXIX, which approved the opinions of St. *Augustin*, and our Author gives us (b) an (b) P. 262. account of all their entire acts.

A little while after another Council was held at *Valence* upon the same matters, and which also condemned Semi-Pelagianism. *Boniface* II. approved the acts of this Council, by a Letter that he writ to *Cesario* in the year DXXXI, and which Usher hath inserted in his Works.

Here it is that endeth the History of Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism, which was not nevertheless extinguished among the *Gauls*, nor in *England*, by so many Efforts and Decrees of the defenders of Grace

Grace, as may be seen by the *History of Godefrid*, written by the same Usher. What can there be concluded from thence, according to the Principles of St. *Augustin*, but that God would not apply his Grace to *Anathemas*, to Confiscations, to Depositions, and to Banishments, whereof the Pious Emperors and Holy Councils made use of against the unfortunate Pelagians?

We may relate the beginning of the third part of the *British Antiquities* in p. 268. where the Author begins to speak of King *Arthur*, and of the privileges pretended to be given by him to the University of *Cambridge*. The rest of the Chapter, excepting what there is in it concerning *Gildas*, of whose works Usher makes long Extracts, is but a collection of Fables and Citations of Monks.

The 15th Chapter treateth of the Colonies that the *Picts*, a People of *Scythia*, and the *Scotch* that inhabited *Ireland* sent into *England*, and of the manner how these Barbarous People were converted to Christianity. There are also in this place more Fables than Truths, seeing if we except some general acts, the remainder contains only impertinent fictions; in this Chapter are also new Fables concerning St. *Ursula*, which some Monks report to have been Daughter to a King of *Scotland*.

The 16 and 17th Chapters which contain the Ecclesiastick Antiquities of *Ireland*, are of the same stamp as the preceding ones, and we may wonder how the Archbishop of *Armagh* hath had the patience to make such a great collection of Fables, and to read such a great number of Works of Monks, both Manuscript and Printed. Those that are minded to know a great part of their fictions concerning the British Isles from the year DXXX unto the end of the fourteenth Age, may have recourse to the Original. In the same nevertheless may be found some more certain antiquities touching their first Inhabitants, and the names of these Islands, and some considerable changes that happened in them. The Author hath also added at the end, a Chronological Index, where one may see in what time each thing ought to be related. It's a thing much to be wish'd in other Works, which contain such disquisitions of Antiquities, where commonly there is a strange Confusion.

Those that desire to be thoroughly instructed in the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of *England*, ought to add to Usher's Work, whereof we have given now the extract, a Book in Folio, of Doctor *Stillingfleet*, Intituled, *Origines Britannicæ, or the Antiquities of the British Churches*; with a Preface concerning some pretended Antiquities relating to Britain, in vindication of the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, Printed at London 1685.

The true System of the Church, or Analysis of Faith, &c. by Sieur Jurieu Doctor and Professor of Divinity. At Dordrecht, Sold by the Widdow Caspar and Theodore Goris 1686 in 8vo.

THIS piece is chiefly designed to answer Mr. *Nicoli*, but the difficulties that Mr. *Arnauld*, Father *Maimbourg*, and the Bishop of *Meaux* have propos'd in the chapter of the Church, are herein examined with the utmost exactness; the whole is reduced to these five general questions, 1. *What are the essential parts of the Church?* 2. *What is the invisibility and marks thereof?* 3. *What is its extent?* 4. *What is its Unity and Schism?* 5. *What is its authority and judgments* the exact and profound discussion of these matters take up three Books.

The first is begun by the comparison of the Church with a Human Body animated, and it's pretended that as the essential parts of man are a reasonable Soul, and an Organised Body, and the Union of this Body and Soul; likewise the essential parts of the Church, are Faith and Charity, the Profession of Faith, the outward practice of Charity, and the Union of these four; Faith and Charity are the Soul of the Church, the outward Profession and Practice the Body, and according to this Idea, neither the Saints in Paradise, nor the Predestinated that are not yet born, are any part of the Church, which is proved by Scripture; after that is examined if false Christians and Heretical Societies, make part of the Church; and having shewn the prodigious incumbrances whereunto the R. C. cast themselves, in maintaining that an ill man may be a true member of the Church, and even of those Members on whom God confers the Spirit of infallibility. We are taught after what manner the men of the World are in the Church, and may be lawful Pastors in it. Mr. *Nicoli* stands here a rude brunt, for he pretends that his efforts do make St. *Augustin* agree with the Scholastick Divines upon the question, whether the wicked are true Members of the Church, which is full of obvious contradictions. As to Heretical or Schismatical Societies, it's needless to prove to the R. C. that they do not belong to the Church, for they say it often enough, yet without giving good reasons why crimes are more privileged therein than errors; but the incumbrance which may be in this respect, hindreth not Mr. *Jurieu* from fully examining this matter; he enters therefore into the discussion of the Unity of the Church.

He maintains, always leaning upon his comparison of human bodies, that all the Sects of Christianity belong really to the body of the Church, and that in this there is no more absurdity, than to maintain that a distemper'd Member is a true part of Mans Body; he asks whence comes the Idea of the Unity which excludes from the

the Church all the Christian Societies but one; and he persuades himself that the monstrous errors which are raised in the first Ages, have been the true Origin of this Idea, in accustoming the Orthodox, to think that Hereticks are Members wholly separate from the Body. He adds that St. Cyp finding this Idea ready at hand, applied the same to the Novations, & grounded thereon such strong reasons against the validity of the Baptism of Hereticks, that nothing of weight was answered him; this occasions the Author to criticise on the Hypotheses of St. Cyprians antagonists. He shews them that they understood not what the Unity of the Church is. He makes the same reproach to St. Augustin and accuses him of perplexing himself with a thousand contradictions in maintaining on one side, that the Baptism of Hereticks is valid, and on the other that they are absolutely separated from the body of the Church. But St. Jerom is not so used; it's granted that he has better understood the question, and it's proved by his disputes against the *Luciferians*, that he excluded not from the Church, even all Hereticks. After this it is maintain'd by eleven proofs, that the Catholick Church includes all the Christian Societies which retained the *fundamentals of Christianity*.

The first proof is drawn from the extent which the Word of God promiseth to the Church, for as it is evident that there is no particular Church which hath ever completed the notion of this extent, the promises of God must either be false or verify themselves by the extent of Christianity in General. Here are refuted the pretensions of Mr. Nicole, upon the extent of the Romish Communion; the second proof is taken out of the places of the Word of God, which foretel that the Church shall have a mixture of good and bad, of wheat and tares, for if crimes hinder not a Christian to be a Member of the true Church, why should error have the fatality to hinder from it? It is surely a pretention that abuses the light of Nature, to say that a Man that kills another is yet a Catholick, but if he blames the retrenchment of the Cup, he is by that very thing Excommunicated and banished the whole Communion of the Church; we need only to ask good reasons for this enormous inequality to make the most resolute Doctors sweat. The third proof is drawn from this, that God keeps the knowledge of the Truth, and Preaching of his Word in Schismatick and erring Societies, whence we must conclude that God saves Men in it. Other proofs are founded on examples, or on the Opinions and Conduct of the Roman Catholicks. The examples are, the Schisms of the ten Tribes, which continued, as this Author saith, to be the People of God, and the *Jews* that were converted to the Gospel in the Apostles time, and who refused to have any Communion with the converted

Gentiles. For the proofs *ad hominem*, they are drawn either from Father Goar, or from Leo Alatus, who said that the Schismatick Communion of the East are not out of the Church; Or, according to Mr. Nicole, several persons have been saved, tho' of the *Arian* Communion, or else the Gentlemen of Port Royal; err, which glory in this point of *Transubstantiation*, to have Conformed themselves to the Schismaticks; or, according to the Confession of the Romish Church, that there is a true Mission and a saving Grace in the other Communion, so that other sects are Christians; and during the Schism of *Anti-Popes*, the true *Catholicity* was found under divers obediences. Mr. Nicole is strongly refuted upon this Article.

Neither is he with less vigour refuted upon the objection which he hath so much boasted of, which is, that the Unity of the Church necessarily includes the Unity of Communion. It is the first difficulty which Mr. Jurieu examines in his answer to the arguments, which may be alledged against his system. The 2d. difficulty is found in the 7th. Book of Mr. Arnaud, upon the downfall of Morality, where he saith this System is that of the indifferency of Religions: but 'tis strongly denyed him, for it's maintained that one cannot be saved in all the Sects of Christianity, and that there are cases, wherein we must separate from them which err, and that we cannot Communicate in all, nor tolerate all, nor pass successively from one unto another. These are great questions, and for to clear them one must have as much wit, and depth of Judgment as Mr. Jurieu has: He makes a thousand fine remarks upon all this, he saith there are two ways which God makes use of to save Men in Heretical Societies, one is the Grace he gives them to discern the true spiritual nourishment from the false. The other is to bear with their faults according to his great mercy. But lest People should abuse this Doctrine, the Author brings several Cautions which shew that such as throw themselves into the Communion of Rome, have reason to fear their Souls, and maintains, that it was well done to separate from it, as in the last Age. He speaks much upon the important subject of Toleration, nor will he have Sovereigns deprived of the liberty of reprehending their Heretick subjects in certain cases, nor will he have them that err, have any privilege of maintaining their pretended Truths, he examines upon this subject, the reasons that have been lately published to maintain the privileges of a Conscience that really errs, and then passes to the visibility and perpetuity of the Church: two great questions, upon which he says some things that are both solid and curious. And so much for the first Book.

The second runs upon a subject no less important, that is, upon the Authority of the Church, and analysis of Faith. The Author begins his proofs against the infallibility of

the Church for this reason, that the Universal Church being a Collection of all Societies that retain its grounds, and principles, can no ways be infallible, nor has it any need of being unerrable, for every part maintaining that each other part being contrary to it's self, has fallen into error, it follows that the Church being but a Collection of all these parts, whereof the one refutes the rest, is erroneous in all its parts; and that being so, how can it be infallible, or any single part thereof be unerrable. Nor is it less evident that the infallibility of the Church would be to no purpose, because it is not possible that a Congregation of all Christian Sects should clear or decide any difficulty. And it is confessed here *that the unanimous consent of all Communions to teach a certain truth*, is a kind of infallible judgment given by the Church, and moreover the Character of a fundamental truth so hard to be agreed upon is consented to; but lest the *Socinians* might come to cross it, it is declared that neither they, nor the Fanaticks have any share in it, nor yet the other Sectaries of these times. After this the Authority of Councils is spoken of, and divers reflections made thereon: The Councils are considered different ways. 1. Either as the meeting of wise Men, that have a mind mutually to instruct each other; and Communicate their knowledge. 2. As commissioned Law-makers that Assemble for to regulate the form of Government, 3. As Judges established by their Church to learn the prevarications of Religious Societies. The first of these relations belong to them in respect of matters of Faith, the 2d. In respect of ordering of Discipline, and the 3d. in respect of censures and Excommunications; this is exactly ordered, and helps to resolve a thousand great difficulties, the submission Christians owe unto Councils, and upon the infallibility that M. Meaux maintains that Protestants attribute to Councils. M. Nicole goes farther, for he affirms that they attribute the gift of infallibility to each faithful person to refute him; he is given to understand by several examples that it is not necessary to think ones self infallible to be convinced of any Opinion, and because the knot of the difficulty lies in this, that they which are deceived are no less convinced than the Orthodox, the Author acknowledges, *that the Characters cannot be precisely shewn which distinguish the false and true persuasions*, and at the same time says, *that these differences are real, and make themselves apparent*. It is good faith that can convince the publick that Mr. Jurieu is none of those Controversists whereof M. Simon gives us such ugly Ideas, I would say of those that wou'd rather dye, than acknowledge that they cannot clear precisely this or that difficulty. He gives us at the same time many instructions upon the manner, how hearing and reading the Word of God, conducts infallibly

into the Truth, those in whom the Holy Ghost works by an efficacious Grace, but lest people may confound the infallibility that is produced by this Grace, with the privileged infallibility which was belonging to the Apostles, he teaches us the marks whereby to distinguish them, after which he fully answers two objections, that were proposed to make the Protestant Church seem to become to the highest pitch of impertinence. For it was objected that a private Person, how ignorant soever he could be, should be assured according to their principles, that he can understand the true sense of Scripture, better than all the Church besides, and that he owes no submission to Church, or Council, unless he sees by his own proper light, that their decision is good; all these difficulties are solidly answered and made to disappear.

The reader sees that hitherto M. Jurieu has met with several difficulties in his way, but they are but trifles to what he must encounter now, for he is going to answer objections that relate to the way of *examen*, and that are without any dispute the main strength of M. Nicole. He answers them first indirectly, and argues almost thus. *We must go to the knowledge of Scripture either by Authority, or by way of examen, but it is impossible that Authority should conduct us to it, therefore we must make use of the way of examen*. He proves the *minor* in shewing, that upon Earth there is no infallible and speaking Authority; and tho' there were, it would be impossible to have recourse to it, because it cannot be known, by any certain sign of necessary truth. It is the bravest Field in the World wherein the Enemy is led without having any place to retreat to, so that if there were able and disinterested Judges, as the *Platonists* and *Aristoteleans* were, to observe the strokes given, there are no People in the World they would despise so much, as the Christians, whereof they would see the greatest part brag of a Doctrine that cannot keep the Field one Moment in sight of the Enemy, and which nevertheless subdues every day some of the other party, upon this may be well said, the absurdity which *Sandaicat* published concerning the Battle of *Cerisoles les Spagnoles victoriosos serinder*, however it be, let us mark in a few words what the Author does here.

He shews that if Faith did not enter the Soul, but by the way of Authority M. Nicole would have it, the Jewish Church should never have had any good assurance of the Will of God, as well because there was not in a long time any Prophet or other infallible Tribunal that declared it, as that the Authority of the Prophets themselves might have been suspected to be false, & that amidst the most famous Miracles; because there was none that could infallibly assure them, that these Miracles came from God, or from the Devil. These dreadful difficulties

culties are pushed to the time of Jesus Christ himself and his Apostles; and it's shewn that according to the Roman Church the *Jews* would have had no reason to be converted to it. The same thing is shewn in respect of following ages; in a word, it is maintained against M. *Nicole*, that his principle is the great road to *Pyrrhonisme*, and *Atheism*, because for to trust well the way of Authority, we must know it well; but very few could be able to come to the requisite assurance by the way of *examen* upon this subject, and to the end that the difficulty should come to be more inexplicable, the Author has invincibly refuted all that M. *Nicole* brought to prove that the Authority of the Church makes it self easily known, so that here is the way of Authority quite shut up; by what way then will people enter into the Faith? must it be by *examen*? if that be the way M. *Jurieu* must take away the Obstacles that M. *Nicole* has put in it, and he must answer directly, for to answer by retortions, as was observ'd by a Modern Author, is to furnish *Deists* with the best Arms that they ever yet made use of, and is to compleat what M. *Nicole* has begun, for the dullest amongst them would say after he had seen Mr. *Nicoles* book, and what we have mentioned of Mr. *Jurieu*, that seeing God has not made Man capable of choosing without rashness, the only Religion that is Good, it is evident that he has Revealed us nothing of it, but has left it to our Education and Natural light; therefore of necessity to disarm these Libertines, he must answer directly to what Mr. *Nicole* says, and let us see how he will behave himself.

He accuses his adversaries argument against the way of *examen*, of two great faults; one that it supposeth no help from the Holy Ghost to them who meditate upon Scripture; the other that he supposes a Cartesian principle that would entirely ruine all Religions if it were applyed to Moral knowledge; this principle is, that we must believe nothing but what we understand clearly & distinctly, and to be lawfully assured that we have attained this evidence, we must first have examined a thing all manner of ways, and must have known that it could not have been other ways. Our Author says that this condition being impossible in regard of most People, and yet all men being obliged to be firmly satisfied of their Religion, it follows, that Religion is not subject to these preliminary conditions, which *Des Cartes* only requires for the objects of speculation. The Remonstrants believe they can draw great Advantages from M. *Nicoles* objections, because they believe that for to answer him, the points of Faith must be reduced to a very little number of Articles, clearly contained in the Word of God, but the Author says that this answer would cure no evil, because to be assured to that degree of certainty which is required by Mr. *Nicole*, that Jesus Christ came into this World,

we must examine according to the Cartesian method, whether the Gospel be a feigned Book or no, and hear all that is said by the Wicked upon this Subject, and examine all the moral demonstrations whereon the certainty of things done, is grounded. Moreover, we must be assured by Philosophical reasons and by good answers to *Spinoza's Systeme*, that Man acts freely, that he has an immortal Soul, and that God prepares pains and recompences. Where are Tradesmen or Peasants who are capable of so long a dispute pushed to a contradictory decree? So that this cannot be the way to answer well, for if we did but retain one or two Articles of our Creed, we should have enough to do to render our selves certain of them according to *des Cartes* method. And all this shews that Mr. *Nicoles* principle ought not to be applyed to matters of Religion. And he is shewn several other very inconvenient consequences of this principle, and it is concluded that Faith does not depend upon an *examen* of discussion, but upon an *examen* of attention, the effects whereof are Learnedly explained in shewing the manner how Divine Truths are imprinted in our understanding; this is very fine, and gives us a second example of Mr. *Jurieu's* sincerity, for without troubling himself whether Mr. *Nicole* will brag of having obliged the Ministers to quit their ground, he leaves him wholly to the *examen* of discussion, and maintains that this was not what he ought to have disputed against, and he answers an objection of Mr. *de Meaux*, whether there be a time, wherein a Christian may doubt of the Truths of Scripture, and that according to the Principles of the reformed Church.

Let us say a word upon the last Book of this answer; the Author has not so much indifference for Mr. *Nicole*, but he has taken care to hinder his too great brags of the full victory that he has had in several cases upon the *examen* of discussion, and says that this victory is but of little use to Papists, but that it furnisheth Weapons to Libertines and Pagans to combat the Christian Religion. Moreover, he is not of Opinion, that all the Arguments that were thundered against the *examen* of discussion, are good, and as to what concerns the way of feeling, and this ray that he has so much laught at, he is shewn that there is no reason to be so merry upon that word, that there are really things in Scripture which are known by the way of feeling, and that it is no sufficient Argument against it, to say that it deceives Hereticks daily, for the Author says, if it deceives them, it is because it is not assisted by an interiour Grace from the Holy Ghost, as when we feel the light of Truth: besides this he maintains that the most simple were able to know what was requisite to make them quit the Roman Communion. In fine he shews the analysis of Faith according to St. *Augustine*, and he answers Mr. *Nicole* in several things

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concerning the calling of the first Reformers, and the Schism thereof some would fain have convinced them, he answers him I say in all this, and accuseth him of a thousand frivolous quibbles, unworthy both of a Man of Honour and a witty Man.

I do not doubt but many of my readers may not understand what the *analysis of Faith* is. Let us then say that we understand by these words, the reducing of Faith to its first principles, that it is a Metaphor borrow'd from Chymists, who call *Analysis* the Operation that disunites the parts of a compound body, setting apart the ingredients until they come to the most simple parts; so to make the *Analysis* of Faith is nothing else, but to mount by degrees to its beginning, and to the first reasons whereon it is grounded, and in this the Religions of the West are very different, for tho' it is very true that the Protestants and Catholics being questioned *why they believe the Trinity*, agree in answering that it is *because God has revealed it in Scripture*, but if you ask them this other question, *how they do know that God has revealed it in Scripture*, their answer will be very different, the Catholic will answer that it is, *because he is told that the Roman Church finds the meaning of Trinity in certain passages of Scripture*, but the Protestant will say, *it is because he finds that these passages signify the Trinity*, whence it follows that the Faith of a R. C. is grounded on the Authority of the Church, & that of a Protestant upon the very Light which he finds in the Object proposed by Scripture. There are but few who trouble themselves with this *Analysis*, they content themselves well enough with believing what they have a feeling of. Moreover, it is a great question with Roman Catholics, whether in the *Analysis* of Faith they must stop at the Pope, or go on to the Council. Gregory of Valence, in his *Analysis Fidei Catholicae*, maintains firmly that they are to stop at the Pope. But Mr. Holden an English Man by Nation, and a famous Doctor of Sorbonne, holds for the Council in his *Divina fidei Analysis, seu de fidei Christianae resolutione*, which has been re-printed lately at Paris, with some additions. A Lutheran Professor called Hannekenius refutes the Jesuite in the year 1683, by publishing *paralysis fidei Papae*; I do not know whether he will publish such another *Paralysis* against the Doctor of Sorbonne.

Mr. Jurieu put at the end of his Book a short answer to what Mr. Ferrand published against the *Parallel* of Papism and Calvinism; if this Article had not passed the bounds already, we could give a short extract of this short answer, it is admirable, and discomforts this Author, who to speak the truth, has not answered the hopes that the Catholics of this Country conceived of his Work; they were a little surprized with the stroke they received from the parallel, and they expected that Mr. Fer-

rand that was chosen to revenge their common Mother, would acquit himself well of the Office, but they experienced that he did not hold to what the Church promised it self of him. *Non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem promisit.*

The Accomplishment of Prophecies, or the Deliverance of the Church near at hand, &c. Corrected and Augmented almost a third part, with the Explication of all the Visions of the Apocalypse. By the S P. J. PEPETH. A. R. at Rotterdam, by Abraham Achers, 1686. 2. Vol. in 12.

THIS Work has made such a noise, that there are two thousand Copies disposed of in four or five Months, and yet there are but a very few gone into France, which would have taken off a great many, if it were suffered, that it might be disposed of there. this considerable part of Europe being almost nothing by report in respect of the Booksellers Trade: one would think, that the first Edition should have sufficed, nevertheless there was soon occasion for the second, and it is that, which occasioned Mr. Jurieu, to add to this Work the Additions, which are to be marked. We shall not speak of them that are insensibly spread all over the Book, but stick to such as form a new entire and well distinguished Member. The first of these Additions is in the Preface, and serves for an Answer to two complaints, the one treats on the fear that new Converts may entertain in their state of Hypocrisie, in hopes of a great Reformation in a little time; the other is of what the Author has said, of the *reign of a thousand years*; he answers to the first of these complaints, and proves too much, because he proves, that God never promised the deliverance of the Church, and that Jeremiah never reveal'd to the Jews the near Destruction of Jerusalem, which God revealed to him; he adds, that God thought it convenient to keep the Knowledge of certain Prophecies from Men, to the end, that they might not shun them, but that at other times, he thinks it convenient that we may be aiding in procuring the Effect and Execution; he says, that as it would be the sign of the last Judgment, to drink of stinking and impoison'd Waters, in hopes, that they might be purified in two or three years, so it would be a disorder both of Mind and Heart, that would be very strange, to stick to the Communion of the Church of Rome, in hopes that in some years it might be purified. As for the other point, he admires that some have made a noise against the reign of a thousand years, and declares that he will patiently wait for it, altho' some have threatned to complain of it, and he is not ashamed in this to be of the opinion of Cocceius.

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The second Addition contains the eight first Chapters of this Work, and serves for Explication to the first nine of the *Apocalypse*, so that there is nothing of Prophecy in the Revelations of St. John, which is not explain'd, by Mr. Jurieu, he has judg'd, that in shewing the compleat systeme of all the events spoke of in the first book, it would dart a great light upon each of the Visions. He refutes them that believe that the seven Epistles of St. John to the seven Principal Churches of Asia are Prophetick; and his opinion is, that the opening of the great Theatre of the Visions of St. John was but at the fourth Chap. of the *Apocalypse*. He finds that it begins like that of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, and he stops chiefly at the four beasts, and at the twenty four ancients, that are about the Throne of God. After this, he gives us an Observation, which is called the Key of the *Apocalypse*. This whole Book is but a Paraphrase upon what *Daniel* says, in the seventh Chapter of his *Revelations* about the four Beasts; he explains the systeme of the seven Seals, and the seven Trumpets, in great and small, and always by very ingenious and happy Suppositions: and all that relates to the destiny of the Roman Empire, to the day of Judgment. What follows, and what has been explain'd in the first Edition, relates to the Church, and the Antichristian Empire, which was formed in the bowels of the Church. The third Addition comprehends the 14, 15, and 16 Chapters, and applies to the Empire of the Papists, the second Chapter of the second to the *Thessalonians*, and the Visions of the 13th. and 17. Chapter of the *Apocalypse*.

The fourth Addition is very curious, and of importance to the Author, it is contained in the 15. Chapter of the second Tome; and answers to a remark made by a great many people, that things are spoken of here with great assurance, which ought not to have been propos'd but as conjectures; he says, that it will be known some day, what made him speak after so decisive a manner, and with such confidence; but in the mean time, he would be willing that three things were considered. *First*, That he does not speak of the most part of events that are to happen yet, with so much Assurance as is thought. *The Second*, That whereas he has declared in proper terms, that he consents willingly, that that may pass with the Readers as conjectures. It is reasonable, that he may have the liberty of believing what he sees, or what he thinks he sees in the Prophets writings. *The Third*, That before we censure him of rashness, upon what he so confidently believes, that we are at the end of the 1260 years of the Reign of Antichrist, his principles are to be considered and examined together; but because the Readers may chuse whether they will take notice of this last remonstrance, when there is any pains to be taken in finding out the connexion of divers Principles, that are here and there in

that great Volume; the Author eases them by summing up his Principles, and their Consequences, and after he has shewed their connexion, he concludes, that it is impossible that false conjectures should meet always; and that chance should unite one or two hundred upon the same Subject.

Whatever strength of Reason is in the Explication of these matters, Philosophers will not find what they will look for, but if they stop at the fifth Addition, they will find that Mr. Jurieu has laboured for them as well as for others; that he has reserved for them the Conclusion of his work as a relishing piece, and the highest point of Meditation. The Title of this Appendix is, *An Essay of Mystical Divinity*, where are seen proofs of the greatest mysteries of Religion drawn from Nature. This maxim is first settled, that God applies his Essence to all Beings, and that from this Application comes an Impression that makes the Divinity, and all its Mysteries appear every where. After that he declares, that this Truth may be ascertained by three Examples, that will shew that the Union of the Father with the Word, the adorable Trinity of the Persons in the Unity of Essence, and the Incarnation of the Word, are three Mysteries, whereof the Impressions were stamp'd in Nature. To shew this, the Author begins to consider the History of the Creation, and after having said in general, that these three Mysteries are found there, he examines in particular *Adams* Marriage, as the Image of the Union of the Father with the Son, shewing several fine Relations of these two matters; then he raises himself to the higher Worlds, and he finds there the same marks, that he found below, for he finds that the Union of Matter and Motion is a kind of Marriage, which resembles much that of *Adam*; and the same resemblance appears yet more in the Union of the Spirit of God with what is called Nature, and in the Union of Jesus Christ with the Church. See then four Impressions of the Union of the Eternal Father with the Son, one in the Marriage of *Adam* and *Eve*; one in the Union of Matter and Motion, and in what regards the sensible World considered in its self; one in the Union of the Spirit of God with Nature, and this belongs to the sensible World, considered as united with the intellectual World; and the last in the World purely intelligible, or in the Union of Jesus Christ with the Church, ascending higher even to the infinitely perfect Spirit; we shall find not only the Impression, but the Seal it self, not a Copy or Image, but the Original: We shall find the Father united with the Eternal Wisdom, upon which there are several remarks. This is the first of the three Mysteries. The second, which is the Trinity of Persons, was not imprinted in fewer Subjects, and has not made fewer Copies of the Archetype and Original Seal. We are shewn here, the Impressions,

pressions, (1.) In Spirits, which are thinking and understanding Substances, that is, these Qualities are Essential to them, and they have a Will, which is their active principle, (2.) In the Light, for we observe three things in it, viz. a luminous Body, Brightness, and Heat, (3.) In Bodies, for they have three Dimensions, length, depth, and breadth, all this is still clearer by three great parallels; whereof the last is, what was published in the Novels of July, 1685. the others may be judged of by this, so we will not give an account, which could not be well done without transcribing the whole.

As for the Mystery of the Incarnation Mr. Jurieu does not meet with many Impressions in the Creature; he finds but one, and that so strong, that it is equivalent to many; it is the union of the humane Soul with an organized Body, the parallel he gives between the Incorporation of this Soul, and the Incarnation of the Word is a very Collection of the resemblances that a great Wit can imagine between these two things. A curious reflection upon the Reason, *Why God said, let us make a man after our own likeness*, worthily shuts up these parallels.

When the Author published in the Journal of the Novels, that of the Trinity, and of the three Dimensions of Bodies, he desired the learned to send in their Objections, and that they might do it the more freely, he does not name himself, he thought he should receive many; but whether it was, that the Orthodox had rather acquiesce to the Reasons that favoured them, than by examining them, to expose their own opinion to doubt, or whether they found the thoughts convincing, or whether it was that the Hereticks had not wit enough to oppose these difficulties; or did not understand the strength of this proof, and therefore despised it, or whether other reasons work't upon them both, there was but one man that sent in Objections. First, He sent those that are in the Nouvelles of August, 1685. and a little afterwards, he sent some that were never printed. M. Jurieu examines them here after one another, and refutes them with his usual acuteness; the Author of these Objections having understood by the Journal of September, that no more wou'd be publish't upon this Subject; but what was sent shou'd only be communicated to the Author of the Parallele, he writ again in Anonymy as before, that tho' he saw nothing easier than to reply upon what was objected, yet he would do nothing, because of the Intentions which were published: Now he will find the lists open, and if the Glory of disputing against a famous Antagonist (that has at last named himself) does not tempt him, there will be reason to believe that he has but little to reply against his strong Answers.

Job. Raius his second Tome of the History of Plants, with a double Index, the one of the Names, and chief Synonyma's, the other of the Qualities and Remedies. To which is added, a Botanick Nomenclatura English and Latin, at London, 1688. in Fol. p. 951.

THE first Volume of this History of Plants, may be seen at the beginning of the third Tome of this Bibliotheca. It is needless to say more, but that it is believed, it may be profitable to the publick to communicate the Judgment of a Botanist upon this work, who liveth above two hundred Leagues off London. "If they that write the History of Beasts meet with difficulties, in reducing them to certain species, or to different kinds: The Botanists are as much troubled to put in order, and to find common Characters to divers kinds of plants, by which they may be placed under one kind. At first there occur very general differences, as when plants are divided into Trees, Shrubs and Herbs, as Animals are distinguished into four-footed Beasts, Birds, Fishes, and Insects, &c. But each one of these kinds is too general, because it comprehends under it, an almost infinite number of Species altogether different. Notwithstanding it's impossible, that they which will know in particular all Animals or Plants, shou'd burden their memory with so great a number of Species. There must be found a mean, between these Extrems. We must shun on one side Divisions too general, and not multiply too much, we must reduce several particular Specieses under subaltern kinds.

'Tis this, that Mr. Raius undertakes in his new method of Plants, and in his History. Cesalpino, who was Professour at Pisa in the last Age, was of opinion, that one may distinguish the subaltern kinds of plants by the differences that are between their Seeds, their Husks or the little Shells that contain them. Mr. Raius acknowledges, that the different dispositions of the parts, furnish these principal differences and maintains, that the flowers and what environs them below, which he calls *Perianthium*, also furnish very essential differences upon divers occasions, as well as the order of the leaves which are along the stalk, and a figure of the root. The Pease have a flower like a Butter-fly *Florem papilionaceam*, tho' their Seeds and Covers differ very much. The Order of the Leafs along the stalk essentially distinguish Plants, which are called *Verticillatae* as Hore Hound, and Penny-Royal, &c. These plants have betwixt distances a round button that encompasses the stalk, and is composed of small flowers of little leaves. This button is called *Verticillum*, because it resembles the small

"but,

“ buttons, that are put at the bottom of
 “ Spindles to make them turn, and which
 “ the Latins call *Verticilla*. After the same
 “ manner are distinguished Plants, that are
 “ called *Asperifolia* or rough Leaves, that
 “ differ from the *Verticillate* in this, that the
 “ Leaves which are along the Stalk do not
 “ altogether encompass it, nor are all dis-
 “ posed in the same order. The Roots dif-
 “ fer amongst themselves in this, that some
 “ are Fibrous and Thready, the other are
 “ like buttons; that is to say, round and so-
 “ lid as *Radishes*. The others are compo-
 “ sed of divers *Tunics* or *Skins*. one over
 “ the other, as *Onions*, or disposed after the
 “ manner of *Flower de luce*. We must then
 “ examine all these Plants, that we may not
 “ confound them in the establishment of
 “ their kinds.

“ Those that have never applyed them-
 “ selves to *Botanicks* cannot presently see
 “ what the use of this method is, and may
 “ judge to be only a dalliance of wit. It's
 “ notwithstanding most true, that nothing
 “ more useful could have been imagined,
 “ nor more proper for the acquisition of the
 “ Knowledge of Plants. One finds, for
 “ example, walking in a Garden, a Plant
 “ never seen before, and hath none to tell
 “ him the Name on't, and knoweth not
 “ whether it be a Forreign or Native one.
 “ If he had the most exact, and the most
 “ universal *Herbal* that can be imagined, it
 “ may be, he may look it all over, with-
 “ out finding the Plant he seeks for, unless
 “ he takes the pains to read all the Descrip-
 “ tions after one another, and to compare
 “ this Plant with the Figures; he may pro-
 “ bably spend too much time, unless by
 “ chance he meets it on a sudden. On the
 “ contrary, according to the method of Mr.
 “ *Rains*, he only need take notice of the
 “ marks whereof we now speak, and to
 “ seek for the Plant in Question, in his
 “ *Herbal* amongst those that are of a like
 “ Character. If it hath been described, it
 “ will be infallibly found in the Rank, and
 “ under the kind it ought to be. Not but
 “ that there are *Anomal* Plants, that one can-
 “ not tell where to range them: but if any
 “ of this Nature be found, it must be sought
 “ for in a particular book of the second
 “ Tome of Mr. *Rains*, where he hath put
 “ those whose Character was ambiguous.

“ The Author having made a Collection
 “ of all those, who have written before
 “ him, whether of the Plants of *Europe*,
 “ *Asia*, of *Africk*, or *America*; it may be
 “ said, that nothing will scape this *Herbal*,
 “ when there are Figures. That will un-
 “ doubtedly render it a little dear, but
 “ whatever it costs, when all these Figures
 “ will be in it, it will not cost the tenth
 “ part of what all the *Herbals* would, which
 “ it comprehendeth. There are divers,
 “ which are no more to be found, or which
 “ are extremely dear, as *Fabius Columna*,
 “ which is but a small one, in 4to.

This is the Judgment of a *Botanist*, which
 Mr. *Rains* knoweth not. Nothing is to be

added, but 1. There will be found in this
 Volume, the (a) *Abridge-*
ment of the History of Plants (a) p. 1929.
 of Mexico, by Francis Her-
 nandez.

2. The Reader ought moreover to re-
 mark in general the method of Mr. *Rains*,
 that it hath been invented, but to avoid
 Confusion, and to help the Memory. It
 would be ridiculous to imagine that, by
 the means of some Divisions and Subdivi-
 sions drawn from the exterior figure of
 Plants, their nature is thoroughly known:
 as the Philosophers of Schools imagined to
 know all by the means of the *Universals*
 and *Categories*, into which they reduced
 well or ill all the Beings that they knew.
 They did the same thing as a man would
 do, who for to know the forces of an Ar-
 my, would carefully observe what colours
 the Cloaths of the Souldiers were that
 shou'd compose it, and should believe he
 could judge thereby of the enterprizes of
 this Army. The Truth is, that we know
 but the outside of things, and some of the
 Effects they produce, whilst the inside re-
 mains in such Obscurity, as all our Know-
 ledge cannot dissipate; so we cannot distin-
 guish the Species, but by some outward ap-
 pearances which cannot be so much as de-
 scribed, but very grossly.

A Body of Canon Law, with the Notes of
Peter and Francis Pitheas Brothers.
Sold at Paris, 1687. in Folio, 2. Vo-
lume, and at Rotterdam. By Reinier
Leers.

THIS new Edition of the Works of Pe-
 ter and Francis Pitheas, is added, by
 the care of Mr. *Pellatier* Comptroller Ge-
 neral of the Kings Exchequer, to the
 Works of Peter Pitheas his great Grand-Fa-
 ther. This Family was originally of Nor-
 mandy, and we find the Name of William
 Pitheas in the Catalogue of the Gentlemen
 of that Province; who made the Voyage
 to the Holy Land, in the year 1190. since
 they retired into the Countrey; and Peter
 Pitheas, who was Advocate in the Parlia-
 ment of Paris rendered himself so famous
 by his profound Learning, that they called
 him the *Varro* of his Age. He was after-
 wards Procurer General of the Chamber
 of Justice the King established in *Guyenne*,
 and after having refused the same place in
Catalonia, he returned to Paris, where he
 contributed much to the Resubmission of
 this great City under the Obedience of
 King Henry the fourth. The most part of
 his and his Brother Francis's Works had
 been printed. But there were some others,
 upon which Francis wrought since the death
 of his Brother; and not having time to
 print them, he gave them to Anthony Alain
 his Friend, who kept them a long time;
 and at last they came into the hands of Mr.
Pellatier, who knowing how precious the
 Relicks of these great men of Letters are,
 hath

hath himself assisted in the Work, and given the publick this mark of his Love to Sciences. So we find in this Edition with another in Folio of Francis Pitbon, which is the, *Codex Canonum vetus Ecclesia Romana notis illustratus; Parisiis ex Typographia Regia, 1687.* Many pieces that had not appear'd, which are enlarged with many fine Notes.

Two Treatises with necessary Indexes of William Seldens of Utrecht about the use and abuse of Books, Amsterdam, at Booms, 1688. p. 520

IF there be Plagiaries, who attribute unto themselves the works of others, whether it is in translating them into another Language, or in publishing the same things in another order, and under another Name, the Publick may be assured that Mr. Selden is not of this number. He attributes not his Works to the fertility of his imagination, and suffers us not to doubt, that they are fruits of his reading: For almost at every Period he cites the Authors, whence he hath taken what he saith. We see therein passages of Scripture, Fathers Scholastick Doctors, Canonists, Catholick and Protestant Divines, Lawyers, Physicians, Philosophers, Historians, ancient and modern Poets, Humanists, Criticks, &c. And in case the Citations are as faithful, as they appear exact, this work may be very useful to find passages or Authorities, which men want sometimes: we shall briefly explain the Subject thereof.

It is divided into two parts, the first whereof treats in nine Chapters of those who love Books. 1. He begins by relating the Names of some persons who have Written, or became famous by their Works; and then passeth to the manner of describing how the Books of the Ancients were made, the matter and form of their Volumes, after which he sheweth that the fair sex is not destitute of learned Persons, and that well ordered study cannot be displeasing to Women, 2. The multitude of Books is the subject of the second Chapter. He speaks herein of those Libraries, which have made most noise, and of the Invention of Printing. He ex-

amines whether this prodigious quantity of Writings, and great Reading spoils sound sense. 3. He gives rules to prevent the falling upon bad Authors, by marking, 1. That we ought not to Write with haste. 2. That we ought to propose general maxims and leave the application thereof to the Reader: which is the Origin of Apologies and Fables. 3. That the Style ought to be modest, sweet and moderate, whereupon he much disapproves the heat of most of the Controvertists, and the false delicateness of some Divines, who make capital errors of every thing, and who as soon as they see any, stumble, or to swerve from their Opinion, endeavour to make him be considered as an Enemy to Truth, to the good of the State and the Salvation of Souls. 4. He sheweth that order is the life of Books, and that those who have no method, have but confused Ideas of what they advance.

In the fourth Chapter he examines wherein consists the solidity of Writing. In the 5th. How clear it ought to be. In the 6th. He shews how briefness is acceptable, and the difference there is betwixt Plagiaries, Centons, and those who make a judicious use of their learning. In the 7th. he treats of Reading in general, and proves that it is so far from doing any injury to Divines, that they cannot thoroughly understand the Sacred nor Ecclesiastical Authors, if they are not well acquainted with profane Writers. The 8th. speaks of the choice of books, and how to read them with advantage; and the 9th. of several famous Library-keepers, and of divers Princes, who favoured Learning.

II. The second Part treats in five Chapters. 1. Of the hatred People have for books, and of its principal causes, sloath, avarice; 2. The love of novelty which makes us despise the labours of the Antients. 3. The pride and foolish vanity of the Learned, who condemn one another. 4. The mutual envy they bear one another. 5. In fine he endeavours to find the means to shelter Authors from the envy, or hatred which may be conceived against their Works, and speaks of the different destiny of books. We have two other Treatises of our Author, *Oria Theologica & Concionator Sacer.*

A Voyage to Dalmatia, Greece and the Levant, by Mr. Wheeler; enrich'd with curious Medals and Figures of the chief Antiquities which are to be found in those Places: The Description of the Customs, Cities, Rivers, Sea-Ports, and of all that is most remarkable therein. Translated from the English. Amsterdam, for John Wolters Bookseller, in 12. 607 p.

THIS not above Ten or Twelve Years since the Celebrated Mr. *Spon* gave a very handfom Relation of this Voyage to the *Levant*, with Mr. *Wheeler*. Which hath receiv'd such applause from the Publick, that there's no reason to fear this will be less welcome. For as Mr. *Wheeler*'s Curiosity hath carry'd him to many more Subjects than the other has treated on, so he likewise having made a longer abode in those Countries that he describes, has much more enriched and diversify'd his History. Whereas Mr. *Spon* engaged himself chiefly to the Observation of the Monuments of Antiquity, and made it his particular Study; It may be said of our Author, that he forgot nothing that was considerable in any place he pass'd through, of what nature soever. With the exact Descriptions he hath given of the Principal Monuments he saw, he has very agreeably added an Account of all the Plants of each place, the Cities, most of the Villages, Mountains, Plains, Sea-Ports, Rivers, and all that he met with remarkable in his Voyage. He carefully observed the Genius, Manners, and Religion of the Inhabitants; the nature and price of the Commodities of the Country, what Foreign Goods sell there to the best Advantage; with the distance of the Ways; and many other things of this nature. As he opened that, both the Old and New Geographers were deceiv'd in the Situation of divers places, so he Marks what he thought the most agreeable to Truth. He gave himself the trouble to draw out a new Map of *Achaia*, incomparably more Correct than was ever seen before.

The whole Work is divided into two Books, each of which is subdivided into three others. The first contains, 1. The History of our Authors Voyage from *Venice* to *Constantinople*. 2. A Description of *Constantinople*, the Neighbouring places and their Antiquities. 3. The particulars of his Voyage through the *Lesser Asia*.

In the second Book is comprehended, 1. The Voyage from *Zant* to *Athens*, and through divers parts of *Greece*. 2. The Description of *Athens*, and it's Antiquities. 3. Several Voyages from *Athens* to *Corinth*, &c. With an Account of whatsoever he saw remarkable therein.

Being at *Venice* that these two Illustrious Friends entred upon their Voyage together, Mr. *Wheeler* thought he was oblig'd to begin his History with a short Description of the Original of this great Republick, of it's Progress, Losses, and in fine the Estate it was in at 1675. when they were there. The

first considerable Place they visited in their course was *Pola*, where they found divers Monuments of Antiquity, which evidently shew'd it to be one of the Antientest Towns of *Istria*, and that it was formerly a free State. At one of the best places of *Dalmatia*, which is the Chief City thereof, call'd *Zara*, they found nothing less considerable; which place is more secured by the number and courage of the *Morlaques*, the natural Inhabitants of the Country, of whom the greatest part of the Garison are compos'd, than by the goodness of it's Fortifications; they having an irreconcilable hatred to the *Turks*. But one of the most curious Pieces of Antiquity that this Country affords, is the residue of a Palace that *Dioclesian* caus'd to be built near *Salone*, which was the place of his Birth, that he might pass the rest of his Life in this happy Retirement, when he had renounced the Empire.

Those who have form'd an advantagious Idea of *Ithica*, because it was the Country of *Ulysses*, and the particular place of his Residence, will be surpriz'd to hear our Author affirm it to be a pittiful little Isle, that wou'd be a perfect Desert, if a People they call *Thiaki* went not from time to time to cultivate it. In this last is seen the Ruines of an Old Castle, which the *Thiaki* pretend was formerly the Palace of *Ulysses*. *Samos*, that's now known only under the Name of *Cephalonia*, was the greatest Isle under the Command of this Prince: For according to Mr. *Wheeler*, 'tis 60 Leagues in Circumference, altho' *Strabo* allowed it to be but 300 Furlongs, which makes not above 19 Leagues, and *Pliny* but 22 Leagues. *Zant*, formerly call'd *Zacynthos*, is nothing nigh so large, since the utmost extent is but 15 Leagues. 'Tis very fruitful, and nothing cou'd be added to make it more agreeable, were it not for the Earthquakes which in the greatest part of the Spring are very often twice a week. From this Island now comes the greatest part of those Raisins without Stones, that they call *Corants*, the Plant of which Fruit is not like our Gooseberrys, as without reason has been an Opinion generally receiv'd; but a Vine differing very little from the other sort of *Raisins*. At the foot of one o' the Hills of this Island is a Fountain, which to admiration, casts forth with it's streams that are very bright and clear, lumps of Pitch in Quantities so great, that every Year they fill 90 Barrels therewith. The Inhabitants profess the *Grecian* Religion. And instead of a Bishop which they will not admit of, they have a *Protopapa* as they call him, that is, an Arch-Priest. The Piety that our Author makes appear throughout this whole work, obliges him to complain of the little care that those of its Nation have taken to form an Ecclesiastical Body, and maintain a Pastor therein.

Delos is the most celebrated Isle of all the Cyclades. It is two or three Leagues about, is also very full of Rocks, and by consequence Barren. And at present an uninhabited Desert. Tho' there still remain some Monu-

ments of it's Antient Splendor. The most remarkable is a Pile of White Marble, on which the Temple of *Apollo* was supposed to be built. 'Tis otherwise with *Sestos* and *Abydos*, whereof there remains not the least Footsteps to be found, what is now called the *Old Castles of Rometia and Anatolia*, not being built in the same places, nor having any mark of Antiquity. *Gallipoli*, which is also near, hath preserved very few of 'em: But at *Lampsaque*, which hath still kept it's Name, and at *Heraclea*, are many more to be found.

Constantinople having been above Twelve Ages, the Seat of the Eastern Empire, Mr. *Wheeler* thought he cou'd not be too large in describing of it. Many Writings being extant of the same nature, I shall observe in our Author only what's the most curious. 'Tis thought, that *Titus Livy's* Works are all entire in the *Grand Seignor's* Library. But Mr. *Wheeler* being inquisitive about it himself, offer'd, as he assures us, great Sums to the *Bacha*, who hath the charge of the Books, yet cou'd not procure a sight of it. One of the greatest Conveniences they have for Travellers at *Constantinople*, and almost every where throughout *Turky*, is the Public Houses to entertain Strangers; which they call *Karavan-Seras* or *Kans*, where Persons may live as well as they please, having commonly near 'em Shops that afford all things necessary at a reasonable Price. It is true, the greatest part of 'em are like Barns, and have about the Walls what they call a *Sopha*, a Foot and a half high for Travellers to lyethereon. But those which are now built in Cities or great Towns, are incomparably more commodious, having many Apartments all distinguish'd from each other. Our Author wishes the like conveniences were establish'd amongst Christians, which wou'd cut off many usefess Expences, and be a Remedy for several Disorders that occur from the contrary.

The Patriarchal Church is an obscure Edifice, without Beauty or any considerable Ornaments: And the Patriarchs Palace is not larger than one of the most despicable private Houses in *London*. This Prelates Habit also is very plain, and little differing from the ordinary garb of *Caloyers*, or of the Monks of *St. Basil*. Nevertheless, 'tis hardly to be credited with what earnestness this Dignity is sought after: And how dearly those that aspire thereto, pay for it to the Grand Visier, who to make it the most advantageous he can, often upon the least pretence turns out those he has lately put in, to sell it to others; so that sometimes there have been five Patriarchs in the space of 5 Years. The Celebration of the Eucharist, Mr. *Wheeler* saith, is an Act of Religion, wherein the *Greeks* appear the most devout, yet he thinks it impossible to determine exactly, what is their general Opinion upon this Subject. At some places they hold Transubstantiation, as at *Corfon*, and at *Zant*. But he assures us, the Bishop of *Salone*, and the Convent of *St. Luke* in *Beotia*, believes in this Sacra-

ment only, a *Spiritual and Efficacious Presence*; and as he found none that received the word *Transubstantiation*, or of *metemorphosis*, except among those that had some connexion with the *Roman Church*, so he doubted not but others which were not yet deceiv'd by 'em, are of the same Faith with the aforesaid Bishop and *Caloyers*.

Tho' the *Turks* have always been lookt upon as sworn Enemies to all Learning: Nevertheless our Author says, They have very Learned Men among 'em; and as in the *Seraglio* there are Historians on purpose to observe great Events, so at *Constantinople* and elsewhere are maintained Professors in all parts of the *Mathematicks*, in *Poetry*, and in the *Arabian* and *Persian* Tongues: That they have a *Bazar*, or *Purse* for the *Manuscripts* of each several Science, compos'd in the *Turkish*, *Arabick*, or *Persian* Language: And what appears the most surprizing, is their asserting to us, that they had seen an antient Book of *Astronomy*, which suppos'd formerly the Use of the Needle and Loadstone, altho' it serv'd them not for *Navigation*. From *Constantinople* Mr. *Wheeler* pass'd the *Bosphorus*, and came to *Chalcedon*; and this Town which became so famous by having the 4th. Council held there in the Year 452. is now but a small Village that the *Turks* call *Cadiqui*.

Mr. *Wheeler* designing to Visit all the Celebrated Places of *Natolia*, and particularly those where formerly the seven Churches of the *Apocalyps* were. He sail'd from the South-side; in passing by the Mount *Olimpus* of *Mysia*, the place where *Ajax* kill'd himself for Despair; which the Inhabitants have still stamp'd upon their Moneys. 'Tis very sad to see the deplorable Estate the Christians are there reduced to, who having formerly defended their Liberty as much as they cou'd, are now constrain'd to pay double to the others of *Caratch*, or Tribute, as 9 or 10 *Piastres* by the Year, the *Caratch* being commonly but five, or four and a half to the rest.

The first of these famous Cities of the *Apocalyps* that our Author arrived at, was *Thyatira*, a place well peopled with *Turks*, but not above 10 or 12 *Christians* therein: The antient stately Buildings of Marble having been for a long time buried in their own Ruines, and the place fill'd with low despicable Houses, it's Name was almost forgotten, but at length was discovered by some old Inscriptions that were dug out of the Earth. It is not so with *Smyrna*: For that being a very fruitful Soil, and situated advantageously for Commerce, they have taken care to keep it in it's former Splendor, by rebuilding each place as it fell to decay; nevertheless, it was overturn'd six times by Earth-Quakes, and it's final Ruine, according to an Old Tradition, is expected by a seventh. A greater Number of Christians inhabited there, in a much better Estate than in any of the seven Churches, *Philadelphia* only excepted. Many *Camelions* are in that place, which obliges our Author to give us
a very

a very exact Description of 'em. At *Ephesus* all the Earth is covered with pieces of Marble, Pedestals, Pillars, and all the Ruines of the handsomest and most antient Architecture: This City which was formerly the Capital of *Asia*, so famous, and populous, is not the receptacle at this day of more than 40 or 50 *Turkish* Families, who live in miserable Tenements, without having so much as one Christian amongst 'em. Which sorrowful Object drew Tears from our Author: When he there saw that Threatning accomplisht, that Jesus Christ had made to this Church when flourishing, To remove it's Candlestick from it's place. It fares little better with *Pergamus*; whose Church formerly so fine, is now compos'd but of 12 or 15 Families of poor dejected Christians. *Sardis* has no way the Advantage. Once the Capital of *Crasus's* Kingdom, is now the retreat only of Beggars and Vagabonds, which have a few Christians amongst 'em, who serve only as Slaves to these Infidels. But the Desolation of *Laodicea* surpasses all the others; for it is absolutely destroyed and deserted. There are still at *Philadelphia* 200 Christian Families, who have four Churches where they assemble together; which our pious Author omits not the observing, that 'tis an effect of the promises that Jesus Christ had made to this Church, to preserve it in the time of Tryal that shou'd come upon all the World.

And *Greece*, which he afterwards travelled into, presented him with a Picture not less sorrowful for the Inconstancy and Vanity of humane Things, than that of *Natalia*. It was no small trouble to Mr. *Spon*, and to himself, that they cou'd not find the place where *Delphos* formerly stood; and after a great deal of care and diligent Search, they perceiv'd some Old Inscriptions that testified this City, once so famous, was now a Village call'd *Casiri* upon the Hill of *Par-nassus*.

Athens has not perfectly shared the same Fate. It at least retains it's Old Name; for the *Greeks* still call it *Athini*; and not *Satines*, or *Saitenes*, as it is now read in the Modern Maps. 'Tis 2 or 3 Leagues in Circumference, and is possess'd by eight or ten thousand Inhabitants, who are all naturally of a great Wit and Politeness. Tho' there remains no sign of it's Antient Splendour, but the Ruines of some Rich Places and Noble Monuments; Mr. *Wheeler* assures us next to *Rome*, 'tis a place that surpasses all the world for curious Pieces of Antiquity. The chief of which he describes very exactly. He observes amongst other things, that there is in the *Acropolis*, which is the Citadel, the Ruines of a Temple of *Minerva*, the Front of which is adorned with Historical Figures round about, to an admirable Beauty. Likewise he hath not forgot to mention the *Stadium*, where they celebrate the Publick Games call'd *Panathenaica*. 'Tis built all with Marble, in length about 120 Geometrical Paces, in breadth 26 or 27; which had two parallel sides, and was enclos'd Eastward, and

opened exactly at the opposite Point. Yet faith, he cou'd have no certainty of the Place where the *Areopagite* was, no more than many others, related to us in the Histories of former Times.

The Mount *Hymetta*, which is but three or four Leagues from *Athens*, is the most noted for it's Honey, which is indeed the best of all *Greece*. *Megara*, is but a small Village, with very pitiful Houses, cover'd with Faggots and Turfs thereon: And there's nothing remains of the Antient Grandeur but the Footsteps of its Walls, and a few Inscriptions that are not quite obliterated. Something more considerable is to be found of the Town and Theater of the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, where they kept public Plays; and observes the place they begun to dig a Canal to joyn the two Seas together in *Corinth*, hath been more favourably dealt with by time than any of the former, since it is at this day large enough to merit the Name of a Town; at least, it cannot pass for worse than a very handsom Village. Tho' nothing is more worthy observation, than the Change that hath happened to the *Euripus*, if what (a) ^{(a) De situ Orbis. l. 2.} *Pomponius Mela*, and (b) ^{(b) Strab. l. 9.} *Strabo* faith is true,

That in their time it Fluxt and Refluxt regularly seven times aday; since Mr. *Wheeler* affirms, That for two days that he staid there, he saw no more motion in it than that of our Marishes; and all the Inhabitants agree, that this Flux and Reflux is sometime regular, and often irregular, according to the Moon: As a Learned Jesuite found out, who resided two Years at *Negropont*, that it is regular, and very little differing from the Main Ocean, at the end of the Old Moon, till the first Quarter of the New; but at the other part of the Month it is irregular, and changes 12, 13, or 14 times in 24 or 25 hours. In the end of our Authors Work, he gives only a succinct Relation of his Return to *Zant*, and from thence to *England*.

A New Relation of China, containing the Description of the Particularities of the most considerable things of this great Empire. Compos'd in the Year 1668. By the Reverend Father Gabriel de Magaillans of the Society of Jesus, Apostolick Missionary; and Translated from Portuguese into French by the Sieur B.--- Paris, at Mr. Claudius Barbins, 1688. in Quarto, pag. 385. and is to be had at Amsterdam at Henry Desbordes.

Although after so many Relations that have been given of *China*, since one Age or thereabouts, it seems it is difficult to tell us any new thing thereof; notwithstanding we are assured that in this there is scarcely any thing to be found that hath been seen in others, and that it will appear to the Readers as new as it is curious. Besides, that the History of *China* is a matter rich and vast enough, and therefore not to

be

be so easily drain'd, it's pretended that the most part of those who have written thereof, instead of making exact Recitals, have said nothing on't but what's almost all Fabulous; that others having written in a different intention to that of informing us of all the Particularities of this great Kingdom, have omitted the principal ones, or have spoke of them but by the By; and that finally, amongst so many Men that have treated of the same Subject, scarcely was there seen one who could so Learnedly speak thereof as Father Magaillan, and that had the same means and the same occasions of instructing himself therein. It was therefore in all likelihood to Supply what was deficient in the other Relations that this Jesuite so well informed, had composed his. But as he dyed in the Year 1677, without having published his Writings, and even without having finished it, the Publick would have run the hazard of being deprived of all the Fruit that it might gather from this Work, if the Translator, who is said to be the Abbot Mr. Bernou, had not drawn it from its Obscurity and Dust, and had not put into a condition to see Light by his Translation and Notes, and by all the care that he took thereof.

This Author begins (C. 1.) with the divers Names that the *Chinois* and Strangers give to *China*. And he immediately noteth, that it is an ordinary custom, where some new Family becomes Master of this State, they make it to lose it's name. Under the Precedent Family, it was called *Tai-Mim-que*, that is to say, *Kingdom of a great Brightness*. But the *Tartars* which are now the Masters, call it *Tai-cim-que*, *Kingdom of great Purity*; and it's also the Name that the *Chinois* themselves commonly do give it. They call it also very often *Tien-hia*, or *Kingdom which containeth all that is under Heaven*; these People being prepossessed with a fancy of the Greatness of their Empire, that they reckon as nothing all the States of the Universe besides. Strangers do also call it after several different Names, *Carai*, *Mangi*, &c. But the most part call it *China*; a Name that our Author brings, either from the Family *Chin*, which governed 169 Years after *Jesus Christ*; or more apparently yet from the Family *Cin*, which Reigned 246 Years before *Jesus Christ*, the chief whereof was the first Absolute and Universal Master of *China*. Father Magaillan sheweth at large and with great evidence, that the Countries of *Carai*, and of *Mangi*, are but parts of *China*, and not Kingdoms really different, no more than *Tam-gut* and *Tainfa*, that Cluvier hath also taken for other Kingdoms distinct from *China*, tho' they are but Cities, whereof the Name is a little corrupted.

(C. 2.) The Kingdom of *China* is situate almost on the Extremities of *Asia* on the East. It's length from North to South, according to the *Chinois* Books, that is, from the Fortrefs of *Caci-pim*, upon the Frontier of the Province of *Pekin*, to the Meridional Point of the Isle of *Hui-nan*, at the South of

the Province of *Quam-tum*, is 23 Degrees in Extent, which make 5750 *Li*, or *Chinois Stades* at 250 to the Degree, and 575 *French Leagues* at 25 the Degree. And it's breadth measured in a straight Line from the East to the West, from the Point of *Nim-Po*, a Sea-port Town of the Province of *Che-kiam*, unto the extremity of the Province of *Su-chuen*, is 426 *French Leagues*, and 4080 *Li*, or *Chinois Stades*, at 240 a Degree. But they pretend that that is not all the Extent of this vast Empire; seeing that in considering it in another sense, it is 8400 *Li*, which are 750 *French Leagues* in it's utmost length; and 5400 *Li*, which make 500 *French Leagues* in it's greatest breadth. In short, the Calculation is very sure and exact, and the proportions of it's Measures very just and certain; and here it is that Men have not yet removed all the Difficulties as may be seen in the following Notes.

There are 15 Provinces in the Kingdom of *China*, all which for their Greatness, Richness, and Fertility, might pass for vast Kingdoms. Cluvier was mistaken when he counted 18 Provinces, and among them the Kingdom of *Cochinchine*, and that of *Tim-kim*, for tho' these have been at other times subject to *China*, they were so, but for some Years, and have not obeyed it of a long time. It's thought the Walled Places that are in *China*, amount to the number 4402 divided into 2 different Orders, Civil, and Military. 'Tis true, that several Cities and Towns are comprehended in that number, situated in the Provinces of *Tun-nan de Quel-ches* of *Quamsi* and of *Su-chuen*, which tho' they are join'd to the Emperours State, pay him no Tribute, nor do they acknowledge him, but have particular Sovereigns, and make use in their District of a different Language from the *Chinoise*; this great Empire is so Peopled, that near 12 millions of Families or Fires are counted therein, without comprehending Priviledged Families or Persons, Manderins, Magistrates, Souldiers, Batchellors, Licenciates, Doctors, Bonzes or Eunuchs, nor any of those who are of the Royal Blood. In a word, counting only those that Till the Ground, or that pay Tributes or Rents to the King: Altho' all the rest, as may be easily urged, make up an almost infinite Number.

There are 2045 Places walled of the Civil Order, divided into Towns, Cities, and Royal Inns; these last places for the most part are not less great, nor less peopled, than are the Towns and Cities, and in each of them is a place where Manderins which the King sends, and all other Persons to whom he is pleas'd to do the like Favour, are Lodged, and their Charges born at the Princes Expences, and are entertained according to their Quality and Employ. The Military Order comprehends 7 different sorts of stony Places. The first and principal are great Fortresses, which are places upon the Frontiers, as the Keys and Defence of the Empire against the

Tartars,

Tartars, or upon the Borders of Provinces against Rebels and Highway-men. There are 629 of this Order: The others are less considerable and less great proportionably. And the last of these Places are small Forts, whereof some are built in the Fields, to serve as a Refuge to Labourers, when they fear the Insults of Enemies or Thieves, or are willing to secure themselves from the Imposition of the Souldiers, when the Royal Armies are in march, and the others are situated upon Mountains, whereof there are some almost inaccessible; all these Military Places amount to 2357. which being added to them of the Civil Order, make together the number marked above, 4402. Besides this, there are without and within these great Walls that surround almost all *China*, at least a great part, above Three thousand Towers or Castles, wherein are continually Guards and Centries kept. These famous Walls extend 405 *Portugal* Leagues, which make 23 Degrees 10 Minutes from East to West, which is to be understood in a right Line; for if the Windings of the Mountains and of the Walls were counted, it would amount to more than 500 Leagues: If we credit our Historian, *There are more than Nine hundred thousand* that guard the Frontiers, and there are *Seven or Eight hundred thousand* employed in the Guard of the Kingdom within. But the Translator, to diminish somewhat the wonder, that such a prodigious number of Troops amount to, makes us remark in his Observations, that the greatest part of these Souldiers are of the Militia, and that there are but very few that have not another Calling besides being Souldiers. However it be, our Author assures us, That all these Souldiers are always entertained, and that *China* is so well furnished with all the Requisites of Defence, that the *Tartars* who have once invaded it, and are Masters of it to this very time, had never passed the Walls, if the Souldiers Cowardize, and the Treachery of the Officers had not opened them a Passage.

There are in *China* Two thousand four-score and ninety Mountains, famous either because they have been cut in Form of *Idols* and monstrous *Collofies*, or for their renowned Fountains, or for their Plants or Minerals, endowed with some particular Vertue; or these Mountains were looked upon for their extraordinary height, or for some other Advantages of this nature, that makes them be distinguished. There is a like number of Antique Pieces, as Statues, famous Painting, Vessels of great price and value; there are Eleven hundred and fifty nine Towers and Triumphal Arches, and other Works extraordinarily sumptuous, raised for the honour of their King, or other famous Persons of both Sexes; and what deserves to be remembered, there are 272 Libraries embellished with many Ornaments, and full of Books, and built with vast Expence.

There can nothing be added to the marks of Love and Veneration, wherewith the *Chinois* are used to honour their Ancestors deceased; they are not content with building them Tombs and Monuments, but they build them Temples; and there are seen more than 700 built at several times on this design, and these are equally considerable for the Bigness and Beauty of their Architecture; as for Temples of Idols, there are 480 famous and much frequented, whether for their Riches and Magnificence, or thro' the Fables that are told of pretended Miracles done there; and it is in these Temples, and in the others of the Empire, whereof the number is incredible, that Three hundred and fifty thousand Bonzes live, which makes but about a third part of this sort of people, who according to the Account of our Author are above a million, counting all that are of it.

But there is nothing according to his Relation more magnificent, than the Burying Places of the Nobility of *China*, among others are seen 685 *Mausolees*, whose Riches and Architecture has render'd 'em very famous; and the others do not want their Beauty and Pomp. Our Historian brags of them all as very worthy of being seen and admired: He adds, That among them whose Memories are honoured, the *Chinois* Reverence after a particular manner 3636 Men, famous for their Qualities and Heroick Actions, and 208 Maids or Women, who have for their Chastity or Courage, or something else, deserved to be Celebrated as so many Examples of Vertue.

There is no Kingdom in the World so ancient as that of *China*, nor that can brag of a Succession of Kings, so long and so well continued; it has stood in the same Form more than Four thousand Years, and the Succession has been continued by 22 Families, which during that time, have furnished 236 Kings. It's what the *Chinois* justify by the History of their Country, whereof all the parts have been written by Contemporary Authors; and by a Chronology which appears so just, so well followed, and is backed with such good Circumstances, that it does not seem that it can be denied; and they are so fully persuaded of this Antiquity, that it is a capital Crime among them to doubt of this Article; and generally this Antiquity with the other extraordinary Advantages of this Kingdom, puffs them up with so much Pride, that they conceive Opinions not a little unreasonable to other Countries, and as if all were at an end at the Frontiers of their Empire; they scorn as much as to inform themselves of the rest, and they never speak of it but with a mark of the greatest Contempt.

We believe that the *Egyptians* were the first that had Letters or Sciences, and Hieroglyphicks, yet it is certain, That the *Chinois* have had them before. However it be, the *Chinoise* Letters are not the

least Curiosity they have. For whereas, all other Nations have a common Writing that consists of an Alphabet of about 24 Letters, which are almost of the same Sound, tho they differ in Figure: The *Chinois* have 54409 Letters that do all of them signifie something, and do not seem so much to be dumb Characters as speaking Words, or at least Figures and Images that represent to the life, what they signifie; so admirable is their Artifice. These Letters are either simple or compound; these last are a mixture of the first, to signifie somewhat that has some kind of Relation to the Composition: As for Example, the Letter *Mo*, which signifies Wood, is simple; but the Letter *Lin*, that signifies a Forest, which comprehends many Trees, is composed of two *Mo*. The Author gives upon this many curious things; he shews, that all these Letters are true *Heroglyphics*, and that nothing has been invented with more wit than the Language of the *Chinois*. However, it cannot be denyed, but that it is a very surprizing thing; that this Language having but about 320 Words, and all of one Syllable, can bring them together, change them, and mix them in so many different Ways, and yet so Eloquent, and so multiply the Use and Signification by the almost infinite Variations of Sound and Accent, that they that can speak it, can deliver their Thoughts upon all Subjects with as much facility, clearness, grace, force and energy, as in any other Language, tho' never so rich and copious, as the *Greek* and *Latin*. Our Author who assures this, maintains at the same time, that the many different Significations that are given the same word, do not occasion the confusion and difficulty that some imagine; that on the contrary this Language has that benefit by the small Number of Monosyllables whereof it consists, that there is neither a living or dead Language in all Europe, that can be Learned with so much Facility. And he alledges for proof, the Examples of the Missionaries of his Order, who in a very short time rendred themselves so Learned in it, that they composed Books much admired by the *Chinois* themselves; this gives the Author occasion to run much upon the praise of their Fathers, and to give us a List of their fine Works.

There is no Nation that is wittier than that of *China*; they are inventive and industrious, and we cannot dispute them the Honour of having been the first Inventors of Letters, Paper, Print, Gun-Powder, without mentioning other things. There is nothing employs them more, than the Study of Morals, and yet they have wit enough left to dive into the subtlest & most difficult Questions of Mathematicks and Divinity, when they make it their Study: So that there is no Country that has so great a Number of Learned Men, and where the knowledge of Sciences is so universal and common as it is in *China*. And it may

be said, that no Nation out of *Europe* has more Books upon every Subject, as well in Verse as Prose, than this has; among that great number, there are 5 which the *Chinois* call *U-kim*, or the 5 *Volumes*; that are to them the same thing as our Bible to us. The first is a Chronicle of their 5 Antient Kings, whom they honour as Saints, with a particular Veneration: The second is the Book of Rites, that contains the greatest part of the Laws, Customs, and Ceremonies observed in that Empire: The third is Verse and Prose, in praise of Vertue and dispraise of Vice: The fourth is Historical, and was composed by *Confucius*: The fifth is esteemed the antientest of all, as being the most mystical; the *Chinois* being persuaded, that it is the Work of *Fohi*, their first Prince. In fine, these 5 Books are accompanied with another, which is called the 4 *Books*, because it is divided into four Parts, and which being but the Marrow and Quintessence of the first 5, has the same Weight and Authority as all the other together.

The *Chinois* are the most courteous, and abound most in Ceremonies of any in the World; our Author says, they have a Book to direct them, that contains more than 3000. and explains them, and it is very strange how punctual they are in them. They surpass all other Nations, both for the diversity and number of honourable Titles which they give themselves, as well as in certain Airs of Civility, and good Breeding, which they affect, and in the care they take of their Cloaths. There can nothing be seen more composed than the Countenance, Actions, and the Ways of their Learned Men: And the Women apply themselves after such a manner, to Bashfulness, Modesty and Chastity, that these Vertues seem born with them. Their Magnificence appears in their Feasts, which they keep with much Pomp, and in their Publick Works and sumptuous Buildings, which for their Greatness and Number in the Authors Opinion, easily surpass all other in the Universe. In general, the Palaces of their Princes and of the chiefest *Mandarins* look like Towns, and the Houses of some private Wealthymen resemble Palaces. The great Canal which the Author describes with his ordinary exactness, and which he says is 3500 Furlongs long, which are about 350 *French* Leagues. This Canal, I say, is one of those Works of Art where Profit is so well joined with Magnificence, that by means of it one may go from one end of the Kingdom to the other, which is the space of more than 600 Leagues. and all this way by the Chanel or by Rivers, only one days Journey by Land, and to cross a Mountain; an advantage which the Jesuite our Author, which has gone this Voyage himself, observes to be beyond any that is to be found in any Country of the Universe. He adds, that whereas there is no Town

nor

nor Village that has not some River or Channel, or at least some Navigable Arm of the Sea, that this convenience renders Navigation so common there, that there are as many almost seen upon the Water as upon the Land; people may soon judge the usefulness of this for Commerce: and with what ease, plenty spreads it self over all the parts of this Kingdom. Besides, there is no Country that is more rich in proper Goods, and that draws more from its own Fund than *China*; all is had there, and it may be said almost above with, and not only what is necessary, but plenty of all delicious things: The quantity of Gold that each Province has, is so great, that instead of coining it, to buy other things with it, it is sold like other Merchandize. As for Silver, as there is none that comes into the Country that can be carry'd out again, there being rigorous Laws that prohibit it, it may be easily judg'd that this Nation that is more greedy of this Metal than any other is, has gathered immense quantities of it since the beginning of this Empire, that is, more than 4050 Years ago: All other Metals are found there, at least in as great abundance as in any other Climate, especially Tin and Brass, whereof the *Chinois* Handicrafts-men make several Works precious as well for the goodness of the Matter as for the excellency of the Work: Nor are Silk and Wax, what this Country has least of. The first is not only the fairest and best in the World, but is there in such great abundance, that most places of *Asia* and *Europe* furnish themselves thence, and that besides the incredible Quantity that is made use of in *China* it self, where the use of it is so common, that the very Foot-boys wear Satin and Damask. The Wax is of a certain sort peculiar only to this Kingdom, the fairest, neatest, and whitest, that was ever seen, and being of a more agreeable use than ordinary, is used by the King himself, and by all the Court, and the Lords and Mandarins, and by the Men of Learning, and generally by all rich Folks. It is produced in certain small Trees near the bigness of our Chestnut-Trees, and that by means of certain small Worms, which by a natural instinct pierce these Trees to the Sap, and which in eating all together, as admirable as it is peculiar to themselves, prepare, purify, and at length turn it into Wax as white as Snow; they after pass out through the same Hole that they made to enter; this Wax when it comes to the outward Surface of the Tree, the Wind and Cold congeals it, and it hangs in form of Drops.

In fine, one cannot express the Price, Beauty, Variety, and Quantity, not only of their rich Cloath, but also of the Skins and precious Furrs that this Nation makes use of, especially in the Northern Provinces, and at the Court of *Pekin*. And what

belongs to other things, necessary either for the maintainance or conveniency of Life, as Flesh, Fruit, and other Provisions, it may suffice to say, that they have all that we have, and besides this, Stores of such things as we have not.

There is no Country in the World where the Nobility have greater interest to keep the Crown in the Reigning Family than the Gentry of *China* have, seeing all considerable Noble-men and great Lords do not subsist, but whilst that Family lasts, and that as soon as another is raised to the Crown, they are all ruined by him. There has been but one Family to this very day, that could exempt it self from this sad Fate: And it was that of the famous *Confucius*, for the Merit and great Worth of this great Philosopher, and the incredible Veneration which his Memory is preserved in, has maintained his Family in all its Splendour for above 2020 Years, so that flourishing yet in the same State of Esteem and Honour, it may be with justice call'd the Antientest Family in the World.

But among all the Advantages attributed to *China*, it is pretended, that it deserves to be esteemed for nothing so much as for the Excellency of its Government; and it is here that our Author gives the Relation as curious as important, of the Conduct of this Empire. In general, the *Mandarins*, the Officers and Magistrates of all the Kingdom, they are distinguished into 11 Orders, whereof the Differences are so well marked, and the Subordination so just, that in the Authors Judgment there is nothing comparable to it any where else. The *Mandarins* of the first Order, or the King's Counsellors of State form the Supreme Tribunal, whence all other depend. After this come 11 *Great Tribunals*, among whom the Kings of *China* have distributed all the business of the Kingdom. And they pretend that the Establishment was made 2000 Years before Jesus Christ, and that it has continued ever since in the same manner, wherein it is seen now, if some Corruptions be excepted that may have slipped in; of these 11 Tribunals, there are 6 of Mandarins of Learning, as they call them, and 5 of Mandarins of Arms. The 6 first are the most powerful, because there is hardly any thing but what is subject to their Jurisdiction, and they may be said to govern *China*. The first of the six is that which has a general Rule over all the other Manderins, and can give them their Places or Employment, or take them away. The second has a superintendence over the Customs and Tributes, and in general over the King's Treasure. The third has the Direction of the Rites and Ceremonies of Sciences and Arts. The fourth has for its share all that belongs to War, and to Arms in all the Kingdom. The fifth of the Crimes and Punishments of Criminals,

Criminals, among which by the by, there is none look'd upon to be so base and ignominious as to be beheaded. The sixth overlooks the Works and Building of the King, so that there is no business of any nature, but is subject to these 6 Supreme Tribunals; and as they have jurisdiction over almost all the Court, and over all them of the Provinces, there can none be more respected nor better obeyed than they are where-ever they go. The 5 Tribunals of Arms are governed by great Lords, as Marquesses, Counts, &c. and have above them one Supreme Tribunal, called the High Tribunal of War, the President whereof is always one of the greatest Lords of the Kingdom; the Authority of this President seems very considerable, since his Jurisdiction reaches over the five other Tribunals, and over all the Officers and Souldiers of the Kingdom. But lest he might abuse so great a Power, he has given him for an Assister, a Mandarin of Sciences, under the Title of High Regent of Arms, and two Syndicks or Royal Overseers, who take part in all Affairs: Moreover, it may be said, That all these Tribunals of War, have more Show and Appearance than real Authority, because in all things that belong to Execution, they depend necessarily upon the Supreme Tribunal of Arms, which is the fourth of the six that we spoke of; this was one of the cunningest of the Politicks of the Kings of China, and an effect of the Knowledge they had of the Humour of their Subjects, whose ruling Passion is to grow rich, and to command. To have thus ordained so great a number of Tribunals or Courts, that a great many might have the means to content their Ambition by the Honours and Profits of the Employments they are in, whilst the little Power they have takes away from them the means of abusing their places: And the same measures within a very little were observed by the other Supreme Tribunals, whose Power seems greater and less limited: For as it might be feared, that any one of them might render himself absolute, if he were left to the entire disposal of the Matters belonging to him, all their Employments were distributed, and their Functions were ordered with so much Prudence, that not one among them is absolute in the Affairs of his Office, but all have a dependence upon one another.

All the Eleven Tribunals are placed according to their Rank in magnificent Palaces on both sides of that of the King's; the first six upon the left, which is the place of Honour, and towards the East, the other five on the right towards the West; and whereas each of the Six has under it several Subaltern Tribunals to prepare and order Business, so have these inferior Tribunals their Palaces within the great one, of which they depend; these

lesser Tribunals are in greater or lesser number, in each of the great ones, proportionably to the business they have, and according to our Authors Calculation, there are in all 44, in such sort, that it seems business should be treated of, exactly passing through so many different Tribunals; and yet it must be known that in the Palace of each Supreme Tribunal, there is always a Hall and an Apartment for a Mandarin, who is called Overseer or Supervisor, who examines publicly or secretly all that is done, and as soon as he knows of any Disorder or Injustice, he is obliged to acquaint the King with it; all other Tribunals whether of the Court, or belonging to the Provinces, which are joyned to these Supreme Tribunals, are governed with no less Policy. Those of the Court, which are established at *Pekin*, are so numerous, that we shall take no care to mention them here; for there are some for every kind of business, among others there are some that make up a Royal Academy, and which consists of the best Wits of all the Kingdom. They are as it were the King's Learned men, with whom he discourses very often upon several Sciences, and makes choice of many to be his Counsellors; and for other Tribunals, that which is called the Visitors, or that belongs to the general Supervisors, Oversees all the Court and Empire; it's charge is to see the Laws observed, and Justice executed, and to see that both the Mandarins and People do their Duty; this Tribunal is much feared, and has under it 25 Tribunals, and is placed in a huge Palace; every three Years it causes a general Visit to be made, sending Visitors into each Province, who no sooner enter into them than they become above all Vice-Roys and Mandarins, and do all with an Authority that inspires no little Fear. But there is yet another Tribunal, the Functions whereof is not less considerable, nor of less importance, which is that of the Overseers, which we have spoken of already, which are divided into six Orders, as the six Supreme Tribunals which they oversee; their Authority goes so far, that they may reprehend the King himself when he commits any fault in the Government of the State, and there are found some generous enough to expose themselves resolutely to a Banishment, or even to Death it self, in acquainting him of his faults, sometimes by a Memorial, and sometimes by telling him them to his Face. In fine, every Province has its Tribunals as well general as particular, and above all there is one that is Chief, and oversees all the rest, and gives the King and the six Supreme Tribunals of the Court an account of all important Affairs. It may be easily judged that all their Employs have a great many Mandarins; and so there are 32000 in the Roll, which the Court sends from

from time to time into the Provinces: and though this number may seem very strange; yet our *Author* says, That the distribution, distinction and subordination is much more marvellous and surprising. It seems the Law-makers have not forgot any thing for the establishing of things upon the best bottom that it was possible to put them; and that they have prevented all the inconveniences that might be feared; but by ill looking to the Conduct and Goodness of the Officers, does not correspond to so good an order; for, as they all have an insatiable desire of raising themselves, and becoming Rich, they transgress, for these ends, all Human and Divine Laws and Justice: and, whilst they counterfeit in their Exterior, the exact observers, and are very nice in Formalities, they do not make the least scruple to commit the greatest Injustices in the bottom; and to tread upon Reason, Religion, Honesty and Equity, which does not hinder the form of Government, from being in it self very excellent; Because, as our *Author* says, the Knavery of the Men, takes away nothing from the goodness and excellency of the Laws.

What has been hitherto said, must give a very high Notion, or Idea of the Grandeur of this *Empire*: but, it seems, there is nothing can do that better, than the Pomp and extraordinary Magnificence that shines at the Emperours Court. Fancy it self would be troubled to add any thing to the Relation that has been here made in several Chapters; and, it is hard, after Reading, but the Flattery of the People, will seem more excusable; who, dazzled with this Splendour, never speak of their Sovereign, but in Hyperbolick Expressions, and treat all, who have Relation to his Person, with the terms of Heavenly and Divine. What the *Author* says in this Article, must be seen in himself; and the Account he gives of the City of *Pekin*, which is the Princes Place of abode, and Capital of the Empire, and, above all, must be seen, what he says of that Great and Magnificent Palace of this Emperour.

There are but few Readers that will not take pleasure in this part of his Work, and to whom, the particular account he gives, will not seem curious; and the more, because other Relations have said but very little upon this Subject, and very confusedly; which, in Mr. *Bernon's* Judgment, proceeded from the small help that people had untill now, of Learning much of it: The *Embassadors* that are sent to that Court, being always shut in, in the Palace that they have given them; and the Missioners, except a very few, having never seen *Pekin*, or if they have, it was onely in passing through it; So that, in his opinion, there were but Father *Magaillan's*, and two or three others, that could have any knowledge of the Court or City; And this *Jesuite* is the onely Man that gave us the Description, after 25 years abode there: In his Book then may be seen

more distinctly, than ever yet was seen, the Situation, Form, Disposition and Greatness of this Famous City, which has been a long time spoken of without being known: his Description is as ample, and accompanied with as good circumstances as can be desired; and the Great Palaces, that contain a great many other, and which, by its great and prodigious scope, and breadth, and for the Beauty, Riches, Majesty and Grandeur of all contained in it, may justly pass for the rarest and most marvellous thing in the World. Four Chapters are employed in this Description, and the *Author* has joyned to them a Draught of the City and Palace, which serves much to comprehend the Symmetry and Order that accompanies all that Magnificence: in fine, in the last Chapter that immediately follows these, the *Author* shews the way the Emperor goes out of his Palace, whether it be when he designs to divert himself in walking abroad, or in Hunting; or whether it be when he goes abroad to make some publick Function, as some one of the *Sacrifices*, which he does every year, in every one of the Seven Churches Ordained for this Ceremony; and which are situated in the City, without the Walls of the Palace: on either occasion it is believed, that no Prince can appear with so Magnificent an Equipage. But above all it is presumed, that the Pomp and Magnificence cannot be equalled, wherewith he goes to the Publick Functions, for then he is accompanied with the most Sumptuous and Majestick Guard that can be seen in any Court; nothing could better compleat the representing to us the Splendour of this Empire, and all the Glory of its Monarch, than the description given to us of this Pompous March; and so Father *Magaillan's* judged, that he could not better conclude his History than by it; and this is the dash with which he was willing to finish the Picture wherein he has drawn the Grandeur and Magnificence of all *China*.

The *Translator* has added to this Relation, the Life and Death of the *Author*, Written by Father *Lewis Buglio*, his inseparable companion all the time he staid in *China*, which was 36 years. According to this Account, Father *Magaillan's* was a *Portugese*; and, according to M. *Abbe Bernon*, he was of the same Family that *Ferdinand Magaillan's* was of, who was, and still is corruptedly called *Magellan*; and who first discovered the *Gulph* that bears that Name, at the extremity of the Southern *America*. He shewed from his youth, a great Passion for Visiting the *Indies*; whither his Congregation, or Society having sent him in the year 1634, he soon found the opportunity of passing into *China*; where, after suffering much from the Infidels, he was, at last, happy enough, to gain the Favour of the *Tartar* Prince, who became Master of *China*; and by diverting him with his ingenious Inventions, and pleasing him from time to time

time with some of his own Works, it occasion'd, that when he died, the King caused him to be Sumptuously Buried, according to the Custom of the Countrey; And Father Buglio, who describes us all the Ceremony, does not stick to say, that there has not been seen a more Famous one at that Court.

A JOURNAL of Chardin's Voyages into PERSIA, and to the East-INDIES, by the Black-Sea, and by Colchis, the first Part; containing a Voyage from Paris to Ispahan. London, Sold by Moses Pitts, 1686, in Fol.

THE Author, in his Journals, tells us, of a Famous River of Colchis, a Mile and a half broad, and more than 80 Fathoms deep at its entry; and that he has gone round the Isle of Phase, if possible to discover the Remains of the Temple of Rhea, which Arian says was to be seen there in his time; and that he has not found the least sign thereof, tho' Historians allure us, that it was whole in the Low Empire, and was Dedicated to Jesus Christ, in the Emperour Zenon's time; nor could he perceive any Marks of the great City of Sebastia, or of that of Colchis: All that he found conform to what the Antients Writ of the Black-Sea, was only the great number of Pheasants that are about it: He mentions, upon the Credit of some Authors, that the Argonauts brought these Birds into Greece, where there were none before, and that they Named them Pheasants, because they were taken about the Phase. I call to mind a considerable mistake of a shepherd, who was otherways very Learned, as he has shewn himself in his History of the High-ways; and in his Treatise of the Break of Day, he says, in the 32 Chapter of the Fourth Book of this Treatise, That the Luxury of the Romans was so great, that they did not measure the goodness of Meats by the Taft, but by the Quantity and Cost, as were Pheasants, which they sent for to Colchis; he would find it a hard task to prove this; for, these words of Petronius, which seem to be his grounds for what he says, viz. *Ales phasiacis petita Colchis*, signifies no more than that the race of these Birds was brought from Colchis. The hard usage that Mr. Chardin had when he was in the hands of the *Dovaniers*, and from a Lieutenant, worse than the *Dovaniers* themselves, and that before he arrived at the *Caucase*, there were no encouragements to go to Travel into these Countreys. This Mountain is very famous, the top is always covered with Snow, and is inhabited; and the passage over it is Eight Leagues; all the rest of it abounds with Honey, Corn, Gum, good Wines and Fruits; Hogs, and other great Cattle: There are many Villages, and most of the

Inhabitants are Christians, live after the Gregorian Rule, and enjoy their ease.

Before we come to the Description of Georgia, it is pleasant to see the Author meet his Comrade, after a thousand troubles, with the Riches that he brought out of Europe. Georgia reached heretofore from Tannis and Erzorom to Tanais, and was called Albanie, but it is less now: there are some that would have its Name derived from that of St. George, the great Saint of all the Christians of the Gregorian-Order; others will have it derived from the Inhabitants who were called Georgi by the Greeks, which signifies Labourers; it has but few Towns. The Kingdom of Caket had many heretofore. It is properly the antient Iberia that was ruined by the People of Mount *Caucase*; and, as it's said, by the Amazons. The Author says, he has seen none in Georgia that ever was in the Amazons Country; but that he has heard much of them, and has seen at the Princes Palace the Habit of a big Woman, made of thick Woollen, and of a particular form, which they said was that of an Amazon, killed near Caket in the last Wars.

The Sons of the Prince of Georgia understanding by Mr. Chardin, what History says of the Amazons, said, that they were some of the wandering Scythians, like the Turcomans and Arabians, and have transferred the Sovereignty to their Wives, as did the Achinese; and that these Queens were served by some of their own sex, that followed them every where; after the manner that Georgia and its Inhabitants are spoken of here, it would move one to apply to them the Proverb, touching the Kingdom of Naples; (a) (a) Camer. 1 Vol. Il regno Neapolitano e un 1. 5. c. 5. *delicato paradiso Mahabita-*

to da gli dianoli: In effect, Georgia is as fertile a Countrey as can be; one may live there deliciously and cheap: the Bread is as good as in any place of the World, the Fruit is very excellent, and of all sorts; abundance of very good Cattle, Fowl innumerable, and incomparably good: the wild Boar is as delicate there, as in Colchis, and there can no better thing be eaten than the Hogs, which the common people feed on: there is Fresh-water-fish, and Sea-fish in great quantity, and the best in the World. For 8 Livres may be bought a Horse-load of the best Wine in the Country, that is to say, 300 pound weight. All this resembles an Earthly Paradise; but if we consider the Inhabitants, they will be found like Devils only, except that they are Civil, Grave, Moderate, and very Fair: The Author Remarks, That he did not see one ugly Person of either Sex, but Angelick Faces; and, that nothing can be Painted more Charming, than the Georgines. Nevertheless, he adds, that they all Paint; they generally have a great deal of Natural Wit, but being ill brought up, they become very Ignorant and Vicious, Cheats, Knaves, Traitors, Ingratefull, Proud, and strangely Impudent in Lying, Irreconcilable in their

their Hatreds, Drunkards, Usurers, immodest to the highest Degree. The Churchmen drink as well as the rest, and have with them handsome Slaves which they make their Concubines; and what is the height of all Corruption, none is scandalized, because it is Authorized by the general custom: The Author says, that the Guardian of the *Capucins* told him, that he heard it said by the *Catholicks*, (for so are called the Patriarchs of *Georgia*) that whoever was not drunk at the Feast of *Easter* and *Christmas*, &c. does not pass for a good Christian, and ought to be excommunicated.

The Women are neither less evil or vicious, they have a great eagerness for Men, and have a greater part in this Torrent of Immodesty than is to be found in any other part of the World: Every one has liberty in *Georgia*, to live according to his own Religion, to discourse of it and maintain it: There are there more *Armenians* than *Georgians*; there are also *Greeks*, *Jews*, *Turks*, *Persians*, *Indians*, *Tartars*, *Muscovites*, and *Europeans*. The Religion of the *Georgians*, is much the same with theirs of *Mingrelia*; but that they Fast more, and have longer Prayers, and look after their Churches better: The greatest part live on remote and inaccessible Mountains; they see them, and salute them at the distance of three or four Leagues, but hardly ever go thither; and what is yet more ridiculous, tho' the Prince is a *Mahometan*, yet he fills all Benefices; generally he places his Friends in them, and it is his Brother that is Patriarch now; without doubt, it would be known how this *Catholico* first renounc'd *Mahometanism*; and it is very pleasing to see how the *Georgian* Princes have become *Mahometans* and Subjects to the Emperor of *Persia*: The Account is very distinct, and in few words opens all the History of that Country, from *Ismael Sophi* to this very time. There we learn among other things, that the Kings of *Persia* soon converted them by inflicting great Torments upon them that continued in Christianity, and in giving great Advantages to such as abjured *Jesus Christ*, and this was done with not so much Reluctancy, as quitting the Protestant for Romish Religion; but as there never was Country or Age wherein were not found some firm in the Religion that they believed good, so there was a Princess of *Georgia* that neither Iron nor Fire could shake: *Abas the Great* would not receive the Lie, but sent Orders to the Governour of *Chiras* to make her a *Mahometan* at any Price; the Governour omitted nothing to overcome the constancy of this Princess, he made her suffer 8 Years Martyrdom, by so much the more cruel, that he renewed her Torments every day; she died at last upon Flaming Coals in the Year 1624. her Body was thrown to the Birds of the Air, but the *Augustins* sent it secretly to the Prince her Son; she was called *Kelavane*, and very few have

imitated her. The Princess of *Georgia* and great part of the Lords do now profess *Mahometanism*, some to imploy themselves at the *Persian* Court, others for Pensions, and some that they might marry their Daughters to the King, or make them enter into the Queen's Service.

The head City of *Georgia* is called *Tiflis*; there are fourteen Churches, which is much in a Country of so little Devotion, but that is not the most surprizing. It is more admirable, that these People should be so much against the Building of *Mosques*; the King of *Persia* their Sovereign could never compass the Building of one at *Tiflis*. The People rise presently, and being armed, ruine the Work and abuse the workmen; they thought to build one at the *Fort*, to accustom the People to the sight of *Mosques*, and to see their Priests call People to Prayer, from the top of the Building; but the first time that the Priest was doing this Function, there were so many Stones thrown on that side, that obliged him to come down in haste; and after this Mutiny, there was none put to do this Office. The King of *Persia*'s Patience, is to be more admired here than the *Georgians* Zeal: For tho' they have neither Piety nor Vertue, the meer Passions of the Machine or Body, may naturally produce Sallies and Religious Extravagances; it was a thousand times observed, That the most Profligate when let loose on the persecuted Patty, by the chief Persecutors, were those that shewed most Zeal.

The *Capucins* of *Tiflis* are very near as lewd as the *Theatins* of *Mingrelia*; their capacity in *Physick* and *Chymistry* is of more use to them than any they can have in Controversy; and they do not maintain their Embassies as they told M. *Chardin*, for any Benefit they reap, but meerly for the Glory of the *Roman Church*; which would not be Universal, say they, if it had not Ministers in all parts of the Inhabited World; they have the Popes leave to receive Pay for their Cure, which they turn to good Profit; they have power to absolve from any sin, and to disguise themselves to sell and buy, and to receive and set at interest. The Zeal of the *Georgians* for their Fast is so unreasonable, that they do not believe one a Christian that does not Fast as they do, which obliges the *Capucins* to fast the *Georgian* way, and to abstain from Hares, Tortoises, and other things, which the *Georgians* abhor.

There is also at large the Patent which the King of *Persia*, sent to M. *Chardin* full of Pride; and indeed generally the Eastern Princes assume the highest Titles that can be conceived. I believe that for the honour of *Europe* and *Christendom*, every one ought to know what Spirit guides them in the East; for when that is not known, we are thought the most ridiculous People in the World, which is false; for these in *Asia* surpass us, and if we keep our selves as we are, they will always excel us in that particular,

particular; there was lately published, which was well done, a strange *Legend* of pompous Titles which the Kings of *Siam* give themselves; the Author being minded to shew, That the Eastern Nations are infinitely more vain than all the other; he has inserted in his Journal the Translation of a Letter from the Prince of *Georgia* to *John Casimer* King of *Poland*; but because the Patent of the King of *Persia* is dressed with much form, there is care taken to expound all after an Instructive manner. I will meddle but with this Point; the *Persians* have this way, never to place the Name of *God* at the bottom of a Leaf, they put it at top, and at the side, and leave a Blank whereto it relates; and they make a great business of this Circumspection. --- And they take the same care for their King's and chief Ministers Names in all their Law Papers, and in Petitions and Publick Acts.

The Author being invited by the Prince of *Georgia* to a great Nuptial Feast, gives us the Description of it, which among other curious Circumstances, has this, that the Prefect of the *Capucins* all in white, and very old, was obliged to play upon the Virginals before the Guests, and to sing at the same time; he sung first the *Magnificat*, the *Te-Deum*, and the *Tantum ergo*, and then the Tunes of the Court in *Italian* and *Spanish*, because the Hymns did not enough delight this *Mahometan* Prince: This Confort lasted 2 hours, during which M. Chardin that found it very mean, learned of a Steward that the *Mahometan* Faith did not permit the use of Musick, and above all prohibits it in Matters of Religion, there being nothing but the voice of Man wherewith God will be praised. The Prince asking how the King of *Spain* his Cousin did, occasioned the Authors Learning, that *Clement* the 8th. writing to a Prince of *Georgia*, and saying, that *Philip* the Second was his Cousin, gave way to this pretension of Kindred; and that the *Iberians* and *Spaniards* were Brothers. Before M. Chardin quitted *Tiflis*, he had the complaisance on the Account of a *Capucin* to write in his Table Book, several Secrets of an Old Woman that practis'd Physick. His Journey from *Tiflis* to *Iriuan* was very tiresome. *Iriuan* is a Town of *Armenia*, whereof he gives us the Description; it is the most considerable Government of the Kingdom: The Revenues producing near 500000 Crowns yearly without reckoning the 200000 which it raises by indirect ways; he that was in possession of it then, was called *Sefi-Couli-can*, the Dukes Slave of *Sefi*; the Name of Slave, which really belongs to the Subjects of the Eastern Princes, is a Name of Honour in *Persia*, *Chacouli* or *Coulom-cha*, which signifies Slave of the King, is as honourable a Title as that of *Marquess* in *France*: The Slaves of the King have at the *Persian* Court almost the same employments that ordinary Gentlemen have at that of *France*; they are Children of

Quality that are engag'd very young in that Service, as well for the profit that they receive, as that they the sooner have admittance to the Court; as for the rest, the *Persian* Eloquence does not flatter ill the Vanity of that Nation, when to signify that an Ambassador has saluted the King: they say, *He has kiss'd the King's Slaves Feet*; and for to say, That a Prince has done some great Action, they say, *The Princes Slaves have done a great Action*. The Author imagines, That this is copied from the *Alcoran*, wherein the Works of God are often called the Works of Angels; the *Mahometans* maintain, that it expresses more nobly the Works of God; for if they that are but Servants are capable of forming the World, what will not he do that is Master?

The Governour of *Iriuan* seems to have much Merit for several Reasons; but before he is spoke of, Mr. Chardin rehearses several considerable Points of the Tradition of that Country, which is of great Service to the *Christians* of *Europe*, because it shews, that those of *Asia* make far more idle Stories; some of these Traditions relate to *Noahs Ark*. I shall be easily pardoned, if without stopping at these things I acquaint my Reader, that M. Chardin shews us very curious things concerning the Couriers of the King of *Persia*, and of the *Persian* Marriages. Their Morals upon the Chapter of Women, is the most licentious in the World. For they may have four, they may buy, or hire as many as they will, and use them as Treasure, without breach of Civil or Ecclesiastick Law. There are but few nevertheless that Marry more than one Wife; and they find it more to their advantage, not to trouble their Houses with Jealousies of several Heads, whereof every one would be Mistress, and to diversifie their Pleasures cheaper, by the number of Slaves, which they bring up to be their Concubins, without prejudicing in the least the Superiority of a Wife. *Mahomet* had been but a little Politick if in lieu of permitting them to have four, he had commanded them to have so many; and if the contrary were desired of him, as a favour it would be as *Phaeton* did: *Paxam, Phaeton, pro munere poscis*. They are marry'd there without seeing each other, and a Man does not see his Wife until after the Consummation of Matrimony, and often he does not consummate it; for some days after she is brought to him, because she hides her self among the Women, and will not let the Husband enjoy her. These Forms are more frequent among People of Quality, because in their Opinion, it is like a debauched Person to yield the last Favour so soon; especially the Women of the Royal Family, there must be sometimes whole Months to prevail with them. It is very probable, says Mr. Chardin, That this way of Marrying without seeing each other should produce very unhappy Effects, but happens perfectly contrary; for it may be said,

said, That there are more lucky Marriages in those Countries where they do not see the Women at all, than in them where they are seen and frequented: The reason is evident, when we do not see another Mans Wife, we do not so soon lose the Love we may have for our own. And the Reflection is very good. I shall say nothing of several other particularities which the Author mentions here in this great Chapter. He reports of the Governour of *Irvan*, which is a little better than the Answer of this which the Ambassador of *Vicqufort* speaks of, that upon the demand made him, what he would have the Present consist of, that was intended him; he Answered in Bills of Exchange. This Governour understanding, That the Box which *M. Chardin* presented him with, was worth 10 Pistols: he desired him to take it again, and to give him the value of it in Keys, Springs and Strings of Watches; this and several other things to be seen in that Journal, shews that Covetousness is so predominant with the Eastern People that it puts them on a thousand base little Actions.

If this Article had not been a little too long already, I would have related many other things out of this Volume. The Author shews much skill in Geography, and gives us the Description of some considerable Towns, with the Plans of them, and an Abridgment of their Histories, which may satisfy well enough the desire of any curious Reader. He represents us the City of *Tauris* as very beautiful: there are 250 Mosques in it, and a place where the *Turks* may put 30000 Men in Battalia: He prefers their Opinion before any others that will have it to be the Antient Town of *Echatané*. The Letters of Recommendation given him, and his Notes on them, are not the least curious part of this Book: For they help to teach us the Genius of the *Persians*: There we learn that they call their Kings the *Vicars of God*, because they pretend, That the Race that Reigned these 250 Years, sprung from *Ali Son-in-Law, and Successor of Mahomet*.

Casbin the Country of the famous *Lozman*, the Eastern *Aesope*, appears with great Pomp, but it would be nothing in comparison of another Town, called *Rey*, if it were true, that *Rey* was what the *Persian* Geographers maintain it to be, upon the credit of all the Eastern Authors, who say, That in the Sixth Age of Christianity, the Town of *Rey* was divided into 96 Parts, whereof each had 46 Streets, every Street 400 Houses and 10 Mosques, and that the Town had 6400 Colledges, 16600 Baths, 15000 lesser Mosques, 12000 Mills, 17000 Channels, and 13000 Caravanserais. The *Magies* Chronicles affirm, That *Chus* Grand-Son of *Noah* was the Founder of *Rey*, and lay'd the first Stone under the Ascendant of *Scorpion*. This is no small comfort to our Northern and Southern Fblers: for if on one part they are concerned to be called Dream-

ers, they will have on the other side the satisfaction of having Companions all over the World: For what concerns the Magnificence of the Mosques and Mansclees of *Com*? They are not Dreams, but Realities, since the Author professes himself an eye-witness thereof. The Tomb of *Fathme*, Daughter of *Mouza-Cazem*, one of the 12 Califes, which the *Persians* believe were the lawful Successors of *Mahomet* after *Ali*, is in the chiefest of these Mosques with those of King *Abas*, and *Sefi*. There is but very little wanting in the Worship of *Fathme* among the *Persians*, to equal it to what most of the Christians pay to the Mother of the Son of God. This appears by the Prayers that Pilgrims of *Com* rehearse; and the People are persuaded, that the Virgin *Fathme* was transported to Heaven both Body and Soul, yet they do not celebrate the Feast of her Assumption. Mr. *Chardin* gives us in French some of these Prayers, as also the famous Elegy of *Haly*, made by the Learned *Haran Cary*: This Panegyrick is writ in great Letters of Gold, in the Gallery of the Tomb of *Abas*, and is a piece of Eloquence, wherein may be seen not only the Genius of the *Persian* Poetry, but also Transports of the *Mahometan* Devotion. 'Tis in Songs divided by disticks; the first is all upon *Mahomet*, the six other upon *Ali*. If I were minded to make a more ample Addition of the *Spanish Rotomandos*, many places of this Poem should be copied out. To speak seriously, there are some turns of Expressions that have much Force in them, as when to express the Beauty of *Ali* the Poet assures us, That God has assigned his Love as a Joynture to the Ladies of *Paradice*: Naturalists will not find what they look for here, but they may examine the White Pot Work of *Com*, and they will find enough to busy themselves in; it refreshes Water in Summer very well, by the means of a continual Transpiration. The first time that this Pot is used, a Quart transpires in 6 hours, and then less and less afterwards, until at last the Pores are closed by gross Matter that is in the Water, that stops its passage through the Pores; and then a new Pot must be us'd, or else the Water would stink in the other.

The Author set forth from *Com* the 16th. of June 1672. and arrived at *Ispahan* the 23d. And here the First Volume ends; it is to be sold at *Amsterdam*; Reprinted in Twelves at *Wolfgang's*.

Reflections on the cruel PERSECUTIONS that the Reformed Church suffer'd in FRANCE, through the Conduct and Acts of the last Assembly of the Clergy of that Kingdom, with an Examination of the pretended Calumnies whereof the Clergy complains to the King in the Profession of Faith.

PERhaps there never was seen so strange a difference as is found now between the *Catholicks* and the *Reformed*, who write upon the Conversions in *France*: The first maintain, that they do all mildly, and with Christian Charity, and upon this make continual Exclamations and Panegyricks. The last affirm, That they force them by threatening, or corrupt them by other means, and that at last they employed an Army of 50000 Men, who except killing committed all the Disorders that they usually commit when they live at discretion in an Enemies Country, which has made some merry People term it, *The Dragoon Croisade, or the Conversion of the Dragoons.*

They say a great deal more, but since it is the sign of prudence not to believe them lightly: *Qui cito credit levis est corde.* I would advise the Readers to suspend their judgment a little. All wise Men should go on leisurely on these Matters, and should neither believe the Relations of the *Catholicks*, nor them of the *Reformed*, until they have well considered all the Circumstances. What is most certain upon sight of all their pieces, is, that either the *Reformed* Writers must be the boldest Calumniators that ever were in the World, or that the *Catholick* Writers must be the falsest and the boldest Flatterers that have ever been heard of. For in fine, an Army that Plunders, or threatneth to Plunder the *Hugonots* Houses through all the Kingdom, is a thing that 'tis hard to suppress the Truth of, or to persuade that it is false.

The Author of this Work dedicates it to God: This Dedictory Epistle has a very singular turn and an uncommon advantage, which is that it prosecutes his Praises to the highest, without becoming suspected of Flattery. I am mistaken if Praises be the only thing aim'd at in it: For certainly, there enters Censure either directly or indirectly in the Reflections that follow this Dedication; they have much Fire and Wit, but are very disadvantageous to the Clergy; for they shew, That they managed their Work after so cheating a way, that tho' they have gull'd the People, yet there could be nothing so gross and ill knit together as their Artifices: This Author complains continually that on all occasions they seem'd to have wholly the Edicts of Pacification, tho at bottom they had no such

thought, as the Event has confirm'd; one might press People far enough both according to the Notions of the Gospel and Maxims of Morals, when they are convinced of such Dissimulation; but those that are acquainted with the Rights of the Art of Governing, and who have experienced, that Politick Wisdom is oblig'd to conceal their intentions, and know that this is a necessary evil in this State of corrupted nature, will not trouble themselves with all these Complaints, but will fend all Protestant Writers to *Plato's* Common-Wealth, or to *Sir Thomas Moore's Utopia*, because they think like *Cato*, without considering what a Man is in such an Age as this, and without thinking that a perfect Regularity does not belong to this World; we must stay until the Resurrection new forms Man from Head to Foot, to see him in this Order.

To these Complaints are added others; the violent Advices suggested by the Bishops, and after this are made some rough Reflections upon the two Orations of the last Meeting of the Clergy, spoke by the Bishop of *Valence* and the Coadjutor of *Rouen*, and there is to be seen the Discourse which the Lieutenant General of *Rochele* made to the Heads of the Protestant Families, wherein he declared, that if they did not quickly learn and enter into the bosom of the Church, they should be punished in this World with much Pain and Calamities. And here follows an Account of what pass'd at *Mounaban*, and of divers Remarks that help to shew, that the Persecutions of the *Pagans*, nor of the Duke of *Alva*, and them of *Hungary*, were not so grievous as those of our Days: The *Donatists* are spoke of, and it's maintained, that they are not to be compared with the *Hugonots*, and that the success of the Persecutions rais'd against them is not to be expected now.

They found it on this thought, that the new Converts change only in the exterior, and that they will never be drawn from their Hypocrisy, but by having leave to return to their former Belief: If a thousand Reports that run, were credited, it would be thought that there would become a true *Samaritanisme* in *France*, and a mixt Religion that would neither be *Calvinism* nor *Papism*, and which would have been soon excommunicated by the Pope, in the times that the Court of *Rome* could maintain his Pretensions. There was a Discourse that there is nothing asked of the most of the Profelytes, but a general Promise, That they would not remain Separatists. And the Gazett tells us, they are suffered to sing in the very Cathedrals the Psalms of *Clement Marot*: And upon this many cry, that it is an effect of the Promise, that they complain of. But as I have said already, A wise Man should not credit things of this nature upon *Hear-says*; we must expect until time clears all these doubtful Matters, to see whether the Prelates of

France

France will not, by good Apologies, annul the complaints spread of them through all *Europe*. As the Common-wealth of Sciences is a State of Abstraction and Precision from all Sects, and, as such, is not to take the part of any Sect of Divines, or Philosophers; it will be its duty to give an impartial account of the Books that will be published by the Clergy, and which it will not neglect. The *Author* makes an end of the First Part of his Book with a Letter upon what happen'd at *Guyenne*, in the time of the M. of *Boufflers* Croisade. It's strange he says nothing of the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*. And we may conclude hence, that his Book was Printed before that was known. Without doubt it will be the subject of another Work. He that made these Reflections, does not look as if he would slip so fertile a matter, or as if he would stop in so fair a road.

To understand better the Contents of his Second Part, I must first tell the *Reader*, that the Second Assembly of the Clergy brought a parallel of the Doctrine of the *Roman Church*, and that which is imputed to it by *Protestants*, which comprehends in Seven *Articles*, all the Points that are Disputed of; and there are three Columns made on each *Article* of these: The first contains the Formal Terms of the Profession of Faith, and of the Council of *Trent*. The second, the *French Translation* of these Terms: The third is of the Imputations of *Protestants*, which the Clergy pretend to be Calumnies of the highest degree, and have all, in a Body, petitioned the King for a Formal Justice. The *Author* having made several Remarks on all this, with his ordinary heat, descends to a more particular examination of these Seven *Articles*, and maintains, that the Calumnies that were complained of, are very unjust Accusations, and pretends, that the most rigorous and hard expressions of the Ministers contain nothing, but pure Truth; and marks, that the Translation of these pretended Calumnies contain a more injurious meaning than the Original: I will not enter on particular proofs; it is enough to say, that they are pass'd with much Vigour and Wit, and that for the honour of the *Roman Communion* they must be Answer'd.

The Third Column will produce an infinite number of Books of Controversie, which may last a long time; for Questions of matters of Fact are sometimes an Abyss, whereof the bottom is never seen. The *Philosophers* of this Country will be less impatient for these Books, than for the *Apology*; for that they hope that the *Author* of the *Apology* will teach them many curious things, touching the Nature of the Soul, and the easiness of changing Opinions from morning to night: for, without this, their *Apology* will seem to want one of its most Essential Parts; because the *Cartesians* have made the World experience sensibly the great force of Prejudices that there are, but few

thinking-Men but believe that there would be need of the Adress of the most able *Philosopher* for two years, to persuade all People, that Sensible Qualities are only in the Soul; that the Earth moves continually; that Body and Space are the same thing, &c. And, upon this, they imagine some hardness of the Fibres of the Brain for Faith. But, in all likelihood, they will be otherwise lookt upon in the *Apology*; and it will be Mechanically Explicated unto them a Method to be instructed, in four days, which makes People to pass from white to black, in Doctrines suck'd in with their Milk, as of Matters of the greatest and most eminent importance.

The British Theater, or the True History of Great Britain. Written by Gregorio Leti. Amsterdam: Sold by Abraham Wolfgang, 1684. 5 Vol. in 12.

THE *Author* of this Book hath made himself known long since, by a great many fine *Italian Pieces*, which have been Translated into divers Tongues; and, amongst others, by *Italia Regnante*, by *Itinerario della Carte di Roma*; by *Politica de Principi*; by *il Livello Politico*; by *i Dialoghi politici*; by *Vita di Philippi II.* and by *la vita de Gisto V.* Printed lately at *Paris*, being Translated into very fine *French*. The Praise of some of these Works may be seen in the Journal of the Learned. Mr. *Leti* hath published the most part of them at *Geneva*, where he lived several years. In the First Book of the second Volume of this *British Theater*, is the reason why he left it. He went into *France* immediately upon it, and presented to the King a *Panegyrick*, which he had made upon that Monarch, Entituled, *la Fama Gelosa della Fortuna*. The Gallant Mercury of the Month of July, 1680. and the Journal of the Learned of the 29th of the same Month, speak much in the Commendation of the Person of Mr. *Leti*, and of the *Panegyrick* which he presented at the same time to the King at *Fontainebleau*. He was very well received by this Prince, yet notwithstanding he made no stay at his Court, because he saw there was nothing to be done there for *Protestants*; he chose therefore to withdraw into *England*. He was soon known there, and honoured with a considerable Present by our King some few days after his arrival. Which also obliged him to Compose a *Panegyrick* upon His Majesty, who received it very Graciously. He afterwards got leave to carry on the History of *England*, and the Secretaries of State received Orders to furnish him with the Memoires which he would require. This was the reason why this Work was much talkt of; As it was one day spoken of at the King's getting up, some one said, That

That he did not believe that a Stranger could succeed in Writing the History of England: others maintained, That a Stranger would succeed better, because he would speak with less Interest; and that there ought to be no difficulty made to furnish him with requisites for it, rather than to a Native born. The King, who excels in Reparties, said thereupon; *Let him alone; if he doth well, it is so much the better: if not, 'twill excite some other to try to acquit himself better.* The Author knowing what was said of his Work afore-hand, neglected nothing of what could be useful to him: He visited carefully the Wifest Persons of England, and had considerable Memorials of them: He informed himself of the Antiquities, of the Laws, and of the Customs of the State, and of all the Particularities of the Countrey. It must not be forgotten that he was made a Member of the Royal Society, by the Nomination of the Deceased Duke of Norfolk.

He begun with describing the Antient and Modern State of Great Britain, which he included in two Volumes in 4to. He proposed to himself to compose three others, for the History it self of the Country. Whilst he was about these two first Volumes, the King asked him one day, *If his History would be soon ended.* He Answered, *That he feared it would be finished too soon.* And why, reply'd the King? *Because,* Answer'd Mr. Leti, *I fear the Destiny of Historians, which is to be recompenced by Exile, or Imprisonment.* You are too Wise, reply'd the King, *to expose your self to that.* If one was as wise as Solomon, answered the Author, *ones destiny cannot be avoided.* Well then, added the King, *if you believe there is so much danger in Writing Histories, Write Proverbs as Solomon did.* That seemed to be a Prefage of what hapned afterwards; but Mr. Leti ceased not to go on in his Work, and even to say to the Court, when the occasion offer'd, *That he Writ a History, and not a Panegyrick; that they should dispose themselves so as to see the Truth there, without Flattery as well as without Satyrs.*

As soon as the Edition of these two Volumes were ended, he presented them to the King and Queen, to whom they were Dedicated; to the Duke and Dutcheſs of York. They were very well received: and during ten days Mr. Leti was seen at Court as favourably as afore. He believed then, that seeing the King who was willing to read the Work himself, and who stayed up very late some nights to end the Reading thereof, said nothing; it was a sign the Book did not displease him. From that time he made divers Presents to the Ambassadors who were at London, and to the Lords of the Court. It was, it seems, through the suggestion of an Ambassador, that this Work which the King had read without any apparent dislike, passed for a dangerous Book, and hurtful to the State, as treating too openly, and too clearly of such Truths as were

thought would be better concealed. The Council assembled divers times thereupon, and it was at last concluded, That all the Copies should be seized which the Author had, and that he should be commanded in Ten days to depart England. The thing was executed, but mildly. One may see what Mr. Leti saith thereof, p. 16. of the Second Volume. He relates in the Preface of the First, something a Prelate said to him, which deserves to be taken notice of. Signior Gregorio, saith he unto him, a few days afore he left London, *voi avete fatto l'Historia per altri, & non per voi, e dovevate far la per voi, e non per altri.*

We thought that the Reader would be glad to learn the Adventures both of an History, and an Author, who have made so much noise. And therefore shall proceed to the Work it self.

What had been Printed at London contained but the Antient and Modern State of Great Britain. It is to be had entire, without any thing cut off in the two First Volumes of this Edition; except the Author thought it more expedient to reserve for the Fifth Volume any thing which was Historical.

The First Volume contains eleven Books; whereof the First gives a brief account of the History and Religion of England, whilst it had been possessed by divers Princes, and bore the Name of *Britannia*, to wit unto Egbert, who reduced it altogether under his Power, and gave it the Name of *England*, or of *Anglia*, at the end of the Eighth Age. There are in this First Book divers things very curious concerning the *Druides*, and the Gods who were adored in England, before the Faith had been planted in it. The Author describes in the Second Book, the Greatness, the Situation, the Provinces, the Rivers, the Cities, the Bishopricks, the Inhabitants, the Fertility, the Merchandises, the Negotiations, and the Buildings of England. The Third Book is employed altogether upon the Description of the Famous City of London. Here there is more exactness than in the very Writings of some English, who have given the Publick the state of this Famous City, and that of the whole Kingdom. There is, according to the supputation of Mr. Leti, near Four hundred fifty thousand Souls in London, and about Six Millions in the whole Kingdom. The Fourth speaks of the Government and Priviledges of the same City, as well as of the Factions which do divide it. The Sixth describes the Humour of the English, and the Application they have to Religion, and to the Observation of the Laws of the Country. The Seventh is a Continuation of the same subject, and a description of the Laws and divers Customs of England. The Eighth speaks of the strangers who are in that Country, and chiefly of the French Protestants who have fled thither some time since. In this is the Declaration of the King of France, importing, *That the Children of those of the R. P. R.* Con-

convert at seven Years; accompanied with political and very curious Reflections. In the Ninth Book the Author describes the Three States of *England*, the Clergy, the Nobility and the People, but particularly the first. It contains the number, and names of the Bishops of this time; the manner of consecrating them, their Revenues, &c. The Tenth speaks of the State of *Roman Catholics* in *England*, of their number, of their Exercises, of the Endeavours to bring in again their Religion, of the Missions of Fryars, and of the Complaints they make of Protestants. The Author adds the Answer of the Protestants to these Complaints, and shews by the *Catholic* Authors the Designs of the Court of *Rome* upon *England*, and of the Intrigues it makes use of to bring it under its Yoke. The last Book of this Volume contains the Policy of the Court of *England* and its Maxims of State.

The Second Volume is composed of Eight Books, whereof the two first do treat of the Religion and different Parties which divide it. Therein are to be seen the Disputes of the Conformists, and of the Non-Conformists, the Opinions of the Quakers, of Anabaptists, &c. The Fourth contains the Foundations and the Rights of the Monarchy of *England*, the Revenues of the King, and other Particulars of this nature. There are several things in this place, which cannot be found elsewhere. The fifth describes the Government of *England*, the King's Council, the Parliament, and the divers Tribunals of Justice of this Kingdom. Herein are the Reasons why Parliaments have opposed in so many Rencounters the Designs of King's, which Strangers are commonly ignorant of. The sixth speaks of the particular Government of Cities, and of Countries, as also of the Posts, of Governours of Places, of the Garisons, and of the Land Forces and Sea Forces of *England*. The seventh is a Description of the Court, and the King's Officers, and of the Royal Family. The last speaks of the strange Ministers who are at *London*, of the manner wherewith they receive Ambassadors there, Residents, Envoys, &c. and of the Priviledges they enjoy. Here is the Description of those who were in *England* whilst the Author lived here. He tells very frankly their good or ill Qualities; and this is not a little useful to judge of their Negotiations, and to know why the one succeeds without pains in his Designs, whilst the other stumbles every where. It were to be wished, that all the Histories which we have, were thus circumstantiated. For as there would be much more pleasure in reading them, so we might also profit thereby much more than we do. We should know not only the Events, but also the secret Causes, the Intrigues, and the means which have contributed to the great Revolutions, and it is what may profitably instruct us. What signifieth it to know

in general, that a certain thing hath happened in a certain Year, if we do not know how and wherefore: It is the Conduct of Men which serveth us for an Example and an Instruction, and not the simple Events, which of themselves are of no use to us. But where are there Men so courageous as to write without Flattery the History of their Time? Where are there Princes who are so just as to suffer that their Truths should be told to their Faces? Where are there even Ministers of State, who would permit that their Defects should be divulged during their Life? Nevertheless, it is but then that it can be well done; for if in the time wherein things are fresh, more than one half is forgotten; much more are the following Ages deprived of the knowledge of a thousand particular Facts, which have produced great Affairs.

The Author having thus described the State of the Kingdom in the two first Volumes, takes up again in the three others, the sequel of the History of *England*, from *Egbert*, and continues it unto MDC Lxxxii. He hath disposed his Work after this manner, that after having made all the Essential Remarks of the History of *England* in the two first Volumes, he should not be obliged in the following to interrupt the course of his Narration. The third Volume contains Six Books, whereof the last is destined to the Life of *Henry* the VIII. The fourth Volume is composed of Five Books, the first whereof includes the Reign of *Edward*, and of *Mary*, and the Second that of their Sister *Elizabeth*. In the Third the Author after he begins the History of King *James* who reunited the Three Kingdoms, makes a Description of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and speaks of their Ancient and Modern State, after which in the Fourth Book he composes the History of the Reign of King *James*, wherein are very curious Particulars. There is the Life of famous *Mrc Antony de Dominis*, Arch-Bishop of *Spalatro*, included in a Letter written from *Rome*. The Author had already published it in the Third Part of his *Britannica Politica*. It is a very curious Piece, wherein is seen how this Prelate imbraced the Protestant Religion, and how being deluded by the Promises of *Dom Diego Sarmiento de Acuna*, Ambassador of *France* in *England*, and by that of the Court of *Rome*, he returned into *Italy*, where he unhappily ended his Days, without obtaining any thing of what he hoped. There also is a Letter of Pope *Gregory* XV. to the Prince of *Wales*, who was since *Charles* I. Upon his Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and an Answer of this Prince to the Pope. The Fifth Book contains the Reign of the same Prince, where his Innocence may be seen, and the unheard of Violence of his Subjects described without partiality, and all the Proceedings which were made against him.

The last Volume is composed of Six Books. The first contains the History of *Cromwell's* Usurpation more exact and sincere than it had been heretofore: Hitherto have been but Satyr or Panegyricks thereupon. The Creatures of *Cromwell* have raised him up to the Clouds, and his Enemies have omitted nothing that might defame him. The Author pretends that he hath been the greatest Politician, and the greatest Captain of his time, and that he was much more able to Reign than several of those whom Providence hath plac'd upon the Throne by Inheritance. But he sheweth on the other side, That he was a Cheat and a Tyrant, who after having dipped his hand in the Innocent Blood of his Master, all his Life cheated the People by a specious Zeal for Religion. The Second Book contains the History of *Charles* the II. until his Restauration. In this Book are seen the Honours which were rendred to him in *Holland*; his Magnificent Entry into *London*; his Clemency to those who had bore Arms against him, and his Justice towards the Murderers of his Father. The same History is continued in the Third Book from the Year M. DC. LXI. unto the Year M. DC. LXXX. There is also the Life of the Duke of *York*, until his Marriage with Chancellour *Clarendon's* Daughter; the Quarrel, which happened between the Ambassadors of *France* and *Spain*, about Precedency: The subtilty wherewith the *Spanish* Ambassador carried it; the Marriage of the Princess *Henrietta*, and that of the King, the War of *England* with *Holland*, and with *France*; the Peace that was made afterwards with both the others, which was followed with a secret Treaty betwixt *England* & *France*, appeared in M. DC. Lxxii. the Marriage of the Duke of *York* with the Princess of *Modena*; the Calling, Prorogation, and dissolving different Parliaments. In fine, the Discovery which *Oates* and *Bedlow* made of a Conspiracy, which made so great noise, and whereof this Author appears not very much persuaded. We find in the fourth Book the sequel of the same Troubles, and the History of what passed in the Parliaments convoked in M. DC. LXXX. at *London* and *Oxford*. There is particularly in this Book one thing of very great importance, which the Author relates with as much sincerity, as if none was interess'd therein. Which are, 1. The Endeavours the Parliament of *England* made to exclude the Duke of *York* from the Crown. 2. The Reasons which were alledged for this. 3. The manner wherewith the Creatures of this Prince defended his Rights. The Author endeth this Book by the Description of *Pensylvania*, without omitting either the Offers which are made to those who will go to inhabit it, or the manner they may be established in it. The fifth Book begins with the Encomium of the House of *Savoy*; and tells us afterwards with a very great exactness the means which Ma-

dam, &c. made use of in M. DC. LXXX. and M. DC. LXXXII. to obtain of his *British* Majesty, that the Ambassadors of *Savoy* shou'd be received in *London* like those of Crowned Heads. It is one of the finest places of the whole Work, and they who love to read the particulars of a Negotiation, cannot read a more curious one, nor one better related than this. The last contains the Affair of Count *Koningsmarc*, with all its Circumstances, which is a very good History, and whence the manner may be Learned after what Strangers are judged in *England*. Here it is, that the Work endeth. The Author promiseth us in his Preface another Volume, where all will appear which hath happen'd in *England* till these latter Years.

The Style of this History, as well as the other Works of Mr. *Leti*, is easy and without Affectation, contrary to the custom of most *Italian* Writers: But what is most considerable, is, that he relates Matters so nakedly, and speaks so freely of the Interests of the greatest Princes of *Europe*, that perhaps one day persons will not be easily persuaded, that the Author had caus'd this Work to be printed during his Life, and the life of those of whom he speaks, if at the beginning, the Year had not been marked wherein it was printed.

Mr. *Leti* hath since written a Book which treats of all that concerneth Embassies. There may not only be seen the modern use of all Courts in this respect, but the ancient also; so that it will be a History of great concern. The Author is not contented to speak of the Duties and Privileges of all the Ministers which one Sovereign sends to another, but of each according to the Degree of his Character; he speaks largely also on the Origine of this Function, and upon all the Principalities which are formed in the World. He relates several Examples of Ambassadors, who have committed gross Mistakes, and gives Instructions how to manage worthily this Post, according to the different Courts wherein they are oblig'd to reside. Men, will easily believe that a Work which treats of things of this nature, and of so great a number of others, is worthy of Publication.

An

An Examination of the Infallibility and Right which the Roman Church pretends to have in Judging Absolutely in Matters of Controverſie. 8vo. 1687. 255.

WHilst the Romish Church makes use of all the Power of Sovereigns, to reunite to its Communion those who have quitted it, Protestants oppose these progresses, by maintaining their Cause with the soundest Reasons which they can think upon. Though they differ amongst themselves about several Speculative Doctrines, they perfectly agree upon *Morality*, and the Worship which we owe to the *Divinity*; they also, in general, are of one Mind, in those Principles of Religion which they admit, in respect to Holy Writ, and have all an extreme aversion for that Church, which pretends to be a Judge in its own Cause; and which, without delay, forceth those it calls *Hereticks*, to a Worship which is against their Consciences.

Amongst the Protestant Societies, there is none who hath declared it self more openly against Human Authority, in matter of Religion, and against the Constraining and Spirit of Persecution, than the Remonstrants. They will have the Fundamental Error of the R. Church to consist in this. *We must not* (saith *Episcopius*, in a Writing inserted by Mr. Limborg, in the Preface of this Work) *consider Popery in some of its parts, but in its whole; not in this Doctrine, nor in that, which is accused of Heresie; for it is almost the same thing on both sides; the one is mistaken in one point and the other in another. . . . We must look upon the whole Body of the Roman Church, which is a composition of ignorant, ambitious and tyrannical Men: I call them ignorant, not because they are not very Learned, for sometimes they are too much so; but because they know not, and are obliged to know only what is prescribed unto them, often against their Conscience, against Reason and Divine Law. It is the most pernicious of all Ignorances, because it is a servile one, which is upheld only by the Authority of the Pope and Councils, and which is the source of the many Sophisms they are constrained to make, to maintain such Opinions they have engaged themselves into, whether they find them true or false. It extends its Empire, as well upon the Practice as Belief, because they are both tyed to the Foundations, which they are always to suppose unshaken, without freeing themselves by examining the solidity thereof.*

Thence Tyranny is form'd. It is this which makes it impossible ever to come back from this ignorance; and which produceth Idolatry, and ridiculous thoughts of the Divine Worship. It is the Poyson of true Religion, because it leads Men to serve God, not according to his Will, or by a Principle of Knowledge and Conscience, but

after that manner which the Pope liketh. So that it is in vain to say, that in this Church are many things, which are good, or sufferable; this availeth nothing, seeing they hold not what is good, because it is good; but because they are obliged to acknowledge it for such.

The Remonstrants have upon this, established Principles, which are very opposite to those of the Roman Church. They not only believe, with other Protestants, that Scripture contains clearly all that is necessary to be known, to believe, to hope, to do, and to be saved; and that all those who read it with an attentive mind, and without prejudice, may acquire by this reading a perfect knowledge of the Truths contain'd in it, and that there is no other Divine Rule of our Faith: but they admit also, and maintain the necessary consequence of this Principle, upon which many Divines expound not themselves distinctly enough.

Thence it followeth, saith Mr. Limborg in this Preface, 1. That no Man, whoever he be, no Assembly, how considerable soever its Authority is, and how Learned soever its Members are, have not a Right of prescribing to the Faithful, as necessary to Salvation, what God hath not commanded as such in his Word. 2. That from the Communion are to be excluded those only whom God hath clearly revealed he will exclude from Heaven. 3. That to know certainly Damnable Errors, and wholesome Doctrines, we must see if in Scripture God hath promised Salvation to those who shall believe these Doctrines; or threatned with Damnation those who shall embrace these Errors. 4. That the only means to procure the Peace of the Church, is to suffer those who retain the Fundamental Doctrines, although, according to us, they are mistaken in things which God hath not commanded, nor prohibited expressly, under the condition of Salvation or Damnation. 5. That if this rule was followed, all Christians, who have quitted the Roman Church, would soon agree in Fundamental Points, and differ but in Tenets, which have neither been commanded, nor prohibited under this condition. 6. That consequently none have a right of imposing the necessity of Believing, under pain of Damnation, these non-essential Tenets. 7. That no other means can procure a true Christian Union; because constraint may tye the Tongue, but not gain the Heart.

This is the drift of the Preface; to come to the Work it self, It is composed of three Letters, and of a small Treatise of William Bom a Roman Catholick, with as many Answers, and some other Letters of *Episcopius*, concerning the Infallibility of the Church. The matter, we see, is of the utmost consequence, and it is sufficiently known after what manner *Episcopius* was able to treat thereof. Bom was a Priest, who was no great Grecian, as he confesseth himself, and who besides was engaged in the weakest Hypothesis; which the Doctors of

of Rome ever embraced; it is that which makes the Infallibility of the Church reside in the Pope's Person. So that although he hath exposed pretty well the common reasons of his Party, it may be said of him, in relation to his Adversary,

Par studiis, ævique modis, sed robore dispar.

The occasion of this Dispute was a Conference which *Bom* and *Episcopus* had, at the coming from a Sermon which the last had Preached. Some of those who had been present thereat, declared, That *Bom* had been reduced to silence: upon which, he being willing to shew how much these reports were false, Writ to two common Friends, to put them in mind of the Reasons he had said, and added to that a Writing, to prove that *St. Peter* was established chief of the *Catholick Church*. *Episcopus* at first made some difficulty of Answering this Priest; because there is nothing more tedious and more unprofitable for a Protestant, than to enter into dispute with a *Catholick*, seeing that as it is an Article of Faith with him, that his Church is Infallible, so he believes himself obliged in Conscience not to confer with Hereticks, but in the design of instructing them, and not to have even the thought of receiving any instruction, nor any light from them.

It is not possible, without ingaging oneself into an excessive prolixity, to relate all the reasons, which have been said on each side, in this dispute; we shall only stop at some of the principal proofs, and those which are not so commonly met withal in Books of Controversie.

Episcopus failed not at first to ask of his Adversary, in what place of the Gospel *Jesus Christ* had appointed any body to be Sovereign Judge of Controversies, and to decide, without Appeal all the differences which should arise in the Church, after the death of the Apostles? As there are not in Scripture, passages sufficiently exprefs for this institution? *Bom* had recourse to the Practice of the Church; upon which *Episcopus* alledged to him three Acts of the Ecclesiastical History, which agrees not well with the Belief of the Infallibility of the Pope.

1. The first is drawn from the dispute, which fell out towards the middle of the Second Age, concerning the day in which the Passover should be celebrated. *Victor* Bishop of Rome Excommunicated the Churches of the Diocess of *Asia*, because they Celebrated this Feast the Fourteenth day of *March*, and not the Sunday following, according to the Custom of *Rome*, *Palestine* and the *Gauls*. The conduct of *Victor* pleased not all the other Bishops, who exhorted him, in their turn, to have sentiments conformable to a Peace, Unity and Love to our Neighbours. There are still of their Letters, adds *Eusebius*, wherein they reprehend *Victor* with eagerness enough. Amongst these Bishops

was *Irenæus*, who, in the Letter which he Writ upon this Subject, in the Name of the Brothers, over whom he presided among the *Gauls*, maintains also, that one Sunday must be Celebrated the Resurrection of our Lord: yet he advertiseth *Victor* with much gravity, that he ought not to cut off from the Communion whole Churches of God, who observe a Tradition and Ancient Custom.

It will be some difficulty to believe, that *Bom* found in this Affair a Proof of the Authority of the Pope: Notwithstanding it is the conclusion he draws from it, and grounds, 1. Upon that the Bishops who were displeased at this Excommunication, would undoubtedly have acted with more haughtiness against *Victor*, if he had not been their Superior: whereas they speak unto him with a mildness, which marks well, that they contested not the Right of Excommunicating the Churches, as not being of his Jurisdiction; but that they only found fault with the use he made thereof, the cause of the Excommunication not being of consequence enough, according to them. 2. That notwithstanding they were deceived in that, and that *Victor* did well to use this rigour, because *Blastus*, one of the principal Patrons of the Opinion of the *Asiatics*, would have introduced *Judaism*, under this pretence. 3. That the Church approved of the Conduct of *Victor*, in condemning the Bishops of *Asia*, to whom was given the name of *Quartodecimal Hereticks*. 4. That *Irenæus* himself hath not doubted of the Superiority of the Bishop of *Rome*, seeing he saith elsewhere, "That all the Churches must, to wit, all the Faithful, of what place soever they are, come to this Church in which the Apostolical Tradition hath been preserved, by those who came to it from every Part, because of its more powerful Principality. *Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potentiorum Principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Traditio.*"

To this *Episcopus* Replies: That the Answer of the Bishops of *Asia*, and the Letter of *Irenæus*, would not be very respectful, if *Victor* had been the Chief of the Church; that the word *ἀντιπαρελκεῖν*, which signifies properly to give a contrary order, and those of *πληκτικώτερον χαράττειν*, acerbins perstringere, are not invented to exprefs the submission of a Subject to his Prince; and that if these Bishops could take it ill, that their Judge, a pretended Sovereign, and Infallible, should banish from the Church, and exclude from Heaven so great a number of Churches, for so slight a cause, they have therefore thought that he might be mistaken in his Decisions, upon matters of Faith, and that they had a right to examine them. 2. That the Heresie of *Blastus* justifies not the

the proceedings of *Victor*, seeing the *Asiatics* looked not upon the Celebration of the Passover as a necessary Observance, and which should precisely be applied to such a day; that they were contented that *Victor* and other Bishops should Celebrate it on Sunday, if they had their Reasons for it; but that they, having not the same proofs thereof, believed themselves not obliged to abandon the Apostolical Tradition. It hath not been remarked that our Professor answereth the passage of *Irenaus*, because we need only to read it thoroughly, to shew, that there is no mention there of the Right of the Bishop of *Rome* in the Decision of Controversies, but only of the Characters which they, in the time of *Irenaus*, did acknowledge Apostolical. Thereupon he saith, *That it must be sought for in the places where the Apostles have established Bishops; but because it would be too long to make an enumeration of all the Apostolick Churches, he stops at one of the most ancient and greatest, which is the Church of Rome.* As this City was the Capital of the Empire, *Principalitas Potentior*; and that for that Reason the Inhabitants of divers Provinces negotiated there, and were obliged to come thither; *Irenaus* concludes, that the Apostolical Tradition could not fail of having been faithfully kept there; since that if the *Christians* of a Province, or of a City had been minded to corrupt it; the *Christians* of other places, who were at *Rome*, would have opposed it; it being improbable to suppose, that so many different Nations would agree to abandon, in so little a time, the Doctrine of the Apostles.

II. *Bom* often alledged passages out of *St. Augustin* for the Authority of Popes; that gave occasion to *Episcopius* of citing him the 22d Canon of the Council of *Millan*, where *St. Augustin* was Secretary; and another Canon of the 6th Council of *Carthage*, where this Bishop also assisted; both which prohibited the drawing Ecclesiastical Causes of the Diocess of *Africk* on the other side the Sea, whether they regard the Inferior Members of the Clergy, or the very Bishops. That the Deputies of the Pope having represented to the Assembly, That this Canon destroyed the Priviledges, which the Council had granted to the Patriarch of *Rome*, in permitting Ecclesiasticks to appeal unto him in Judgments had against them by the Ordinaries; the Bishops of *Africk* were extremely surprized, and said all Unanimously, That they never heard of such Priviledges. Thereupon these Deputies related three Canons, which they said to be of the Council of *Nice*, the Fathers of *Carthage* to *Constantinople*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and the Authentick Copies of this Council; where, not finding these three Canons, they Writ to the Pope, That the Right of Appealing, which he pretended to, in quality of Supream Judge, belonged not to him, by virtue of the Council of *Nice*, seeing the

Three Canons, upon which he grounded his pretensions, were not to be found in the Originals.

The Exceptions are reduced to this, 1. That the Council of *Millan* prohibits but the Inferior Clerks to Appeal beyond the Sea; and that this is evident, because Pope *Innocent*, to whom the Synod of *Millan* submitted all their Decrees, as to the Head of the Church, approved the Canon in question. 2. That there is no reason to believe that the Copy of the Council of *Nice*, which was kept at *Rome*, was supposed, but that there is much more likelihood that those of *Constantinople*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria* were defective; seeing the Manuscript, upon which *Ruffinus* Writ his History, was so; and that there are several Canons of this Council, cited in that of *Calcedonia*, and in *St. Ambros*, *St. Augustin*, and *Jerome*, which are not found in this Historian. 3. That the Decrees which are accused of Supposition, have been cited by other Popes, before *Zozime* (as *Julius* speaks, who living but Twenty years after the Council of *Nice*, could easily have been convinced of falshood;) as also by *Leo* and by *Innocent*. 4. That there are several proofs of the submission of the Bishops of *Africk* to that of *Rome*, as the Letter of *Stephen* Bishop of *Mauritania* Written to *Damasus* in the name of three Synods of *Africk*, where, after several high Titles which this Prelate gives to the Pope, he tells him, *That the Decrees of all the Fathers of these Synods have reserved every Sentence, Judgment of Bishops, and Determination of Ecclesiastical Affairs to his See, in honour of blessed Peter.* 5. That it is not true, that this 6th Council hath prohibited to Appeal from *Africk* to the Pope, seeing that in the Letter, which the Bishops Writ to him, they only desire him not to hearken slightly to the Ecclesiasticks of *Africk*, who shall have recourse to him.

To refute the first Objection, *Episcopius* relates the very words of the Canon of the Council of *Millan*, viz. *It was ordered that when Priests, Deacons and other inferior Clerks shall complain of the Judgment of their Bishops, they shall be heard by the Neighbouring Bishops, who with the consent of their Bishop, and jointly with him, shall pronounce a definitive Sentence upon his Affairs. That if they would appeal from this Judgment of Bishops, they shall carry their appeal but before the Councils of Africk, or before the Primate of their Province; so as it hath been often ordered in affairs which respect Bishops. If any one would appeal to the other side the Sea; that is to say, to Rome, or without the Diocess, let him be excluded from the Communion of Africk.*

The Letter which the Bishops of the 6th Council of *Carthage*, Assembled to the number of 207, Writ to Pope *Celestin*, after they had received the Original of the Council of *Nice*, and seen that the Canons, alledged by the Deputies of the Bishop of *Rome*,

Rome, were not in it, deserveth to be related. We pray you, say they, that for the future you give no more so slightly Audience, to those who shall go hence to you, and that you no more receive into Communion those who are excluded from ours; seeing you may easily mark that this hath been thus ordered by the Council of Nice. For if it seems that this Council was willing to prohibit from such Appeals the inferior Clerks and Laicks, by how much more would it have this Prohibition to give place in the affairs which regard Bishops; whence it followeth, that those who are suspended from the Communion, amongst us, ought not to be re-established precipitately, or unlawfully, by your Holiness. Let therefore all Refuge be taken away from bad Priests; seeing there is no Canon, which hath deprived the Church of Africk of this privilege, and that those of Nice have as well submitted the inferior Clerks, as Bishops, to their Metropolitans. The Fathers of this Council have prudently and justly judged, that every Affair ought to be judged in the place where it happeneth; assuring themselves, that the Grace of the Holy Ghost would not fail to be poured into each Province, where there are Priests of Jesus Christ, capable of examining wisely the equity of an Affair, and of constantly maintaining it; especially since that it is lawful for every one who thinks he hath reason to complain of his ordinary Judges, to Appeal to the Provincial Councils, or to the General. If it be not, as some imagine, that God may sufficiently inspire every one of us, to judge of the equity of an Affair, but that he will refuse his Grace to a great number of Bishops Assembled in Council.

It is a vain conjecture to say, That the Council of Nice, which was kept at Constantinople, the Copies of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, and all those that 207 Bishops had, were defective. But we cannot believe that the Pope, knowing that some Canons were missing in Copies of Particulars, imbraced this occasion, to make three Canons of a Synod of Sardis to pass for Decrees of the Council of Nice, which were in his favour.

3. It's true that Julius Writ a Letter to the Eastern Bishops, to get Athanasius and some other Bishops re-establish'd in their Sees; but it's also true, that when these Bishops had received it, they looked upon it as an outrageous Letter; assembled themselves into a Synod at Antioch, and made him unanimously a civil Answer in appearance, but full of Ironies and Menaces, faith Sozomene; to which Socrates adds, That they severely reprehended Julius, letting him know, That it was not necessary that they should take Laws from him, in banishing some Persons from their Churches, and that they had not opposed him, when he had banished Novatus from his.

As to the Letter of Stephen to Pope Damasus, most of the Learned do take it to be supposititious; because it's only to be found in Isidonus Mercator, who hath attributed

several other Letters to Damasus, and one to Aurelius Bishop of Carthage, which Baronius acknowledgeth false. But though it was true, What can be concluded from the Letter of a particular Bishop, but that he was one of these Ecclesiasticks, who having been Excommunicated because of their Crimes in Africk, flattered the Bishops of Rome, to re-establish them again by their means? To this unknown Stephen are opposed famous St. Cyprian and Firmilian Bishop of Casarea in Cappadocia, who treated Pope Stephen with contempt enough, upon the occasion of the dispute touching the Baptism of Hereticks.

5. The terms, of not receiving slightly and unlawfully the Communion: the African Ecclesiasticks, who fled to Rome, mark not (according to Episcopus) and that the Bishop of the City had a right to admit them to the Peace of the Church, provided this was done with the necessary Formalities. He pretends, that the Fathers of Carthage expressed themselves thus, to shew, that not only the Pope violated the Canons, but that he often did, with much temerity, and without any specious pretence, as when he received the Appeal of the Priest Apiarius, and admitted him to the Communion, though this very thing is expressly prohibited by the Canons of Sardis, which the Deputies of Zozime would suggest, as Decrees of the Council of Nice.

III. The third Fact, which Episcopus alledgeth, is the Erection of the Bishoprick of Constantinople into the Patriarchship, to whom equal Priviledges were given with him of Rome; in Ecclesiastical Affairs, with this only difference, That the Patriarch of ancient Rome would have the precedency in Councils, before him. The Bishop of Bizantium was in times past but a Suffragan of the Metropolitan of Heraclea; but after that Constantine had transported thither the Imperial Seat, it was considered as new Rome, and erected into a Patriarchate by the Third Canon of the Council of Constantinople composed of 150 Bishops, and confirmed by the 28th Canon of the 4th Ecumenick Council, which is that of Calcedonia. The objections that our Catholicks make against these Canons are so weak, that we think them not worthy of being related, especially seeing Mr. du Pin hath cleared this fact in his Historical Dissertations, p. 455 &c. fol.

IV. Bom after that takes another turn, to Answer the Question of Episcopus, touching the Institution of a Sovereign Judge over Controversies, who succeeded the Apostles. He asks of him a formal passage, Wherein Jesus Christ hath ordered the Apostles, that if there arose Disputes in the Church, they should Convocate a Synod, and make Decisions thereupon, to which the Faithful should be obliged in Conscience to submit. There is no appearance, adds he, that

that the Apostles should do it, if they had not believed this Action conformable to the Will of their Master, nor that the Primitive Church should so soon imitate them, if the Apostles had ordered nothing thereupon. It must then be that either the Institution of Synods is an Apostolical Tradition, or that it is an inseparable Sequel of the Ministry and Promises, that Jesus Christ hath made to those who exercise it; *I am always with you until the end of the World*; and other Passages, which tho they are at every moment in the mouth of Catholics, seem not the stronger for that to Protestants.

Episcopius confesseth, that Jesus Christ hath commanded no where his Disciples to convocate Synods; and that notwithstanding they have done it. He adds, That according to their Example, Ecclesiastical Assemblies may be held; but that it followeth not that these Assemblies, where none less than the Holy Ghost presides, have as much Authority as the Apostolick ones. The reason hereof is, that the Authority of the Apostolick Synods depended not so much on the consent and conformity of their Opinions, as on the quality of their persons, and of the Authority which God had clothed them with, by the Revelations he had made unto them, and the Orders he had given them. This will appear evident, if we take notice of the conduct of the Apostles. When they have an express command from God, they expect not the Resolutions of a Synod for to act; and St. Peter understood no sooner the meaning of the Vision, which he had had, but he went to *Cornelius*. But when they speak of their own head, they say, *I advise you*, 1 Cor. vii. 25. On these occasions they took advice of one another: Sometime they agreed not, as it happened to Paul and Barnabas, Act. xv. 39. But commonly the spirit of Mildness and Peace, which fill'd them, and which shewed them all the Principles and all the Consequences of the Gospel, brought them mutually to consult each other: So that their actions being thus conducted by the Spirit of God, they could say, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us*.

But tho it was granted, that the Convocation of Synods is of a divine Institution, doth it follow, that all the Synods and Councils, which have been held after the Apostles, have made good Decisions? A Catholic denies it, and if he is asked the reason: He must of necessity answer, that what distinguisheth true Synods from false ones, is, that there have been some which have had all the Conditions necessary for a true Synod, and have made good Decisions, and the others wanting these Conditions, have been but *Conciliabula*. But how can it be known that these Conditions are assured marks of the Truth of Synods, seeing that there is not one which is not equivocate, according to some Doctors of the Roman Church? And how can one tell what Synod

hath them? Will it be known by its Decisions? But they should be examined, and so to deny the Principle, to wit, that it might have pronounced a definitive Sentence. Is it enough to assure it lawful, that it be general? Yes, for the Gallican Church which receives the Council of *Basil*, but not for Italy. It must besides be confirmed by the Pope; but who hath given him this Right? Is it a Privilege of the Successors of St. Peter? How have they obtained it, and whence comes it that the Bishops of *Antioch*, who have succeeded this Apostle as well as those of *Rome*, have had no share in it? After all, what needs there any trouble to prove the Authority of Synods, when People are of the sentiment of *Bom*, and the *Jesuites*. And seeing that St. Peter and his Successors are the Sovereign Judges of Controversies, what need is there of these Ecumenick Assemblies, convocated with so much difficulty and Expences? It's not enough to interrogate this infallible Judge, and to receive his Decisions as Oracles from Heaven.

The Passages which the Catholic alledgeth here in his behalf, and the Answers which he hath made to those of the Protestants, have been so often repeated, that tho *Episcopius* refutes them sufficiently after a new manner, we notwithstanding do not think it worth while to stop at them. We shall only relate the manner, wherewith our Professour translates the famous passage of the First Epistle to *Timothy* III. 15, 16. because it is not common, and that it destroyeth at once all the proofs which the Roman Church could draw thence. *Episcopius* having proved against his Adversary, as an illiterate Person, that the Division of the Canonical Books into Chapters and Verses, is not of the Sacred Writers, and that it is not they, who have put the Points and Comma's thereto; he sheweth him, that it is much more natural and more conformable to the aim of the Apostle, to point this place otherwise than the common Copies are: And to Translate it thus: *I have written this unto you, That if I delay to come, you may know how Men ought to behave themselves in the House of God, which is the Church of the living God. The stay and prop of Truth and the Mystery of Piety is certainly great, God manifested in the Flesh, &c.*

When there is want of clear Reasons and convincing Arguments, people are constrained to have recourse to Prejudices, to Comparisons, and to the Reasons of Convenience. Therefore the Roman Catholics say incessantly to us, That God who well knew, that there would arise Disputes in the Church, upon Matters of Faith (as there are Processes formed amongst Citizens of one State, touching the Goods which they possess) ought to establish a Judge, who should be consulted at all times, and who might instruct us in the true sense of Scripture in contested places, and thus end the Differences. It seemeth that Jesus Christ, otherwise would not have taken care enough of

of his Church and the faithful who compose it; seeing he would not have given them means of assuring themselves perfectly, that the Doctrine which appears most conformable to Scripture, is true; if they might be in doubt as to several Articles of Faith, and that what they should most determinately believe thereupon, could not pass but for a greater likelihood of Truth.

It must be granted, that there would be nothing better understood, nor more commodious than a Judge of this nature. There would be no more need for one to break his Head in examining all things, and to seek for truth; it should be all found, and People would go to Heaven by a very plain way. Why was not *Jesus* pleased to render the way more easy, and did not tell us where we should find such a Judge? We are therefore obliged to look for him, saith *Episcopius*; and this Disquisition must necessarily aim at either of these two things; Either that each particular Society of Christians, and even each Member of this Society attribute to it self the Power of Sovereign judging of Controversies; or that the Universal Church, to wit, the Body of all those who profess the Gospel, hath at all times right to chuse such a Judge. The first cannot be granted, because every one looking upon himself as Infallible, no body would submit himself to the Decisions of his Neighbour. The second is naturally unpracticable; for before the Universal Church can choose a Supreme Judge of Controversies, it must needs have cast it's Eyes upon divers Subjects capable of fulfilling this Charge, and examined carefully their capacity. And how shall it make this Examination? All the Christian Societies must concur in this Election: But how should they agree thereupon, and whom could they choose, who should not be suspicious or incapable of this Employment? Seeing all Christians have already taken Parties, and those who are not Christians understand not our Disputes. Add to this, that tho Men would be decided by the ordinary Judges of the *Roman Church*, there would still a Party of Male-Contents remain. If the Pope was chosen, *France* would appeal to the General Council; if a Council was assembled *Italy* would not accept on't until it had been confirmed by the Pope; and this Bishop would only do it upon condition that this Ecumenick Council would acknowledge it self beneath him; which is contrary to the pretensions of *France*.

The impossibility of this Design is an evident proof, according to our Author, that God will not have his Church to be governed after the manner of the Kingdoms of the Earth, where one is obliged to submit without knowing for what; because there is but the Body and some transitory Goods in question. But the Kingdom of God extending it self over the Soul and Conscience, Men must be instructed, convinced

and persuaded. Men must read, pray, meditate, and live Christianly, to obtain the Grace of distinguishing Truth from Falshood. In vain would Scripture teach us these Truths, and exhort us to these practices, if there were an infallible Judge. All this would be useless, neither is it of great use amongst those who believe they have one.

All the World knoweth the ridiculous explications the *Roman Doctors* gave to Scripture, before Protestants had put it into the hands of the People; and no body is ignorant of the many Truths which have been discovered, since it hath been believed that every one should instruct himself in the Will of God by his Word. It is true, that there have arisen Disputes, which are the unavoidable consequences of Examination. But if Christians applyed themselves only to Scripture, and that instead of deciding of their Differences, when Scripture is not clear thereupon, they supported each other with a mutual Charity, we should soon see them become both more wholesome in their Opinions, and more reformed in their Manners. It is a consequence very clear and very easie to comprehend; but such as apparently will never be justified by Experience.

V. The last writing of *Bom* is a small Treatise, to prove that St. Peter hath been established Head of the *Catholick Church*, where this Priest relates the common Passage of Controvertists; *Thou art Peter, &c. Feed my Sheep &c.* The Answer of *Episcopius* is not complete: but that which there is on't appears more than sufficient to refute all the Objections of the Missionaries. The first Reason would be even enough; which is, that although his Adversary had clearly proved his *Thesis*, he would do nothing for all that, if he did not shew that the promises made to St. Peter regard also his Successors, whereas most of the Fathers have taken them for personal Priviledges, as *Tertullian* in his Book of *Chastity*, c. 21. who speaks thus to Pope *Zephirin*: *If because the Lord hath said to Peter, Upon this Rock I will build my Church; I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and all that thou shalt bind or unbind upon Earth, shall be bound or unbound in Heaven: If I say for that cause, you imagine that the power of unbinding or binding is passed unto you, to wit, to all the Churches founded by Peter, Who are you that overturn and change the clear intention of the Lord, who hath conferred this personally on Peter? Upon thee, saith he, I will build my Church, and I will give thee the Keys, and not to the Church; and all that thou shalt unbind, and not that they shall unbind.*

2. After having shewed that these Priviledges are not personal, it should be proved that they regard only the Bishops of *Rome*, excluding those of *Antioch*. 3. That they regard them all without exception, and without condition; to wit, That all and every one of the Popes are infallible,

as well in Fact as Right, against the Experience and the Sentiment of most of the Doctors of the *Roman Communion*. 4. It should be defined what the *Catholick Church* is, and shewed by formal passages, that these Terms denominate the Body of Pastours, which is called the *Representative Church*; which is impossible: Whereas, it is very easy to shew, that the *Church* signifieth in Scripture only the People in opposition to Pastours. And in this sense, there is nothing more absurd than all that is said of the Power of the Church and it's Privileges, seeing it is but the Body of the Pope's Subjects and *Roman Clergy*, and that Subjects who are far from making Decisions, must submit and obey their Lot.

5. After all this, it should be still proved, that the Privileges given to *St. Peter*, and the Bishops of *Rome* his Successors, import not simply a Primacy of Order, and some Authority in things, which regard the Discipline and Government of the Church, which Protestants could grant, without doing a prejudice to their Cause; but they do moreover mark a Primacy of Jurisdiction, of Sovereignty, and Infallibility in matters of Faith; which is impossible to be proved by Scripture, and all the Monuments we have of Antiquity; and which is even contradictory; seeing the belief of a Fact, or Truth, is persuaded, and forceth not it self. Have not *Roman Catholics* much Grace to accuse *Protestants* of Obstinacy, because they refuse to embrace a Hypothesis, which supposeth so many dubious Principles, whereof most are contested even amongst the Divines of *Rome*; and to ask them to obey the Church, without distinctly telling them what this Church is, or in what consists the Submission which is required of them, or how far it ought to be extended.

An Abridgment of Universal History. The First Part containing the Ecclesiastical History, in Two Books, by Henry le Bret, Provost of the Cathedral Church of Montauban, in 12s. 3 Volumes. At Paris. Sold by William des Prez. 1679.

IN the Design which this Author hath proposed, of giving us an Abridgment of *Universal History*, he hath begun these Three First Volumes with an *Ecclesiastical History*, which contains the First General one. He divides it, as he hath done the *Preface*, into Antient and Modern. The first treats of what passed in Religion since the Creation of the World unto *Jesus Christ*; and the second, from *Jesus Christ* unto the end of the 16th Age; that is to say, this

last contains the Establishment of the Gospel, the Life of Popes, the Schisms, Heresies, Persecutions of the Church, the General and Provincial Councils; and finally, the Elogiums and Characters of Saints, and of the Illustrious Writers of all these Ages.

As the Principal events which have happened in all these Revolutions are no more known, we shall touch here but certain particular things which *Mr. le Bret* takes occasion to expound from time to time. For example,

Upon occasion of the division which *Pope Marcellus*, Successor to *Marcellinus*, made of *Rome*, into 25 parts, which *Pope Evaristus*, and *Denis* had begun; he speaks of the Establishment of Parishes which succeeded after that. The Priests whom this Pope Commissioned to govern them, were named, by the duty of the charge which was imposed on them, to Administer the Sacraments and the Word of God to the Faithfull, *Parochi*, from certain Magistrates which the *Romans* called thus, *ἀρχιεπίσκοποι*, a *præbendo*, because they furnished at *Rome*, to the Ambassadors, even of strange Princes, Salt, Wine, and such like things. He remarks, that the Chief amongst the Priests were afterwards named at *Rome*, *Carthage*, and in several other places, *Cardinals*; because that as a Door, *regitur a Cardine*, each Church was so by its Bishop, and the Principal of his Clergy. This name was given them after the same manner in *France*, in all the Cathedral Churches, which he confirms by a Synod (as *Learned Coquille* cites) held in 893, by *Franco* Bishop of *Navarre*, with his strange Canons, *Cardinals*, *Arch-Priests*, and Foreign Priests: to which he adds, that this name is still in use only at *Rome*, where, saith he, *The Curates of the Principal Parishes are called Cardinal Priests; the Benefactors of the other Churches, which are not Parochial, Cardinal-Deacons; and the Bishops who are Suffragans of Rome, in the quality of Metropolitans, Cardinal Bishops.*

In speaking of the Right which *Alberic* had obliged *John* the Eleventh to give the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* to use for ever the *Pallium*, he explains what this Episcopal Ornament was. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* attributes the Institution thereof to *Linus*, immediate Successor to *St. Peter*; and he adds, *That as the Ephod was the Mark of the Authority of the Priests of the Synagogue, so the Pallium was to Christian Priests of their Pastoral Power. It was White, and of Lamb's-wooll, made into a Circle, and of about four fingers broad; having four Bandelets hanging before and behind, two on the right, and two on the left, with four Red Crosses, which were not without a Mystery.*

The term of *Corovesque*, which is found in one of the *Canons* of the Council of *An-cyra*, gives him occasion of expounding what this dignity was in times past, which is still us'd in the Church, but under another title, for it was only for the Bishops properly, which we call now in *Partibus*; which, in quality of Suffragans are obliged to the administration of the Dioce-ses, when the Bishops are absent; at least the Institution of the *Corovesques* seems to have given place to that of other Bishops, who have notwithstanding some advantages which the *Corovesques* had not.

All the World knows, that the White Horse which the King of *Spain* payeth every year, in quality of King of *Naples*, to the Pope, is a Right which is due unto them for the Remise which *Sixtus IV.* generously made to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, of the yearly Quit-Rent which he owed to the Holy See: but few know perhaps what this *Author* remarks, after *Father Morin*, of the Oratory, upon the Subject of Pope *John XV.* That the Predecessors of this Pope, who dated all their Acts from the years of the Emperors, thought expedient to change this date, after *Charlemagne* had made 'em Sovereigns; and as at first they dated from the Indictions, so afterwards from the years of their Pontificate, as at this day; See the Synod of *Rome* held by this Pope in 993.

The discovery of the *Canaries*, under the Pontificate of *Clement VI.* towards the year 1347. The Extirpation of the Order of *Templars*, who were condemned to be burned at the Council of *Vienna*, under *Clement V.* The permission which *Innocent VIII.* gave the Priests of *Norwegue* to Celebrate under the only Species of Bread, because there are no choice Wines; and that those which are carried thither, cannot come without becoming four, and an infinite other things of this kind, render this Reading very acceptable, and assure this *Author* (with whom, notwithstanding all the World will not agree in what he saith on certain things, as upon the *Nile*, upon *Abbot Gersen*, &c.) with what impatience the Abridgment of his Political History is expected.

A Collection of several Relations, with many singular and Curious Treatises of T. B. Tavernier, Esq; Baron of Aubone. Divided into Five Parts. In Quarto. At Paris, Sold by Gervais Clouzier, 1679.

THE difficulty which there is of getting into *Japan*, is the reason that we can learn nothing beyond what the *Hollanders* have Written thereof in their Relations. They are alone permitted to go and Traffick in these *Isles*, which the *Portuguese* discover'd in 1542; since a poor Cook of a Ship, which parted from *Amsterdam* for the *Indies*, being come to the Charge of President of the Comptoir of *Japan*, put into his head to exclude the *Portuguese* from this Commerce; for he invented, to this end, such black Calumnies against them, and all the *Christians* of this Country in general, that the Emperor of *Japan* resolv'd to Banish the first, and to Extirpate the others; whose number, which augmented every day in this Empire, was come to more than 400000. It's what Mr. *Tavernier* describes in the First of the Five Parts, which compose this Volume.

The Second is but a Relation of what pass'd in the Negotiation of the Deputies, who have been in *Persia* and in the *Indies*, as well from the King as the *French Company*, for the establishing of Commerce.

In the Third, which contains the Observations of this *Author* upon the Commerce of the *East-Indies*, and upon the Frauds which may be committed therein, there are three or four singular things. The First he assures us he had learned of several old People in the Kingdom of *Bengall*, that Sugar kept 30 years becomes Poison, and that there are few sorts more dangerous. All the World assuredly will not agree upon it. The 2. is the manner wherewith the Inhabitants of *Kasabasar* use to whiten their Silk, which is yellowish, by the means of a Lye made of the Ashes of a Tree, called, *The Fig-tree of Adam*; which renders it as White as the Silk of *Palestine*: and the 3d is the manner wherewith *Indico* is prepared; but that's too common to be further noted.

He pretends that the Relations which have been given to us hitherto of the *Tunquin* are not very exact. He corrects them in his Fourth Part, which is a Relation of this Countrey; in which he remarks, amongst other singular and curious things, two sorts of Dainties amongst the *Tunquinois*, which are far from ours. The first is that of the *Batt*, which in *Tunquin* are neither smaller nor less delicate than our *Pollers*; and the second

second is of the Nests of certain Birds which are of the bigness of our *Swallows*, which being a kind of *Gum*, melteth in luke-warm-Water; and is made use of in all the Dainties and Sawces which are made for Flesh and Fish; and communicates to the Flesh, which is seasoned thereby, such a good Taste, that these Nests seem to be composed of all the Aromaticks which are found in the East.

The manner whereby the *Tunquinois* do preserve Eggs, two or three years together, deserves to be observed. They throw Salt into the water, and as soon as the Pickle is done (which is known when the Egg swims on the top of the Water) they throw Ashes into this Pickle, until it is made as it were a kind of Paste. Then they inclose each Egg in a great Leaf of an herb, which resembles the Leaves of our *Beet*. They put them afterwards into great Pots of Earth, which they cover well, and thus they Preserve them for two or three years.

As the other Relations speak of the Goodness of the Air, of Government, Religion, and several other things of *Tunquin*, it would be useless to speak of them here.

In fine, the latter part of this Work is the History of the Conduct of the *Hollanders in Asia*. Those who would know the particulars will take the pains to read it in this Original; and we shall be satisfied to speak here of some Remarks which Mr. *Tavernier* makes therein by the by; as that of the ordinary *Muscade Nut*, which being preserved, inebriates more than Wine, though one should eat but one, whether at the beginning, middle, or end of ones Meal. He saith that the quantity of *Elephants Teeth* which are found along the Coast of *Mozambique*, is so great, that they make Palisadoes thereof about Gardens, so that they may be said to have a Cloister of Ivory. In fine, the last Remark is, that of a pleasant, but filthy Counterpoison. In the Isle of *Java* the Soldiers have accustomed to Poyson their Darts, &c. with a Poison so strong, that all those who are struck therewith dye suddenly. The only remedy which prevents it, is, that every one having dried some of his own Excrements, and having reduced them into Powder, puts a few thereof into a Glass of Water, and presently swallows it as soon as he feels himself wounded. By this means they feel no ill effect of the Poyson. If this Remedy is as Sovereign as they say, this Secrecy deserves well to be known.

DISSERTATIONS of Mr. Burman at Rotterdam, 1688. in Quarto.

THE Posthume Works of Great Men are like Children half formed, who cause more shame than honour to their Fathers. As Superstition hath Consecrated the Hairs and Bones of Saints; the respect and love Men have for the Learned, brings them to let Posterity participate of their most imperfect Essays. It is true, that there were in the Closet of *Salmatius* Treatises upon the Warfare of the Romans, and upon Plants, which deserved a better lot than what they have hitherto met withal. But on the other side, Men do Print some *Scaligerana* and *Petroniana*, which should for ever have remained in the Closet of those who had them. Howbeit, here are the Dissertations of Mr. *Burman* Professor in Divinity in the Academy of *Utrecht*; where he died some years ago. He became famous chiefly in binding his Divinity with the Philosophy of *Descartes*, and in keeping a kind of Medium between the ordinary Hypotheses of the Divines of *Holland*, and the Opinions of *Cameron*.

The Four first Dissertations are to prove Providence. The Pagans who were so wise as to acknowledge a God, had much ado to believe that this same God presided over all the events. Some have denyed it openly; and as if they were afraid to trouble the Repose of this Infinite Being, or to oppress him under too great a number of Occupations, they have excused him from taking knowledge of what was done on Earth. If there are Gods who govern the World, whence do evils come, said *Epicurus*? It was also believed that all events depended upon a certain Chain of Second-causes, which dragged the very Gods after them. In fine, Fortune hath been substituted in the room of Providence. The Romans, naturally haughty, never received any disgrace from Fortune, without taking their Revenge on her by a great number of abuses. *Clement of Alexandria* reproacheth them, that they had made an Altar to this Goddess in a place which was the receptacle of all the filths of Rome. Will ye take vengeance on your Gods, saith he unto them? Or do you believe that the ill smell annoyeth them not, as the good ones cannot rejoyce them? otherwise they could not suffer the odour of the grease which is burned in Sacrifices, nor the smoke of Frankincense, which blindeth and blackeneth them. This Temple, whereof *Clement of Alexandria* speaks, is undoubtedly the same which *Pliny* speaks of for the detested Fortune. This Fortune was every moment called blind, perfidious, unconstant: Notwithstanding these very Romans did put it in stead

stead of Providence, rendred unto it Divine Honours, and had dedicated several Temples in their City. There was one of these Goddesses which was called *Primogenita*, because she was considered as the Principle of all things, and the source of all Goodness. There was another, which was represented with Paps, to mark her abundance. In fine, there was one to whom young folks render'd Homage, when they began to have a Beard. The *Platonicks* were the wisest of all *Philosophers*; for, by walking in the steps of their Master, who was the first Inventer of the Term *Providence* amongst the *Greeks*, they acknowledged that there was a God who presided over second Causes. The *Jews* jealous of the Glory of their Nation, have pretended, that the Cares of God had a respect to them only, whilst they abandoned all other People of the World to the Course of Nature, to the Influences of the Stars, or to the Malice of Devils. The wisest of the *Rabbins* believe, that most Animals deserve not the looks of Divinity. But that which is more astonishing, is, that *St. Jerome* was found to be of the same opinion, without mentioning a great number of *Philosophers* and *Divines*, who, to extend the liberty of Man, maintain, That God cannot foresee all events. The necessity of a Providence is proved, which extends its self generally over all Creatures, because God ought to have an Infinite Knowledge: But his Knowledge would be necessarily limited, if he did not see to the very smallest actions of Creatures; or if he saw them but after a speculative manner, as People speak, to wit, without having any influence upon them. Moreover, if all the actions of Creatures depended not absolutely upon God, there would be certain Moments wherein Nature would be independant, it would subsist of it self, seeing it would act by it self, and consequently it would be God, whose greatest Perfection is to be Independant, and to subsist of himself.

The Author afterwards Treats of the nature of Justification, whereof he distinguisheth three kinds: the one which would be solely done by Works, if the first Man had persevered in his Innocency: the other which we obtain by Faith in *Jesus Christ*: and the third whereof *St. James* speaks, which is done partly through Faith, and partly by Works. The first is not properly speaking a Justification: for this term supposeth a Crime and guilty Men. There was then no enmity betwixt God and Man, no demand from injured Justice. So there was no need of Repentance. In the second may be remarked three actions of God. For,

I. He hath imputed our sins to his Son.

II. He imputes to us the obedience of his Son, and keeps an Account for us of

the Price which he hath pay'd for us in Suffering on the Cross.

III. In fine, by vertue of this obedience which *Jesus Christ* has rendered, he forgiveth us our sins, he receiveth us into his Grace, and destines the possession of Heaven for us.

Whence it's easie to conclude, that this Second Justification is purely Gratuitous. The Principal difficulty runs on the Second Action of God. For, say they, *How can God justify us by the Justice of his Son? Can one be White with the Whiteness of another? And would it not be a ridiculous thing to say, That a General of an Army is brave, by the bravery of Alexander?* But, these Examples are not proper for the matter of Justification. For it is true, that a Body cannot be White by the Whiteness which another possesseth: but nothing hinders but that a Man may be acquitted from a Debt which he had contracted, though it be not he, but a generous Friend who hath pay'd it. Man had contracted unmeasurable Debts with the Justice of God; *Jesus Christ* hath payed this Debt by his Death, and God keeps us an Account of his Satisfaction: There is nothing herein which implyeth contradiction. It was all the Consolation which was given to dying People in the time of *Anselmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to make them solely to rely on the Justice of *Jesus Christ*, as it appears by the Form of Consolation which he had made for Confessours. And the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth found nothing finer than these words of *St. Bernard*, which he often repeated. *I cannot enter into Heaven by my deserts: but I hope that Jesus Christ, who hath a double right to this happiness, will be satisfied with one; and that suffering me to enjoy the other, which is the Merit of his Passion, he will procure unto me the enjoyment thereof. This is the Foundation of all my hopes. For it is a perfidiousness to put our confidence in our Merits.*

Here the *Socinians* are engaged, who say, *That God having foreseen that Man could not absolutely be exempt from Sin, had resolved to supply the defect of his Justice, provided that after having consecrated his heart unto him, he endeavoured to execute his Commandments, and to live conformably to his Will.* This is to renew the opinion of the Ancient *Jews*, who denied not, That the Mercy of God intervened in the Work of Salvation; but, who maintained at the same time, that the Acts of their Repentance joyned to the Sacrifices which the Law had commanded, were the causes of their Justification, whereas Scripture represents it to us purely Gratuitous. *St. Paul* assures, *That Man is justified by Faith without Works*: whereas these Doctors make this Grace to depend of Works rather than of Faith. Moreover, How can God impute to

Men

Men the Charity of *Jesus Christ*, to supply the defect of their Justice, if *Jesus Christ* in obeying perfectly the Law, and in dying upon the Cross, had not had a Design to satisfy for us?

The Third Justification is by *Works*. For the better comprehending thereof, we must observe, that Man can be accused of two things before the Tribunal of God, either to be guilty, or to be a hypocrite; God discharges us from the first of these Accusations, in imputing to us the Merit of *Jesus Christ*, which abolisheth all our sins. He discharges us from the second, by giving us, by his Spirit, the force of producing good Works, which are marks of the sincerity of our Faith. It's in this sense, that it is said, that *Abraham* was justified by the Sacrifice of his Son: God himself thus expounding this passage, when he saith, *Now I see that thou lovest me*. And it is the same Exposition which ought to be given to this famous passage of *St. James*, who teacheth, *That we are justified by Works*.

We shall not speak of the Disputes, which are the Third Part of this First *Tome*, because they are very short *Analyses* upon *Isaiah*, *Hosea*, and some other Prophets. The sense thereof is expounded after a very clear manner, and all along there are some remarks mixed, as when *Hosea* saith, *That the People shall weep upon Bethaven*; he remarks very justly, That the pride of ancient Conquerors stopped not at triumphing over Cities, or over People they had Conquer'd, but insulted over the very Gods whom the People adored: and that thus this Prophet threatneth the People of *Israel*, *That the King of Assyria will lead their Calves in Triumph to Babylon*.

There are at the head of the Second Volume Nine Dissertations upon the Synagogues of the ancient Jews. The Origine thereof is not very ancient. Those who believed that *Moses* had had a precaution, which all other Law-givers had past over, of making his Law to be Read every Saturday, that it might never be forgotten, have been mistaken. It was at the Return from the Captivity of *Babylon* that *Nehemiah* did a thing whereof there was no example. For he Read the Law to the People without the Temple, in a Publick place. Since that time it was thought that the Service of God was no longer tyed to the Church of *Jerusalem*, but that it could be done elsewhere; and each City took care to build them Synagogues, sometime without the City, and sometimes without the Circumference of the Walls. This opinion which our Author believes to be truest, may be oppos'd by a great number of Objections. I do not stand at this passage of the History of the *Acts*, where it is said, *That the Jews had Synagogues according to an Ancient Custom*, for 500 years, or thereabouts, sufficeth to give

this Name. *Jesus Christ* calls the words of the Ancients a Tradition, which was much more new in the Jewish Church: and in the number of the Ancients or Fathers is put *St. Bernard*, who lived in the 12th Age. But *Asaph* in one of his *Psalms*, saith, *That all the Synagogues of the living God will be burnt*. Mr. Brochard was mistaken, when he believed, that this *Asaph* lived since the Captivity of *Babylon*; for then he must needs have acknowledged that there were Prophets since *Malachy*. And it is not only a constant Tradition, but *Josephus*, who ought not to be suspected in the things which concern the Glory of his Nation, assures us there were none. It is said, that this Prediction concerns the Church under the Oeconomy of *Jesus Christ*. But this Oracle was not accomplished in the Ten Persecutions which the Christian Church suffered. *Dioclesian* caused a Monument to be raised, by which he boasts to have destroyed the Christian Religion. Yet then were numerous Churches seen amongst the *Gauls* and in *England*, which were governed by *Constantinus*. And if the Church afterwards hath been as it were interred, it was rather under the number of Vices and Errors, than the violence of Persecution. Therefore there is much more likelihood that this Oracle concerned the time of *Antiochus*, wherein the Temple of *Jerusalem* was profaned, and the Service of God in some wise abolished. Therefore there were Synagogues in *David's* time. For how should he invent a name to express a thing which he knew not, and which was not in use? Moreover, how could the Jews pass so many Ages without making any publick exercise of their Religion, since the Event hath shewn that it was a lawful thing.

The name of Synagogues became soon excessive. They built 460. in the very City of *Jerusalem*. Each Trade had its Chappel or Synagogue. Strangers also had a great many. The *Talmud* speaks of that which those of *Alexandria* had built at their expences: and that of the *Libertines* is famous in the History of the *Acts*. Each Synagogue had its Judges, who had a right to cause those to be Scourged who were accused before them, as the Apostle *St. Paul* made a sad Experience on't. It had also its Patriarchs and Apostles. Yet Cardinal *Baronius* was mistaken, when he thought that *Jesus Christ* had borrowed from the Jews the name of Apostles, which he gave his Disciples. For it is easie to prove that this term is not in use with the Jews but since the establishment of the Gospel. I know not if Mr. Burman hath much more reason than *Baronius*, when he thinks, that by the Angels, whereof *St. Paul* speaks, when he would have Women to be vailed in the Temple, because of the presence of Angels, the Ministers are to be understood, who bear this Name in the Old Testament.

The Service began with Prayers, to which the People answered, *Amen*. Yet there is a Tradition which says, That this was not done in the Temple of *Jerusalem*; but that at the end of the Prayers the People answered, *Blessed be the God of Glory, His Kingdom reigneth for ever*. In the Great Churches, where the Voice of the Priest was not easily heard, he took a Pocket-Handkerchief, and shew'd it to the People, when it was time to raise their Voice. This custom of answering *Amen*, at the end of Publick Prayers, hath passed in the *Christian Church*, until at length the negligence of the People hath obliged the substitution of a Deacon in their place. But what is most remarkable, is, that in the Prayers, which were said with a low voice in the Temple, or in a Closet, they were obliged to say *Amen* with a loud voice. *Eusebius*, in speaking of the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, insinuates it; and the *Acts of Sufferances* of *Pionius* suffer us not to doubt thereof. The *Christian Church* hath also borrowed from the *Jewish* the manner of ordaining Bishops. For one could not be a Doctor of the Law but after having received the *Imposition of Hands* in the presence of three Priests. And the Councils have ordered the same thing for Bishops.

The Law was Read in *Hebrew*. But since the Captivity, that the knowledge of this Tongue was lost, there was an Interpreter, who Expounded each Verse in the *Chaldaick* Tongue, that all the People might understand it. They pretend, that this respect for the *Hebrew Text* had passed unto the *Hellenist Jews*. Our Author inclines much on that side. But it agrees not with the Veneration which they had for the Version of the 70. If the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* condemned it, the rest of 'em had Instituted a Feast-day, to give God Thanks for that he had given it to them.

The Seventh Dissertation Treats of the Doctors of the *Jewish Church*. The Title of *Rabbin* is not before *Iesus Christ*, at least if we believe the *Jews*, who say that *Gamaliel*, the same Doctor whereof the *History* of the *Acts* speaks, was the first who took it. But how could it be so common in the time of *Iesus Christ*, if it were not more ancient? According as Knowledge and Vertue diminished, this defect hath been endeavoured to be supplied by proud Titles, which should draw the Veneration of the People. There have been none who have taken finer Names than the *Scholasticks*, whose knowledge was pure Barbarity; and the Monks, whose mind hath been almost always filled with Visions, and an Imaginary Devotion.

The Scribes are ancient enough, for they appear'd in the time of *Esdras* in a distinguished Rank, seeing they are raised above the Priests. Their Original is at this day the Subject of a great Contestation. For

they pretend, that *Moses*, who was instructed in all the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*, established Scribes at the same time that he did the Law; and that we owe unto them the Body of the Holy Scripture. But as they were never mention'd before *Esdras*, might it not be as well said, that they came from *Chaldea* and *Affyria*, for all the East had their Scribes, as well as the *Egyptians*; and that they established themselves with the *Jews* at the Return from the Captivity, where they got a great reputation? There were three sorts of persons who bore this name.

1. The Publick Notaries, and the Secretaries of the Counsel. These first were the least considerable.

2. Those who were called Scribes of the Law, to wit, who had the right of Expounding unto the People. They were thought to sit in the Chair of *Moses*, as well as the *Pharisees*. They were consulted with in Important Controversies: and it's what *Herod* did upon the arrival of the *Messia*. Finally, their Decisions were received with the same Veneration as the Law of God: the *Jews* saying, *That even the Traditions of the Scribes are better than the Law*.

3. In fine, the Title of Scribe is the name of a Magistracy with the *Jews*, as well as with the *Greeks*, and it was the latter who were called the Scribes of the People.

From the Ministers of the Synagogue we shall pass to those of the *Christian Church*. *Iesus Christ* had clothed his Apostles with so great Priviledges, that they could not have Successors in their Charges. Therefore the Protestant Divines, who pretend that *Episcopacy* is of Divine Institution, maintain, at the same time, That Saint *James*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was not an Apostle. But St. Paul gives him the Title of an Apostle. They say, *That this first Bishop of Jerusalem had a right of entering into the most Holy Place, and to carry a Golden Reed, as the High Priest of the Jews*. But it is certain at least, that St. *Epiphane*s mistook, when he relies upon the Authority of *Eusebius* to prove it. For *Eusebius* never said any such thing, speaking of St. *James*; and there is a great likelihood that this is one of these false Traditions, which cannot be applied to any of the Apostles.

Besides the Apostles, there were Prophets in the *Christian Church*, whose Charge consisted chiefly to edifie the Church by the Exposition of the most difficult passages of Scripture. They penetrated sometimes into the time to come, and foretold its events. *Justin Martyr* assures us, that this Gift of Prophecy continued also to his time. But it was soon extinguished. For when *Montan* began

begun to publish his Revelations, the Churches of *Phrygia* were moved thereat: and these motions of wonder and admiration are formed commonly on unheard-of events, or which are extremely rare. The Author affirms this Maxim: *That Prophecies are not well understood until after their accomplishment.*

Opinions have been always much divided about the duration of the Ministry of *Jesus Christ*, who is the Head of the Church. *St. Irenaeus* refuting the *Valentinians*, is fallen into a great Excess. For he believed that *Jesus Christ* lived almost 50 years. The most common opinion is, that he Preached the space of 3 or three years and a half. *Mr. Burman* takes another Party, and maintains, that *Jesus Christ* Celebrated but two Feasts of the Passover: whence he concludes, *That he could live but a year and a half after his Baptism.* The last Passover, wherein *Jesus Christ* Instituted the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, makes another subject of Contestation. The *Greeks*, who think they have a great Interest to maintain, That *Jesus Christ* Communicated with Leavened Bread, pretend, That he Celebrated his last Passover after the Wednesday at night. This opinion, which is established by them but since the Dispute they had with the *Roman Church* upon the *Azymes*, deserves not much examination.

Scaliger hath not been ashamed to retract and to refute himself upon this matter. For after having inclined to the *Greeks*, he maintains at last, *That there is reason to believe, that Jesus Christ eat the Lamb of the Passover a day before the greatest part of the other Jews, who begun to Celebrate the Feast but on Friday at Night.* Our Author believes on the contrary, *That all the Jews were forced to Celebrate the Feast the same day, because it was necessary to kill all the Lambs in the Porch of the Temple.*

The almost infinite number of these beasts which were to be killed, and which, if *Iosephus* may be believed, amounted to Five Millions five thousand six hundred, troubleth him not. He believeth, that the great number of Priests who assisted at this Service, was sufficient for this great Execution. Not mentioning that each private Man had a right to kill his Lamb, provided it was in the Porch of the Temple, which was so big, that in the time of *Solomon* there entred into it 22000 Oxen, 12000 Sheep, besides the other Sacrifices which the People offered. Yet there remains a great difficulty. For the Lambs were not begun to be presented but at the Ninth Hour, to wit, at three in the Afternoon; and *Iosephus* assureth us, that this Ceremony ended about Nine of the Clock. So, though the Temple should be spacious enough to contain the number of Lambs, the time would not be long enough to kill them.

The last Disputes concern the *Eucharist*. But as this matter hath been treated on very often, we will make an end here.

A Famous SPEECH of Monsieur Cocquelin, Chancellor of the Church of Paris in 1686.

IT is the Custom amongst the Divines of Paris, before the Cap is given to those who have accomplished their License, to present them by a Doctor to the Chancellor of the Cathedral Church. The Doctor who presents these Licentiates, makes a small Discourse in their Praise, to which the Chancellor answers by another Discourse. As this which *Mr. Cocquelin* hath made this year on the like occasion, hath had something singular in it, as well for its Eloquence, which, how natural soever it is to the Author, had not notwithstanding appeared with so much lustre, but for the fine and delicate turn wherewith he manag'd his Subject, when he treated on the Affairs of the times, and by the fine Poem which he added to it: We have thought we could not do better than to begin with this Piece which hath fallen by chance into our hands, and to gather together the scatter'd Pieces which we have promised to impart to the Publick, when they should deserve to have this Justice done them. Here is then what he saith.

*V*iris eruditus à Theologica Palaestra Biennio quolibet secedentibus, Viri Ecclesiae Parisiensis Proceres, sapientissimi Patres, Auditores humanissimi, non defuit huc usque neque decrevit unquam laborum laudisque sibi concilianda seges: si modo quod in scholis didicerint & ad summum perducere, & pro rerum, pro locorum, pro temporum opportunitate impendere, & ad bravium de quo hodie Apostolus, atque immarcescibilem coronam, totis viribus cernere voluerint.

Et sane quamvis pro uberrima Sacra facultatis Theologicae Paris. feracitate ex ipsius sinu viri in omni sacrarum litterarum genere quantum patitur etas, exercitissimi longè plures uno quoque biennio praeimpant quam ex toto quantum quantus est reliquo Christiano orbe; quod nihilominus apud Apostolos Christus olim Dominus pronuntiavit effatum illud ipsum labentibus exinde perpetuo saeculis, merito proferri potuit, poteritque in posterum: Mellis quidem multa, operarii vero pauci.

At nunquam ejusdem Christi aliud oraculum vos Apostolos ad fidem religionemque praedicandam adhortantis aequiori jure quam in praesentiarum possit usurpari, quo vera sapientia candidatis ejusdem fidei religionisque aut disseminanda aut propaganda pro nostro munere concedamus Licentiam: Videte, aiebat Deus ille generis humani servator, videte Regiones quoniam jam albæ sunt ad messem.

Enim

Enimvero quicumque hactenus, sacra Facultatis Theol. Parisi. stadium crensi, praeire vobis ad coronam, Galliam qua monstris ad Calvinum usque caruerat, aut totam Catholicae fidei debitam, aut nascentem haeresim qua proinde tunc contempti potius quam timori habebatur, aut jam adultam atque roboratam, atque adeo cui evertenda inutilis ut plurimum opera navabatur divino sacra sapientia lumine illustrandam ag-gressi sunt: vobis vero Licentiandi meritisimi, id unum ex divina providentia ordine servabatur, ut extincta & profligata haeresi, eorum mentes, quicumque ad Ecclesiae sinum redierunt, coelestis doctrina rore imbuenda obversentur.

Contemplanti itaque mihi atque praeterita Ecclesia secula animo repetenti nova prorsus sese rerum facies objicit & incredibilis stupor ingerit. Calviniana pestis, qua florentissimum late regnum pervaserat quasi de caelo tacta momento defecit, concidit, evanuit. O Prodigium inauditum! O Portentum supra omnem hominum fidem incredibile!

Haeresim videlicet qua peste nulla periculosius, nulla tenacius mentibus hominum inhaeret, tot annos natam (supra centesimum enim quinquagesimus annus est quo pestiferos Institutionum haereticarum libros, pro ea qua haesiarcham decet impudentia, Francisco primo Regi Christianissimo Calvinus inscripsit) tot igitur annos natam, tot victoriis ferocem, tot epoto civium sanguine furentem, tot edictis Regis perduellionis ejus ictibus stabilitam, tot foederibus cum exteris Regibus & Gallici nominis hostibus Batavis, Danis, Suevis, Anglis, Germanis roboratam de repente corruisse: Quae ex perduellione nata cum ipsa creverat, adoleverat, profecerat, quaque novo prodigio, quo plus sanguinis amisisset, eo plus ferocia, plus viribus, plus phrenetico furore valeret, hanc illam puncto temporis extinctam evanuisse, erroris ministros, deceptorum & incautarum ovium Pseudo-Pastores pravitate haeretica defensores, volentes lubentesque fuga sibi consuluisse; templa ubique diruta, delictos conventus, amplexatam fidem, restitutam sacrorum religionem: iis etiam in locis ubi numero, viribus, locorum asperitate toties se tutati fuerant quicumque a veritate defecerant. Quod cum absque ulla mortis interminatione aut ulla cuiusque cede contigerit, ut nobis qui hac coram intuemur pro singulari miraculo, sic exteris, sic posteris pro maximo quod usquam extiterit prodigio dubio procul habebitur.

Dicam equidem quod sentio, Auditores, & confidenter dicam. Praclarum illud facinus & hactenus inauditum, ut summa in Ludovico Magno Autoritatis, Prudentiae, Religionis, sic & summa in Gallis, in Ludovicum fidei, venerationis, & si ita loqui fas est, amoris singularis certissimum est & indubitatum argumentum; qua quidem laude an possit aliqua sive Regi sive subditis dari major non video.

Factent itaque, si qui sunt qui possint, ingentia bellica laudis facinora: referant emendatam unius veris spatio male memorem Batavorum gentem: inscribant aeternis victoriarum trophaeis vix 50 dierum spatio urbes munitissimas plusquam 40 castra & expugnatas: tranatas narrent Rheni quae parte Romanis impervius semper exti-

tit, armato milite & superatas undas: dicant prolatos undecumque Imperii fines, scribant Hispanos toties concidisse, quoties nobiscum signa contulerint: spe toties excidisse quoties prudentia vel arte contenderint; in commentarios referant Europam totam triplici foedere adversus Lodoicum Magnum conspirantem ejusque gloria incidentem id unum profecisse ut & ejus gloriam promoveret altius, & ad pacis conditiones quas ipsa respuisset, armis victricibus impelleretur: memorent imperii prerogativam supra Reges omnes media in pace frustra licet repugnante superbissima Hispanorum gente ex praescripto assertam: depingant Algeriam, Tuncum, Genuam quasi de caelo tactas Lodoici Magni pedibus advolutas pacem supplices & salutem exorasse: dicant etiamnum totius Europa atque adeo totius orbis fatum ab unius Lodoici Magni quasi aliud agentis & in summa degentis tranquillitate pendere arbitrio.

Aeternis, si qui sunt, verum humanarum fastis inscribatur, Rex undecumque Magnus, ac longe supra titulos, qui rerum praclare gestarum magnitudine, Regibus longe omnibus quotquot extiterunt major, vicit hostes fortitudine, rebelles clementia, invidos virtute, quique subditorum suorum felicitati intentus orbi terrarum miseriis & calamitati sublevando indulgens pacem inter trophaea concessit, hostibus pacis leges praescripsit, ipsi victoria modum imposuit & sibi, sui simul & orbis victor.

Hac illi referant quibus tot referendis pro dignitate miraculis par est, si quae tamen esse possit, aut saltem non impar omnino erit eloquentia; ceteri fideant & mirentur.

Nobis vero etsi haec omnia supra mortalium fidem & conditionem videntur esse posita; longe tamen praestantiora, longe majora, longe luculentiora perpetuo videbuntur quae ex Lodoici Magni pietate, religione, fide, & Regio in Deum affectu profecta tanto ceteris antecellunt quanto immortalia mortalibus, aeterna caducis, divina humanis in immensum prestare atque anteferri oportere nemo nescit.

Ita est profecto, Aud. non potest non esse caducum, non mortale, non humanum quodcumque pro rerum humanarum sorte atque conditione geritur. Hinc & id omne quod retro lapsis ante saeculis pro humana gloria consecutione fuit inscriptum, aut delerum & obliteratum omnino, aut ex majori parte imminutum est: sola religio, sola pietas, sola divina fidei divinique cultus, sola Ecclesiae tutela, quia Deum spectant immortalem, ipsa immortalitate donantur.

Tria igitur praecipue Augustissimo Principi, quoniam quidem ex illa felicissima scaturigine prodierunt, nullis rerum pereuntium casibus, nullis temporum injuriis obnoxia, gloriam perpetere aeternumque parient omni prorsus laude & claritudine praestantiora.

Hae illa porro sunt, quod piissimus Princeps sacrilega blasphemantium ora compresserit, quod duellorum furores compescuerit, quod haeresim extinxerit, quorum quae duo prima sunt, singularem licet mereantur admirationem: postremum tamen sicut omnium expectationem vicit, sic & supra laudem omnem videtur esse positum.

Decem & sexies ad minimum centena hominum millia, pestifera superstitione qua recentibus ab uberibus imbuti fuerant, abjecta, ad eam religionem subito transisse adversus quam summo odio, summa animi offensione, pravis sc. perduellionum erroris ministrorum artibus delusi ferebantur, absque ullo conflictu, absque sanguine, sed sola regionum edictorum aut constitutione aut revocatione, bonorumque non tam illata quam indicta adversus pertinaces jactura, ut poena ad paucos, metus ad plures, salus ad omnes perveniret, ad amplectendam veritatem feliciter adaptos in Catholica matris gremium convolasse, ut in parentis optima gremio atque ejus tutela ea sibi servata gestirent, quorum jacturam extra illius sinum positi metuerant.

Agite ergo L. M. & quo par est mentis affectu, qua decet grati animi testificatione tanti principis Pietatem prosequimini, & tantarum rerum sequimini ducem: Nos sapientia stadium quo conclusi per biennium fuistis vobis referamus; Latissimum ipse Ludovicus Magnus ejusdem disseminanda campum aperuit.

Et illi quidem quicumque ab Ecclesia defecerant ex divinarum scripturarum in quas privato sensu, seu privata potius temeritate invaserant pravo intellectu, erraverunt, vos ex scripturarum peritia in Ecclesia Christi sponsae Autoritate atque unanimi SS. PP. consensu fundata, viam veritatis, quam inoffenso pede decurrant, errantibus & querentibus aperite: illi ex superbia peccaverunt, vos ex vestri diffidentia, sine qua omnis scientia instet necesse est, tumorem animi superbientis depellite, atque adeo in tanta Ludovici Magni gloria partem quo decet humili sensu pro vestra virili ipso & jubente & juvante venite.

Præit & vocat illustrissimus Antistes tantarum rerum, sicut & consiliorum ac secretorum

præcipuus administer: in quo, cum summa sint cuncta, ea tamen videntur esse præcipua, quibus eam sibi vel apud hæreticos existimationem conciliavit, qua quidem freti in Catholica matris gremium non nisi ipsius manibus plerique omnes deduci voluerint.

Rerum scilicet omnium mirabilis est in illo contentus, quibus ex summa apud homines existimatione nascitur omnium oriturque singularis benevolentia, ingenii nimirum sublimis excellentia, stupenda facilisque eruditio, morum inconcussa suavitas, comitas in omnes, summa apud regem maximum gratia.

Tanto igitur huic operi L. M. his tantis prodeuntibus ducibus & Architectis toto animi conatu atque industria incumbite: divina in vos providentia benignitatem agnoscite, qua vos faustis adeo sideribus, in tam præclari facinoris societatem adducit.

Unus Moses sepeliendo mediis in undis Pharaoni seligitur, unus Josue civitatis Hiericuntina excidio destinatur, uni Ludovico Magno sepeliendus error & excidenda Calviniana hæresis servabatur: Neque tamen Princeps opt. in tanta laudis venire partem eos abnuat quicumque aliquam ei promovenda possunt operam impendere.

Nunquam porro è vestris excidat animis que vir sap. & vigilantiss. Pastor sub cuius auspiciis è scholis munitionem postulatis erudita atque eloquenti facundia apud nos honorificentissime peroravit.

Ut vero quod ejus orationi addendum duximus, ac præsertim quod de Rege augustissimo protulimus vestris mentibus tenacius insistat, strictiori & heroibus celebrandis aptiori minerva que exaranda censuimus paucis excipite.

Rex magne, firmum robur & unica
 Spes Lilliorum, Gallia, dum tuo
 Librata nutu, tot superbis
 Tempora dinumerat triumphis,

Dum vincit orbem fortior Herculis
 Confossa monstribus dextera, & ultimæ
 Gentes ad auditum pavescunt
 Cuncta supercilio moventis.

Illuxit orbi splendor & optimi
 Late refulsit gloria Principis;
 Ac solis æquavit labores
 Belligeri fama vaga Regis.

Immo diei longius orbita
 Excurrit, & quæ nubibus atque atris
 Fœtus procellis, squallet orbis
 Sole pigro dubiaque luce,

Intaminatis fulget honoribus
 Rex magnus illic, atque vicario
 Splendet corusco, sospitemque
 Terra suum merito salutat.

Victore major Cæsare, & inclyto
 Quem Rex Philippus insuperabilem
 Produxit, & Persæ tremendum
 Ut Dominum trepidi coronant.

Te Parthus arcu nobilis & fuga,
 Te Turca ferro dirus, & Algidi
 Rex magne cognovit Bootæ
 Incola, teque tuasque palmas.

Alte tonantem te tremit Africa,
 Te fracta stupet fulmine Genua,
 Supplexque throno mox superbos
 Mente ponit meliore sensus.

Ut cum supremo pendulus æthere
 Prædam superbus despicit infimam
 Legitque dignos inter hostes,
 Quos superet generosus ales;

Virtutis altæ sic superat jugum.
 Ast Sapientiæ fundus hic est suæ,
 Segesque, Christo quod rebelles
 Magnanimus Lodoix revincit.

Ruunt superbæ mœnia Jericho,
 Quamvisque nomen sit revolubilis
 Sortita Lunæ, exterminati
 Damna nequit reparare cornu.

Cessere pestes, templaque cultibus
 Indicta pravis, fulmine corruunt,
 Fugantur erroris Ministri,
 Et Stygiæ referantur arces.

Quin ante pugnax & male perfida
 Linguam remordet Hæresis, os suum
 Obducit, æternumque luget
 Tartareis revoluta stagnis.

Non ausa vultus tollere luridos
 Mægera, fufos colla super statim
 Condit cerastas, & reforbet
 Pestiferum pudibunda virus.

Non sic Eoo littore cum rubet,
 Altosque bigis sol rutilantibus
 Montes colorat, Belluarum
 Territa gens latebras reposit:

Ut tu triumphos magne per inclitos
 Tutoque fretus præsidio, malas
 Repellis Erroris catervas,
 Hæreticæque venena sectæ.

Procede fausto numine splendidus,
 Tuasque lauros scande super sacri
 Tutus triumphi, gloriosum
 Prome caput Pharaone merfo.

Gens fastuosi nube supercilii
 Exosa Reges, scommatibus Deum
 Vel prorsus expungens, vel ore
 Sacrilego violans, rubentes

Dejecta vultus pone subit, manus
 Gravant catenæ, vincula tinniunt
 Injecta collo, sordidusque
 Membra tegit maculosa Cento.

Illa illa frendet, ringitur ac solum
 Viru sequaci spumea collinit,
 Fidemque victricem retortis
 Luminibus furiosa limat.

Jam ponit errorem & facinus suum
 Damnat profusis fletibus, & nova
 Incude vesanum reformat
 Dogma, deumque fatetur ultra.

Est dextra victrix Principis optimi,
 Jacent superbæ mœnia Jericho,
 Prostratus & mordens arenam
 Semilacer Pharaon recumbit.

Aptare dulci sic cytharæ juvat
 Non indecoro carmine splendidum
 Heroa, dum præstabit albis
 Currere Calliopem quadrigis.

Joanni

Joanni Poloniae Regi, Magno Duci Lithuaniae, &c.

Suos supra titulos Augusto,
 Quem virtus ad solium evexit,
 Quem pietas e solio
 Ad liberandam Germaniam advexit;
 Quique Angeli instar
 Longinquos tractus permeans, Carpathia Saxa penetrans,
 Immanem Turcarum Tyrannum
 Strages late & ruinas Christiano orbi minitantem,
 Durâ & Senacheribeâ obsidione caput imperii prementem,
 Piorum votis potius quam armis suffultus,
 Plena Deo fortuna fretus
 Disrupit, disjecit, profligavit.
 Tota igitur Europa
 Nuper excidio proxima, nunc periculo exempta,
 Debitis & festis plausibus
 Indefinentibus cujuscumque Ætatis, Sexus, Nationis vocibus,
 Christo fatente & fide Jubente,
 Procumbens acclamat
 Inter natos mulierum non surrexit major

JOANNE.

Motet Dramatique, Ou Oratoire.

DEus venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, ut polluerent Temp-
 lum Sanctum tuum; flagellum appropinquat tabernaculo tuo:
 fixerunt tentoria in circuitu Vienna, ecce quasi nubes ascendunt, &
 quasi tempestas currus eorum, velociores aquilis equi eorum, po-
 suerunt morticina servorum tuorum escas volatilibus Cæli, Carnes
 Sanctorum tuorum bestiis terræ.

Historia.

Væ nobis! circumdederunt nos dolores mortis; vae nobis, dies ira,
 dies tribulationis, vastati sumus, vae nobis. O vos omnes qui transitis
 attendite, miseremini, succurrite, accurrite.

Chorus
 Lugen-
 tium.

Exsurge Deus & vindica causam tuam, salvos fac sperantes in te,
 ne quando dicant gentes, ubi est Deus eorum?

Bassus.

Fugite impii, cedite, fugite, pavidi, saucii, territi, perdit, cadite,
 crimina mortibus luite, dentibus fremite, tabescite. Arabes, Tartari,
 fugite, cadite, gladio occumbite, dissipamini, occumbite.

Chorus
 Angelo-
 rum.

Virtus Domini obvallavit Regem qui redemit Israel, qui factus
 est Columna in Templo Dei, in qua scriptum est nomen & Majestas
 Dei Sabaoth. Quis est iste Rex gloria?

Altus.

Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Joannes, hic venit. Bene-
 dictus qui venit, hic vicit. Benedictus qui vicit in nomine Domini,
 hosanna in excelsis; hosanna in terris, hosanna in excelsis.

Cantus.
 Chorus.

Parallele

Parallele de Jules Cesar & du Roy de Pologne.

Venit, vidit, vicit,

Quidni?

*In proximo agebat bellum in sequanis meditabatur
Viribus potior, veterano milite, legionibus octo formidandus
Improvidum, imparatum, fæderis fide securum, pace sopitum*

Ariovistum oppressit,

Ut rempublicam opprimeret.

Noxæ ideo dedendus, & Catonis sententia germanis tradendus.

Meliori causa, feliciori successu,

Polonia Rex, Magnus Lithuania Dux, &c.

E remota Lithuania advolans, dissitas regiones emensus

Conscia virtute fretus,

Cesare

Promptior. Justior. Fortior

Venit. Vidit. Vicit.

Immanem Turcarum Tyrannum,

Nulla laceffitum injuria, bellum grâti capeffentem

Affyriam, Mediam, Thraciam, Ægyptum, Tartariam, Asiam

Sub signis trabentem

Orbi Christiano

Strages, incendia, vastationem, vincula minitantem

Alexandri sui in victorias adolescentis manu subnixus,

Numine plenus

Disrupit, fregit, profligavit

Ut Europam liberaret

Porro bellatorum, Juli optime,

Oblatum à Tribuno plebis Diadema recusasti

Factum bene:

Joannem bellatorum Maximum

Triplici Diademate

Sarmatico adepto, Hungarico vindicato, Romano protecto

Coronari sine.

Acclamatum in orbe Christiano millies, millies, millies.

Some LETTERS, Containing an Account of what was most remarkable in a Voyage into Swisserland, Italy, and a part of Germany, in the years 1685 and 1686. Written by Dr. Burnet to M. B. The Second Edition Corrected by the Author. With Additions concerning Swisserland, Italy, Communicated by a Person of Quality. At Rotterdam, Sold by Acher, 1687. in Octavo. p. 336.

THIS Book contains Five Letters, and is both in French and Dutch, as well as English. There have been lately added some Remarks Written in French by a Person of Quality originally of Italy, and who hath lived there a long while. These Remarks are but Fifteen Pages, and respect only some particularities touching the Country of the *Switzers*, *Grisons*, the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, the City of *Bologne*, and the Government of the *Pope*. We see thereby, as well as by the Letters of Bishop *Burnet*, that the greatest part of *Italy*, and particularly that which belongs to the *Pope*, is altogether deserted and ruined, because of the too absolute Government which is there every where exercised; and of the Maxim of those People, to lay always the greatest Taxes that can be. Princes in this Country seem to envy their Posterity the enjoyment of their Estates, they take such care to ruine them without remorse; and this evil is but too common elsewhere.

But Dr. *Burnet* observes in all this Voyage the same rules which he hath proposed to himself in his History. He praiseth and blameth, according as natural equity seems to require it, without having respect to Parties, in which those he speaks of are engaged. So he praiseth the fine qualities of Cardinal *Howard* in his Fourth Letter, and remarks what may be reprehended in the conduct of the Divines of *Swisserland* and *Geneva*, in regard to a Form which those who are received Ministers are obliged to Sign in that Country. As he who hath made the Extract of the Voyage of Dr. *Burnet*, which is in the French Republick of Letters, hath not spoken of this place, it shall be altogether inserted here. It is in the First Letter dated from *Zurich*, the 1st of September 1685.

As the Medium which *Amyraut* and *Daille* have taken in the Controversies agitated in *Holland*, touching the Decrees of God, and the Extent of the Death of *Jesus Christ*, had been almost universally embraced in *France*, this same opinion hath found some defenders at *Geneva*, and in *Swisserland*. These Gentlemen maintain the Universality of the

death of *Jesus Christ*, and the sufficiency of Grace (objective) given to all Men; affirming otherwise, that God hath freely chosen a certain number of Persons, to whom alone he gives a Grace (subjective) efficacious. They are called *Universalists*; and their number had begun to be considerable at *Geneva*, because two Professors in Divinity openly favoured this Opinion. Those who incline to the contrary Sentiment, were extremely moved at it, and the Dispute grew so warm, that almost the whole City entred either into one or other of the Parties. If the Magistrate had imposed silence on both, he had certainly done very well: for the Question was of Speculations so uncertain, and so little Essential to Religion, that the diversity of Sentiments ought not to cause any Quarrel or Faction. But though the Party of the *Universalists* was pretty considerable at *Geneva*, it was extremely weak in *Switzerland*. Therefore some Divines of that Country upheld the received Opinion, and made Articles, wherein they, in the first place, condemned the Opinions of the *Universalists*, and some Speculative Sentiments touching the Immortality of *Adam*, and the qualities he had, according to those Divines, in the state of Innocency. Moreover, *Cappel* and other Criticks having maintained not only the novelty of the Points of the *Hebrews*, but also taken the liberty of correcting the Text in some places, upon supposition that there were errors of the Copists in the Bible, both as to Vowels and Consonants: to oppose these Sentiments, all the Corrections were condemned which might be made in the *Hebrew Text*, and the Antiquity of the Points was asserted, at least as to the force, or manner wherein they have determined the Reading. If hereby all Divines are not engaged to be of the Sentiment of *Buxtorf*, as to what regards the Antiquity of Points, the Correcting of any thing whatever is hindered, in the punctuation of these times: If this Consent of Doctrine, for so this Form is named, had been established as a Rule, against which it was not lawful to Teach any thing, without incurring some censure, severity would have been more sufferable. But all those are obliged who aspire to the Ministry, or to a Chair of Professor, to subscribe, *Sic sentio*, I am of this opinion. This Form being established at *Berne* and *Zurich*, the Authority of the Divines who had made it caused its being sent to *Geneva*; where the Moderator and Secretary of the Company of Ministers Signed it in the Name of all. So they were not satisfied to make a regulation touching these matters, but by a Maxim, which hath been so often fatal to the Church, they undertook to become Masters of the Conscience of the People, and to put the young Folks from their Employments, or to impose an Oath upon them, that all, perhaps, have not signed without remorse of Conscience. Yet some of those

who have established this Form are persons of an extraordinary merit, who I am persuaded have acted in this occasion by a sincere zeal, to maintain what they regard as Truth; I should only wish, they had more Extent, and a greater freedom of Mind.

Ομιλίαι τριγυαί α γ. The 33 Orations of Themistius, 13 of which have been formerly published. Dennis Petavius of the Society of Jesus, Translated many of 'em into Latin, with Annotations. To 20 of these Orations are added other Notes; and to the remaining 13 are joyn'd the perpetual Observations of John Harduinus, a Member of the same Society. Paris, in Fol.

Themistius was a Philosopher of Paphlagonia, so Eloquent, that he had given him the Sur-name of Euphrades. He published Commentaries upon Aristotle, when he was very young, which were so much esteemed, that one of the best Philosophers of Greece quitted his School to go to see him. He Taught with so much clearness at Antioch, Nicomedia, Rome, and elsewhere, that he out-did all the Philosophers of his time. The Romans were so charmed with him, that they sent to the Emperor, desiring, that he would oblige him to live in the midst of them, but they obtained not this advantage. Themistius chose rather to return to Constantinople, where he passed the greatest part of his life. He was beloved of Six Emperors. Constantius conferred the dignity of Prætor upon him, and honoured him with a Brazen Statue. Valence had so great a deference for him, that in consideration of him he moderated the false zeal which led him to persecute the Orthodox. It is assuredly one of the greatest marks of esteem which can be given to a Man; for as soon as a Prince hath determined to extirpate a Religion, all that retards the progress of this design is uneasie to him, and incommodes him extraordinarily; they are very powerful Reasons only which can work an alteration of this nature. Yet the Discourse of Themistius produced this great effect upon an Emperor animated to the ruin of the Orthodox, by the Counsel of some Arian Bishops, and by the Intreagues of the Empress. This Philosopher represented to Valence, That he persecuted, without cause, Men of worth; that it was not a crime to believe and to think otherwise than he did; that he should not wonder at this diversity of Opinions; that the Gentiles were much more divided amongst themselves than Christians; that everyone pointed at truth by some place; and that it had pleased God to confound the pride of Men, and to

render himself more venerable by the difficulty which there is of knowing him. It is pity that such fine thoughts have been said by a Pagan, and that it should be necessary that Christians should learn this Important Lesson from an Idolatrous Man. Yet they ought to profit thereby. But Mr. Flecher, who hath so carefully related this Discourse of Themistius, to shame thereby the Memory of an Arian Emperor, tells us, that the Emperor Theodosius a little while after, also took upon him a command, which was as a fit subject for a second discourse of Themistius; But he was far from doing it, because of the charge of Prefect of Constantinople, and of Tutor to the Son of Theodosius the Great, which this Emperor gave him, lest he should cease his Applauses for all the Orders of the Court. It is very strange that a Prince who abolished vigorously the Relicks of Paganism, and who gave even no very good quarters to the Sectaries of Christianity, should trust the Education of his Son to a Heathen. Yet it's true, that Theodosius hath done all this; for those who say, that Themistius was a Christian, and Chief of the Sect of the Agnoites, who believed, that Jesus Christ was absolutely ignorant of the end of the World; they confound him with another Themistius, a Deacon of the Church of Alexandria, who was the head of this Sect under the Empire of Justin, towards the year 519. It signifies nothing to the proof of the pretended Christianity of Themistius, to say, that he hath cited this passage of Scripture, *The heart of the King is in the hand of the Lord*: This, I say, signifies nothing, because that besides his citing these words, as if he had taken them from the Books of the Assyrians; every one knoweth, that Longinus hath quoted Moses with Elogies on him, without being on that account, engaged e're the less in Paganism. Themistius must needs have been an honest Man, because he always had the Friendship of St. Gregory of Nazianze.

He had left 36 Harangues. Henry Stephen is the first who hath published any of them. Father Petan being then at the Colledge of la Fleche, made an Edition thereof. He added a second much better when he came to Paris, but it was yet very imperfect, seeing there lacked Sixteen Orations. He sought so successfully that he found thirteen, whereof he Translated into Latin the considerablest part. He left them as a Depositum in the Colledge of Clermont's Bibliothek; and these are they which appeared the first time in the Edition of Themistius, that Father Hardouin hath lately given us. He is a very learned Jesuit, who was brought to Paris to be employed with Father Cautel to make the Supplement of *Dogmata Theologica* of Father Petan; but this design hath not succeeded; so that these two Jesuits have elsewhere endeavour'd, by other Works, to make their Talent be valued. Father Cautel hath set his face another

ther way. As for Father *Hardouin*, the Publick hath already known, that he worketh upon a Commentary of *Pliny*, in *usum Delphini*, which will be, say they, a most complete piece, and which will be publish'd in a year. Moreover, he hath a design to publish all the Manuscripts of the *Bibliothèque of Clermont*, which have not been as yet printed; and he hath begun by the Orations of *Themistius*, at the intreaty of Father *Garnier*, who dyed at *Bologne in Italy* the 26th. of *October* 1681. during the Voyage he made to *Rome*, about the Affairs of his Society.

In this Edition have been inserted all the Notes of Father *Petau* upon twenty Discourses of *Themistius*, and many things are very Learned therein. There is in particular, a gross Error of *Appian*, who saith in the First Book of the Civil War, That the Romans have had Kings during 100 Olympiads, and Consuls 100 Olympiads; also whereas it is certain, that *Tarquin* was banished *Rome* in the Year 244, after the Foundation of the City 156 years, before it had lasted a hundred Olympiads. Besides that, *Appian* contradicts himself visibly, seeing he places the Dictatorship of *Sylla*, but in the 175 Olympiad. Father *Petau* also pretends, That *Scaliger* was mistaken when he said, That the lesser Mysteries were celebrated at *Athens* but every three Years. This Jesuite maintains against him that they were celebrated every year. But when he afterwards proveth by a very obscure passage of *Titus Livius*, that they were celebrated every first Year of each Olympiad, he seems to give himself a needless trouble, seeing that if he hath proved well, that they were celebrated every year, it followeth without any difficulty, that they were celebrated the first Year of all the Olympiads. It may nevertheless be said for his Justification, that he makes use of the passage of *Titus Livius*, but to shew the impossibility of the Hypothesis of *Scaliger*. He corrects in this same place a passage of *Plutarch*, which seems to say, That the Mysteries were celebrated in the Market place, τὰ πρὸς ἀγορᾷ. *Cassaubonus* who perceived the fault, thought he was bound to correct it in readings, τὰ πρὸς ἀγορᾷ, or else τὰ πρὸς ἀγορᾷ; but 'tis not for that, we must read τὰ πρὸς ἀγορᾷ, to wit, to *Agra*, which was a place near the River *Ilissus*, where there was a Temple of *Ceres*, and whence *Diana* had apparently taken her name of *Agroria*. In fine, her Remarks that most Authors have unseasonably confounded the Mysteries, with the *Theismophoria*, which were celebrated in the Honour of *Ceres*. He relates several Differences betwixt these two Ceremonies.

One of the things upon which he hath enlarged so much, is the Bridge that *Xerxes* built to pass from *Asia* into *Europe*. *Herodotus* hath given us the Description thereof; Father *Petau* expounds it, and corrects in it a great many faults. We should be too

tedious if we should descend into a more particular Relation. Let us be content with this Remark upon a passage of *Cassiodorus*, L. 9. Ep. 5. Where it's ordered to keep no more Corn than would be necessary to maintain each Family, *Sive in gradu, sive in aliis locis condita potuerint invenire*. These words have much tormented the Interpreters. Father *Petau* saith, that by *in gradu*, an Isle of the *Adriatick Sea*, must be understood, situate towards the place where *Venice* hath been built, and not the Bread which was distributed upon the Stairs at *Constantinople*.

Let us now say somewhat of the Work of Father *Hardouin*. He has plac'd the Orations of *Themistius*, in the order they ought to be in, according to the time wherein they were spoken; and to effect this, he hath made a Chronological Table, the exactest that he could. He hath filled the vacancies which were in this Author; and cut divers things which had been added, and spoiled the sense; he hath corrected the faults which had slipped thereinto; and finally, he hath cleared the places that are most difficult by his Learned Observations.

He observes that the Romans had Dragons in their Colours; and as 'tis also certain, that they had Eagles in their Ensigns, he teacheth us to discern these two things; it is, saith he, that the Eagles served for the entire Legion, and the Dragons for a Cohort. He pretends, that *Sethus Calvisius* having placed the Death of *Procopius* in the Year 365. and changed the Name of *Jovinus* designed Consul for the Year ensuing, into that of *Dagalaiphus*, hath added a false Calculation in all the sequel of his Chronology. He makes several Discoveries, and several Remarks upon the Family of the Emperour *Theodosius*, to whom he restores two Children that no body does more than mention, to wit, *Gratian* and *Pulcherius*, tho' it is certain, that *St. Gregory of Nissa*, and *St. Ambrose* have spoken thereof. He speaks to the purpose, upon the Chapter of Genealogies, for he hath better distinguished than Mr. *Henry de Valois* had done the two young *Valentinians*, whereof the one was Son to the Emperour *Valentinian* the first, and the other was the Son of *Valens*, and was named *Galates*, because he was born in *Galatia*. It was for this that the ninth Oration of *Themistius* was made. Mr. *de Valois* seemed to believe when he published the first time his *Amian Marcelline*, that these two *Valentinians* were Brothers. He is reproached with it here: but as he corrected this fault in his Notes upon *Socrates*, after he had seen the *Idatius* of Father *Sirmond*, and that the same fault was also corrected in the new Edition in *Folio* of *Amien*, it will be taken ill that Father *Hardouin* thought upon such a Censure, and it will perhaps be said, that he fetcht the occasion a little too far.

One of his most curious Remarks concerns the passage which induced some to believe,

believe, That *Themistius* made profession of Christianity, and which seems to be the same with that of *Solomon*, *The heart of the King is in the hand of the Lord*. This Philosopher cites his fine Sentiment as taken out of the Books of the *Assyrians*. Father *Petau* believed by these *Assyrian* Books, the holy Scripture was to be understood, because *Themistius* sometimes gave the *Christians* the Title of *Syrians*, according to the custom of the Gentiles, who often confounded the *Jews* with *Christians*. Father *Hardouin* rejects this Opinion, and founds his own upon this, that *Themistius* could not borrow the passage in question, neither from the Original of Scripture, nor from the Version of the 70. The *Hebrew* is, *Leb melek Ve Fad Jehovah*, the Heart of the King in the hand of the Lord. The 70 have thus Translated it simply, *καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ*. But *Themistius* saith thus, *Ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντὸς τοῦ παλαμῆ δουλοποιεῖται*. He has this passage from another place, according to this *Jesuite*, and not from Holy Scripture. Some profane Author furnished him, as was that who taught him to say, That Men commonly sung upon *Lebanon*.

I know not whether it was ever said, That *Aesop* must needs have read *Solomon*, seeing he cites a Sentence which is found word for word in Chap. 3. of *Proverbs*, *God resists the Proud, but shews favour to the Humble*.

So it is, That the 70. have turned the passage of *Solomon*, and that the Apostle *St. James* hath cited it in his Epistle. There would not be much reason under pretence of this great conformity between the passage of *Aesop*, and that of the Scripture, to maintain that *Aesop*, had read the sacred Books; for whence could he draw the signification which the term hath in the Sentence of *Aesop*, which is a particular signification to the *Greek Bible* of the 70. It is better to say with *Vavasseur* the *Jesuite*, That *Plenuda* is the Author of the Book which we call this day the *Fables of Aesop*. At least it is true, That some Christian is the Author of the Moral Sense, which hath been expressed in one of the *Fables of Aesop*, by the very Greek terms of the Scripture.

An Abridgment of the Prerogatives of St. Ann, Mother of the Mother of God, approved by the Doctors of the Sorbonne, and Translated out of French into English, to accompany a Book which is Entituled, Contemplations on the Life and Glory of the Blessed Virgin, with the Defence of that Work and other pieces of that nature; to which is added a Preface touching the Original of this History. Sold by Mr. Chiswell at London 1688. p. 44.

THE Devotions of the *Roman Church* appear so ridiculous to them that are not born superstitious, that the ablest Controvertists of that party have endeavoured to hide them, or to make them pass for popular Abuses: but as it is impossible, that in a great Society all them that write should be of the Secret; so there are a great number of Bigots who feared that the Bishops of *Meaux* and *Turnai* would with their mildness betray the Church, and were minded really to abolish the Ways that enriched it. So much the Protestants have seconded the sincerity of these latter, and have collected out of their Offices, Rites, and the most famous Doctours of *Rome*, the true Doctrine of our Church. To avoid the contestations commonly raised by such as do not act sincerely. The *English* are advised to translate whole Books of the Doctrine of *Rome*, as the *Life of Magdalene of Pazzi*, the *Contemplations of the Life and Glory of the Blessed Virgin*, and other such like.

The Abridgment of the Perogatives of *St. Ann*, is one of these Works. The time will not be lost that is employed in making an extract of it; it is sufficient that it was ridiculous enough to cause the Effect, which the Translator proposed himself; it was printed at *Paris* in 43. with the approbation of the Doctors of *Sorbonne*, and was Dedicated to the Queen Mother *Ann of Austria*, then Regent; so that any godly Book could not be more Authentick. The Reader will be far more obliged by the taking out of the *English Preface* the History of *St. Ann's Devotions*, by which may be learned what are the grounds of *Monastick Orders*, and the Authors of *Legends*.

The *Friars* used ways of forming the Genealogies of their King's, and attributing great Deeds of Chivalry that never hapned to their Princes, and thought that it became them to be no less liberal to the Predecessors of *Jesus Christ*.

No

No Antient Author ever spoke of *Jachim*, and of *St. Ann*, who are said to be the Father and Mother of the Blessed Virgin, and *St. Epiphanius*, was the first that mentioned it by the by. In the succeeding Ages *Germain*, *Hyppolitus*, and *Damasceus* spoke of them, but 'twas little or nothing at all; and *Nicephorus* one of the greatest lyers among the *Friars*, made but a very short History of them; so that all the Legends are grounded upon two pieces whereof the Fallhood is well known by Criticks. One is a Letter upon the Birth of the Blessed Lady attributed to *St. Jerome*; the other is the pretended Gospel of *St. James*.

As for the first, it cannot be precisely determined when it was invented. All that can be said, is that an old Fabulous Tradition has been the occasion of it. There is a feigned Letter of *Chromatius*, and of *Heliodore*, desiring *St. Jerome* to Translate the Gospel of *St. Matthew* out of *Hebrew* into *Latine*, which *Armanius* and *Virinus* said, was in his possession, and contained the History of the Infancy of the Blessed Virgin, and that of our Saviour. *Jerome* begins to excuse himself from it upon the difficulty of the work, and because the Apostle did not design to make this Book publick, maintaining that he writ it in *Hebrew*, and did not mention a word of it in the common Gospel, designing to keep this History from the Peoples Knowledge, adding, That it was a Secret that ought to be trusted to none but choice Clergy-men, that might make the extract of it to Christians. That *Seleucus* was the first that Translated it, and mixed several false Doctrines, tho not very different from the Truth; in what regarded the History and Miracles; and for that reason, he promis'd them an exact Version of the Original *Hebrew*. There are in these Fables the Maxims and Folly of the *Friars*, which suffice to refute it. Besides this, *Seleucus* or *Lucius* was a Manichee, which doubtless was one of the reasons why *St. Augustin* rejected a Work like this, or perhaps it might be the same with that of *Seleucus*. For says he, If one did alledge to me the Book of Apocrypha, wherein *Jachim* is said to be the Father of *Mary*, I would not yield to that Authority, because that Book is not Canonical. Pope *Gelasius* not content to term the Work Apocryphal, calls the Author a Child of the Devil.

II. The second piece whereon the Legend is founded, is not of better Alloy, because it is the Gospel of the false *St. James*. *William Postel* published it first, and having Translated it out of *Greek* into *Latin*, got it printed at *Basil* in 1552. under the Title of *Prot-Evangelion cum Evangelica Historia Sanctæ Mariæ Evangelistæ, & vitæ ejus, Octavo*. Some years after *Bibliander* made

Notes upon this Work; and this was printed with the other, which was not much better under the Title of *Orthodox Writing, Orthodoxographia*. If any one is minded to know who *William Postel* was, he may be informed in the first Chapter of the *Apology* for the Reformers, by *Mr. Jurieu*. *Henry Stephens* that was no Divine, but knew that such a Deist as *Postell* was might be suspected that he had embellished this Work, and *Casaubon* attributed the whole to him. However it is, this pretended Gospel of *St. James* with many others was condemned in a Council of 70 Bishops held at *Rome*, under Pope *Gelasius*. Nevertheless, the Writers of *Legends* receive them, and form new ones, as the Book of the Birth of *Mary*, of the childhood of *Jesus*, and the Gospel of *St. Ann*. The latter may be judged of according to this passage mentioned by *Henry Stephens*, when *Jesus* was so grown that he could work, *Joseph* employed him to *Carpentry*; and one day having commanded him to saw a piece of Wood, he did it without taking notice of the Mark that was to direct him, and so made the piece too short. *Joseph* was angry at this, and had a mind to beat him, and would have done it, if *Jesus* had not lengthened the stick, by making *Joseph* pull at one end, whilst he pull'd at the other. If the Inventors of those absurd Relations were design'd to dishonour the Christian Religion, they could not find a better way; the Gospel of the fictitious *St. James* is full of such extravagant Histories; and one would think the Inventor had a mind by his Ironique Imitation, to ridicule several passages of Scripture, and several Miracles of the Old and New Testament, among others the History of *Abraham* and *Sarah*, that of *Hanna* and her Son *Samuel*, and that of *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*.

And nevertheless, it is upon these counterfeit Books and scurrilous Relations, that the most part of the Devotions of the *Romish Church*, are founded; the pretended *St. James* has consecrated a Feast to *St. Ann*, which is kept the 16th. of *July*, and was ordained by Pope *Gregory XIII.* 1584. Sometime after *Sixtus* the 5th. founded or at least confirmed a Religious Order, called the *Maidens* of *St. Joseph*, who made choice of *St. Ann* for their Patroness; they afterwards established themselves in *France*, under the protection of *Ann* of *Austria*, Regent of the Kingdom.

So that it was in our times, that the Grandfather and Grand-mother of *Jesus Christ* were brought into remembrance; and I hope his great Grandfather and his Father will be soon deify'd, especially if the principle lay'd by the *Maidens* of *St. Joseph* in this work be followed; for if one must make his address to the Blessed Virgin, because *Jesus Christ* cannot refuse her any thing, and if we must address our selves to *Ann* the Mother of *Mary*, to have the Daughters Favour, then we must go back to great Grand-mother, and so on to the rest.

BOOKS concerning the Exposition
of M. de Meaux his Doctrine.

I. *An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England upon the Articles that M. de Meaux heretofore Bishop of Condom, has Explained in his Exposition of the Catholick Doctrine, with the History of this Book, Quarto, 1686.*

II. *Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrin of the Church of England, against M. de Meaux, and his Apologists Objections, Quarto, 1686.*

III. *A Second Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrin of the Church of England against M. de Meaux and his Apologists new Objections, Quarto, At London, Sold by R. Chiswell, 1688.*

IF it be useful in Civil Life to know them that give us advice, and the secret motives that make them act; such an examination cannot be of less advantage for our Spiritual conduct in the different ways shewn to Christians by the Doctors of divers Societies: if Prejudices and Obstinacy do not damn, at least it cannot be deny'd but they are very dangerous: but when Learned Divines, whose imagination is neither overheated with Dispute, nor with the Opinion of a particular Party, and does endeavour to call into doubts the most constant practices and publick customs; there is reason to suspect, that they have imbib'd no less odious Principles than Head-strongness and Prejudice.

If the *Roman Church* ever had Judicious and moderate Controvertists, they were the *Jansenists*, and *M. de Meaux*, and some *English*, that in these times have imitated the former; so that if there be want of sincerity in the proceedings of these Gentlemen, it is a strong presumption against the Defenders of *Rome*, and no weak proof, that its Doctrin cannot be maintained but by indirect courses.

These Reflections were necessary, to shew the usefulness of the *Modern History of Controversies*, as well in *France* as in *England*, which *Dr. Wake* gives in his *Preface* of these *Three Works*, and whereof we design to give a more than ordinary exact Abridgment here, because there are remarkable circumstances known to very few.

I. All the World knows now that the Extirpation of all the *Hugonots* of *France* was resolved on even from the *Pyrenean Peace*;

and there are some that believed it was one of the secret Conditions of that Peace: The difficulty was to put that Decree in execution without raising a Civil War, and without alarming the *Protestant Princes*. The Politicians took very just measures to weaken insensibly the Reformed of that Kingdom, and either lull asleep, or set at variance the Foreign Powers of their Communion. There is none ignorant of the success; but it would have been more happy, if the Divines employed to maintain *Rome's* Cause had sped as well as the Coyners of Propositions, and Inventers of Decrees.

And nevertheless it might be said, that the *Roman Catholick* Doctors were not in the fault that things did not go on better, and that it was not for want of incapacity that they persuaded no body. The first that endeavoured to give a new turn to Controversies, was *M. Arnaud*, whose very Name is praised enough. It is well known that this eminent Man, who was a Philosopher, a Mathematician, well read in the Fathers, and as well acquainted with Scripture; has had several remarkable victories over the Adversaries of his own Communion; yet with all his great qualities, all that he did in his perpetuity of the belief of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, touching the *Lord's Supper*, was to repeat over and over, that Transubstantiation being now the common Doctrine of the Church, it follow'd, that there never was any other Belief, because it cannot be comprehended how all Christians should have agreed to change their Opinion, which had it happened, the certain time should be marked wherein the Universal Church had varied in this Point; and when and how each particular Church came to Corrupt the Antient Doctrine.

It is very strange, that after so many proofs of matter of Fact, which *M. Aubertinus* alledged out of the Belief of the Holy Fathers, that an Argument, purely Metaphysical, should make so much noise, and be so much applauded by the *Roman Communion*. It's almost a certain sign of the weakness of a Cause, to see the maintainers of it blinded with the least Sophism, and Triumph in their fancy, for the least appearance of Truth.

There wanted no great strength to ruin these imaginary Trophies. The Protestants had no harder task than to shew, that this reason supposed no error could be brought into the World, nor embraced by a numerous Society. The beginning of Idolatry is disputed upon, and nothing yet decided. Some will have it, that it began by the adoration of Stars, others from the deifying dead Men; and then, say they, Statues were erected for Kings, for the Benefactors of the People, for Law-makers, and for the Inventors of Sciences and Arts. And this to reduce People to the practice of

of Vertue; and, to do it the better, they spoke of their Ancestors, and proposed their Examples; their Actions were spoken of in high Terms, and their Soul placed in Heaven near the Divinity; they thought they would not be idle there, but that God would give them some considerable office there, because they had acquitted themselves so well of the Employments they had upon Earth.

The common sort of People generally much taken with Figures and great Words, it may be, conceived a higher Idea of those excellent Persons, than their first Authors designed; and Priests observing that these Opinions made People more devout, and brought themselves Riches, made the People to pass insensibly from a Respect to a Religious Veneration. And hence Idolatry was rais'd by little and little to its height; now must we infer from hence, that it is not a pernicious Error, and that it was from the beginning of the World; because the precise time cannot be marked in which People begun to adore the Stars; nor tell who the first Hero was, that had Divine Honors rendred to him? and yet the Argument would be as concluding as Mr. Arnaud's. Many Learned Men have Writ much of the Antient and Modern Idolatry, and have shewn its various progress. One can tell very near what time the *Saturnalia* were Instituted, and the Mysteries of *Ceres*, and *Corpus Christi*-Day; and that of *St. Ann*. And at what time the Temple of *Ephesus* was built, and the Church of *Loret*; and when *Hercules* was Canonized, and *Aeneas* and *Francis of Abisa*; and *Ignatius Loyola*: all this is known: But the first beginning of an Error, is always impenetrable, and can never be found out.

As for the Consent of Christians, which Mr. Arnaud did alledge, he was shewn, that the Eastern Churches termed Schismatics by Rome, were not of her opinion touching the Lord's Supper, and that if they had any Idea of a Real Presence, it drew nearer the Consubstantiation of the *Lutherans*, than the Transubstantiation of Rome. It is true, Mr. Arnaud produces several Attestations of *Græcian* Priests, to shew, that the *Greeks* were of the same opinion with *Roman Catholics*; but it is likewise true, that he obtained the most part of them by Bribes. Mr. Wheeler assures us in his *Voyages of Greece*, that he spoke to many *Pappas* whom M. of Nointel, Nephew to Mr. Arnaud, had endeavoured to bribe for the same end. The *Miscellanea* of Mr. Smith may also be seen to this effect.

One might be satisfied with this Answer; yet the Superstitions of Rome being not so antient as those of *Paganism*, the Reformed have thought, that by a continual search, at last that Prodigious Opinion

might be discover'd, which gave Birth to Transubstantiation. And they have accomplished it, for they have shewn, how the Energetick Expressions of the Fathers, touching Transubstantiation, occasioned in the ignorant Ages an obscure Idea of an Union, or of an incomprehensible change; and they have marked the Authors of these two Opinions differing thus about the Sense of Figure and Vertue: *John Damascenus* in the year 728, began to Preach in the East the Union of the Bread and Body of *Jesus Christ*; and *Paschase Ratbert* was the first that published Transubstantiation, or the change of the Substance of one into the Substance of the other, in the Latin Church, in the year 818.

So that all that the Catholics of France gained by Dispute, was, to see their Heroes worsted, by a Minister, who, though Eloquent and Witty enough, would nevertheless have yielded to M. Arnaud in many other things.

This Tryal made the *Romish Church* sensible that it ran the hazard of losing its reputation with all honest People, if its Tenets came once to be examined. And therefore their Advocates turned wranglers, and barricading themselves with formalities, prescriptions; and the ends not answering, they thereupon pretend that their Adversaries are condemnable without any necessity of examining into the bottom, who is in the right, and who is in the wrong. M. Nicole took upon himself to plead this part, and acquitted himself in his *lawful Prejudices against the Calvinists*, with as much cunning and Eloquence as could be expected from a Disciple or Friend of M. Arnaud.

By ill luck the *Jansenists* came to the worst, both in Rome and in France, in the Famous Dispute of the Five Propositions; and were forced to say, That the Five *Condemned Propositions* were not in the *Augustin of Jansenius*; whence it clearly followed, that neither the Pope nor Councils were Infallible in what they did, because they might call People as Hereticks, that were not so at all, in imputing to them Opinions which they never held, nor were to be found in their Works. The *Jansenists* saw this consequence, and maintained it openly, and did advance several Principles that destroyed the Authority of the Church, and its Infallibility.

The French Protestants presently took notice of this contradiction of Doctrin between the Author of the Prejudices and his Friends, or his Disciples, and did not fail to promote it. M. Pajon did it after, shewing with much Wit and Acuteness, that the Arguments of a prejudiced Author, are more valid in a *Jew's*, a *Pagan's* or *Mahometan's*

hometan's Mouth against Christianity, than they are, when used by a Roman Catholick against the Reformed.

About the same time M. Claude Answered M. Nicole in a direct way, shewing that the excess of Corruption, which the Doctrin and Worship of the Romish Church was come to, made our Predecessors to examin Religion strictly, and consequently to separate from a Society that would force them to receive, under pain of Damnation, a Faith whose practices were altogether opposite to Scripture.

That was enough to make the Roman Catholicks repent that they gave that turn to their Controversies, and that being their last shelter, there was no hopes they would leave it; for they continued turning their Prejudices into so many meanings, and proposing them as confidently as if they had never been refuted. And these pitiful evasions pleased the Assembly of the Clergy of France so well in 82. that they made Sixteen Methods of Prescription, on which the conversion of the Reformed was to be laboured for. And which is yet more, these Gentlemen thought them so convincing, that they intreated the King, that a Copy of them might be given to every Consistory; imagining perhaps, that some Ministers may happen to be there, who might be wrought upon by these Illusions; or frightned with the Threatnings of the *Pastoral Advertisment*. The Intendant, or some other of the King's Commissaries, went on a Sunday accompanied with some Clergy-men, deputed by the Bishop of the Diocess, and with Two Apostolick Notaries, to acquaint each Consistory with this Writing, and give several Copies amongst the People; making several Orationes, to desire them from the King to enter into the Communion of the Roman Catholick Church; but all to no purpose. M. Pajon, Minister of Orleans, made presently some Remarks upon this Advertisment and Methods, and addressed a Letter to the Clergy, wherein there are not so many Figures of Rhetorick, as in their Writing, but much more Sense and Judgment. Dr. Burnet who has always gloried in assisting his Afflicted Brethren, seeing most of our Ministers out of a condition of defending themselves, gave himself the pains to examin the little Books of the Prelats of France. And at last Mr. Jurieu Answered them by way of Recrimination, in his *Lawful Prejudices against Papism*, which he proposes, to the number of Nineteen; which are so many, whereof the least plausible has more force than all those of the Clergy. We must add to these Books Two other of the same Author, wherein he Refutes two of the Indirect ways, which the Roman Controvertists use: the First is his *Apology for the Morals of the Reformed against M. Arnaud*; and the Second, his *true System of the Church against M. Nicole*. All

these Methods were in Vogue when the Book of M. de Meaux appeared. The turn he gave to the Controversies, did much more surprize the Protestants, than all the Subtilities which the Divines of France thought of. There was a Prelat of great reputation Tutor to the Dauphin, that did not intangle himself in the Disputes of Grace, and that consequently was neither suspected by Jesuites nor by the Jansenists, nor by the Church of Rome, nor by the Gallican Church; he was seen, I say, to publish a Book well stocked with Approbations, wherein he endeavors to moderate the most displeasing Tenets of his Sect, to put their grosser abuses in Oblivion; and finally, to bury the most part of School Disputes.

It was hard to think, that a Man supported by all that is great in his Communion, whereof he seemed the Oracle, should Write to deceive his Fellow-Citizens; or that he should think that a bare Exposition of the Doctrin of his Church should be capable to bring back into its Bosom them that had quitted it with so much reluctance, and remained in it in spite of what could be inflicted upon them. The Tenets of Rome are not taught in the Indies, nor in America; nor are we to learn from the uncertain relations of some ignorant Travelers. We see its Practices and Devotions before our Eyes. The Books of their Doctors are told in every place; and most part of our Reformers were either Bishops, Priests or Fryars; so that neither they nor their Disciples can be ignorant, neither of what the Romish Church Believes, nor of what it Practises: besides, the Ministers have no reason to dissemble in their Opinions, because the Clergy of it gain far more than those of any other Communion.

This Reflexion might make M. de Meaux's sincerity very doubtful; who declares at the very beginning, *That he Designs to render the Tenets of the Catholick Church more clear than they are, and to distinguish them from such as are falsely imputed to it*. Nevertheless the Reformed being brought up in a Religion which inspires true Faith, and being otherwise moved to desire a Re-union, in hopes to see the end of their Miseries; fancy'd, that the Accusation of this Bishop was but a pretext he used to cast out of his Creed what is troublesom and hard to believe. Besides the noise of an Agreement between the Two Religions, which was a long time sown among the People, and whereof divers Ministers were made to draw the Project. M. de Meaux and his followers slipt many words, which were general Promises of a Reformation, upon condition of Re-union.

If it appears now, that there was not the least shadow of sincerity in all the Promises that the Roman Catholicks made, and that

that at that very time the clear-sighted could soon discover, that it was but a pure cheat, the Reformed cannot be praised enough for not trusting to them, nor can the others be blamed enough that make nothing of playing with what is most sacred, when they have a design to cheat the simple.

To know whether M. de Meaux be of this Number, as several *Protestants* pretend and endeavour to prove, in shewing the opposition of his Sentiments, with those of the other Doctors of his Communion, it will not be unprofitable to know the History of his Book, because it may be commonly perceived by the way that a design is managed which is the end proposed.

M. Turenne who saw a long time that his Religion was a hinderance to his Fortune, would have been very glad if he could accommodate himself to the *Romish Religion*: But the vile Practices of this Church seem so strange to those who are brought up in other Principles, that he could not persuade himself to join with a Society that imposed such ridiculous Superstitions upon its *Votaries*; to cure him of this Scruple, M. de Meaux published a small Writing, wherein he strained himself to shew, That these small Devotions were not of the Essence of the *Catholic Doctrine*, and that one might live and die in its Communion without practicing them.

This Work, or rather the King's Careless and Liberalities having had Success, which all People know; our Prelate was of Opinion, That he could work the same effect upon others, and resolved to print this Manuscript that remained written four years before, and to add to it divers Sections, as that of the *Lord's Supper*, of *Tradition*, of the *Authority of the Church*, and *Pope*, and obtained the approbation of the Bishop of *Rheims*, and of some other Bishops.

Sorbonne these several Ages has been looked upon as the source of the *French Divinity*, it's therefore that not only the Doctors of this University, but also Bishops and other Clergy are glad to have the approbation of that famous House at the beginning of what Books they write of Religion. M. of *Condom* had that design, but he did not speed; for having sent his Exposition as soon as it came from the Press to some of the Doctors of *Sorbonne*, instead of approving the Work, they marked several Places either contrary to, or favouring but in a very little the Doctrine of their Church. So that Edition was presently suppressed, and another was composed, wherein the Passages were changed that were marked by the Censurers.

This could not be managed so secretly, but the Reformed came to know it. Mr. *Noguer* and M. de *la Bastide* who knew the Edition that was published; and this last did not fail to remark the Alteration

that the Author made in the Manuscript, and in the suppressed Edition. They also reproached him, that the true *Roman Catholics* were but little pleased at his Moderation, and one of them finish'd the Refutation of his Book before any *Protestant* had Printed his, but he was not forbidden to publish it.

M. de Meaux's Credit was great enough to stifle the direct Answer that those of his own Party made to him: But he could not hinder them that were dissatisfy'd from taking an indirect course, and to say what they thought, and even to refute him. The *Jesuits* and the *Friars* sharp maintainers of the Superstitions that enrich them, could not forgive him at all. Father *Maimbourg* in his History of *Lutheranism* drew this Prelate's Character, and criticiz'd on his Book under the Name of Cardinal *Contarini*, and of one of his Works, and says well, *That these Agreements and Managements of Religion in these pretended Expositions of Faith, which either suppress or do express in doubtful terms a part of the Doctrine of the Church, neither satisfy one side nor the other, who equally complain of swerving in a matter so momentous as that of Faith.*

Father *Cresset* gave this Bishop a more sensible stroke in his Book of the *true Devotion to the Blessed Virgin*, printed at *Paris* in 4to. in the Year 79. with privilege from the King, and the Arch-bishops leave, and the consent of his own Provincial, and of three *Jesuits* that are the Censurers of all the Works of that Society. The *Dauphins* Tutor was too powerful an Adversary to be opposed directly. But a Writer of lesser Authority that adopted the Opinion of this Prelate, touching the Invocation of Saints, and Worship of Images, felt the weight of Father *Cresset's* Anger.

This Author was a German Gentleman, called M. *Widenfelt*, intendant of the Prince of *Suarzenberg*, and his Book was Entitled *Monita Salutaria B. Virginis, wholsom Advice of the Blessed Virgin to her indiscreet Votaries*. This Book made much noise in the World, especially after the Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of *Tournay*, wherein he recommends this Book to his People, as full of *Solid Piety*, and very fit to remove the *Abuses whereunto Superstition wou'd engage 'em*. The Bishop of *Mysia* Suffragan of *Cologne*, the Vicar General of that City, the Divines of *Gant*, *Malines*, and *Lovain*, all approved it. Nevertheless, the *Jesuite* assures that That Writing scandalized the good *Catholics*; that the Learned of all Nations refuted it, that the Holy See condemned it, and that in *Spain* it was prohibited to be printed or read, as containing Propositions suspected of *Heretic* and *Impiety*, tending to destroy the particular Devotion to the Mother of God, and in general, the Invocation of Saints and the Worship of Images.

There are now near 10 Years past since M. Meaux kept us in Expectation of Mr. Noguier and M. Bastides Refutation, but at length instead of an Answer in form, there only appeared a second Edition of his Book, bigger by half than the first, by an Addition of an Advertisement in the beginning of it. One may soon judge, that it does not cost so much pains to compose 50 or 60 pages in *Twelves* as the taking of the City of *Troy* did. But tho' the time was not very long, it was too long to oblige all that time the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, to give their Approbation to a Book so contrary to their Maxims: Without doubt, the Secret was communicated to them, and they were assured, That as soon as the Stroke was given, and the Hugonots converted either by fair or foul means, what seemed to be granted would be recalled.

Some Roman Catholics worthy of a better Religion, suffered thro' the ignorance of this Mystery. A Prior of *Gasconne* Doctor in Divinity, called M. Imbert told the People that went to the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday in 83. That the Catholics adored Jesus Christ crucified on the Cross, but did not adore any thing that they saw there. The Curate of the Parish said, it was the Cross, the Cross; but M. Imbert answered, No, no, it is Jesus Christ, not the Cross. This was enough to create trouble; this Prior was called before the Tribunal of the Arch-bishop of *Bordeaux*, and when he thought to defend himself by the Authority of M. Meaux, and by his Exposition, what was said against that Book, was objected to him, that it moderated, but was contrary to the Tenets of the Church. After which, he was suspended from Ecclesiastical Functions; the Defendant provided an Appeal to the Parliament of *Guienne*, and writ to M. de Meaux to implore his protection against the Arch-Bishop, who threatened him with a perpetual Imprisonment and Irons; it is not known what became of it.

The History of M. de Witte, Priest and Dean of St. Mary's of *Malines*, is so well known, that I need not particularize upon it. Our Author refers us here to what the Journals have said: It is known what Persecutions he has suffered for expressing the Popes Supremacy and Infallibility, according to M. de Meaux's Doctrine. He did not forget to alledge that Bishops Authority, and to say, That his Exposition required no more of a Christian and an Orthodox; but this did not hinder the University of *Lovain* to judge that Proposition pernicious and scandalous, that intimates that the Pope is not the Chiefest of Bishops.

In the mean time the Reformed did not forget M. de Meaux; his Advertisement did no sooner appear, but it was refuted by Mr. de la Bastide, and Mr. Jurien, a little after made his Pre-

servative against the change of Religion, in opposition to that Bishops Exposition. But all these Books and those that were writ against his Treatise of the Communion under the two Kinds, had no Answer; this Prelate expecting booted Apologists who were to silence his Adversaries in a little time.

The Roman Catholics of England notwithstanding their small number flattered themselves with hopes of the like Success, having at their head a bold courageous Prince, and one that would do any thing for them. They had already translated M. Condom's Exposition of 1672 and 1675 into English and Irish, and as soon as they saw King James settled on his Brothers Throne, they began to dispute by small Books of a leaf or two, written according to the method of the French Bishop. The Titles with the Answers, and the several Defences of each Party, may be had in a Collection printed this present Year at London, at Mr. Chiswells, which is Entitled, *A Continuation of the present State of Controversy between the English Church and that of Rome, containing a History of the printed Books that were lately published on both sides.* The Gentlemen of the Roman Church did begin the Battel by little Skirmishes, but found themselves after the first or second firing, without Powder or Ball, and not able to furnish scattered Sheets against the great Volumes made against them, said at last, instead of all other answer, that the little Book alone, entituled, *The Papist Misrepresented, and there represented a-new, was sufficient to refute not only all the Dissertations which the English Divines lately published against Papists, but all the Books and Sermons that they ever preached against Catholics.* It is to no purpose to take the trouble of Disputing against people that have so good an Opinion of their Cause. And in consequence of this the English answer to M. de Meaux's Exposition, and the Reflections on his Pastoral Letter of 1686. met with no Answer as well as several other Books.

But Dr. Wake had no sooner published his Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, but these Gentlemen which know better to assault than to defend made a Book Entitled, *A Vindication of the Bishop of Condom's Exposition, with a Letter of that Bishop.*

Because we do not design to enter on the particulars of these Controversies, we will only take notice as to what past. That First, M. de Meaux denied that any Roman Catholic writ against, or did design to write against it. Secondly, That *Sorbonne* did not refuse approving his Book. Thirdly, He says his Exposition was reprinted to alter those places which the Censurers had improved; and maintains that it was put into the Press without his knowledge, and that he had a new Edition made only to change

change some expressions that were not exact enough. Fourthly, That he neither read nor knew any thing of Father Cresset's Book.

Dr. Wake published the Defence of his Exposition about the middle of the same year 1686, where he shews, First, That the deceased Mr. Conrait, a Man acknowledged by both Parties to be sincere, had told many of his Friends, that he saw this Answer in Manuscript, and other persons of known honesty that are still living, assured the Author, that they had this Manuscript in their hands.

Dr. Wake justifies his Accusations on the 2d and 3d heads, by so curious a History, that it seems worthy of being believed. He says, that one of his Acquaintance who was very familiar with one of Marshall de Turenne's Domesticks, was the first that discover'd this Mystery. For this Domestick shewing his Friend in his Masters Library the suppressed Edition of M. de Meaux's Exposition with Marginal Notes, which he assured him were Written by the hands of some of the Doctors of Sorbonne; the Friend desired to borrow the Book, which the Servant consented to. So strange an accident made the borrower use his utmost care to get a Copy of the First Edition, but there was such care taken to suppress it, that all he could do was but to gather up some loose Leaves, whereof he almost made an entire Book, and copyed what he wanted out of M. Turenne's Original, which he then restored to the Servant; it is this same Copy which Mr. Wake has, with his Certificate, that gather'd it, and compared it with the Marechal's Copy.

It is not at all likely that Mr. Cramoisi, Director of the Printing-House, at the Louvre, should Print a Book of Importance, without the knowledge and good-will of the Author, that was a Bishop, and Tutor to the Dauphin, and a great Favorite at Court; and it is more unlikely, that Mr. Cramoisi should obtain the King's leave, and the Approbation of the French Prelates, for a subreptitious Copy? And why did not M. de Meaux shew his resentment for a boldness of this nature? And how came he to give this Printer not only the Corrected Copy, but also all the other Books that he made since?

We must examin but Fourteen places of the First Edition, taken notice of by Dr. Wake, to see whether the alteration that M. de Meaux made in it, did only concern the exactness and neatness of the style.

First Edit. p. 1. Thus it seems very proper to propose the Doctrine of the Catholick Church (to the Reformers) in separating the Questions which the Church hath decided, from those which belong not to her Faith.

Second Edit. p. 1. It seems that there can no better way be taken than simply to propose the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, and to di-

stinguish them well from those that are falsely imputed to her.

First Edit. p. 7, 8. The same Church Teaches, That all Religious Worship ought to terminate in God, as its necessary end. So that the honour which the Church gives to the blessed Virgin, and to the Saints, is only Religious, because this honour is given to them only in respect to God, and for the love of him. And therefore the honour we render our Saints, is so far from being blamable, as our Adversaries would have it, because it is Religious, that it would deserve blame if it were not so.

M. de Meaux has thought it expedient to blot out the last period, and to express himself thus in his common Editions, p. 7. And if the honour that is rendered to Saints can be called Religious, it is because it regards God.

In the same place, speaking of M. Daille, the Author expressed it after a very ingenious manner, but little favourable to his cause; As for Mr. Daille, said he, he thought that he ought to keep to the Three first Ages, wherein it is certain that the Church then was exercised more in Suffering than Writing, and has left many things, both in its Doctrine and Practice, which wants to be made clearer. This Acknowledgment was of importance, and the Censurers had reason to note it, and has not been seen since.

All the other Alterations are as considerable as these; and Dr. Wake protests he could mention more, if he were minded to shew all the places wherein the Manuscripts differed from the common Editions.

The Author may judge, whether these be words, or things, that M. de Meaux has corrected; but as to Father Cresset, it may be said, that this Bishop has strained his boldness to such a degree, that none dares give him the Epithet it deserves. Is it possible that this Author should not have heard of a great Volume in Quarto, Writ against the profitable advice of the Blessed Virgin; since the Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Tournay, who approved this last Book, has caused such long Disputes in France? Can it be supposed, that M. de Meaux was ignorant that the Opinion of this Jesuit was contrary to his Exposition? After M. de la Bastide reproached him with it, in his Answer to the Advertisement. And that the Author of the General Reflexions on his Exposition, and M. Jurieu in his Preservative, have made great Extracts out of the Book of The True Devotion. Since Mr. Arnaud laughed at Father Cresset, in his Answer to the Preservative, and Mr. Jurieu refuted his Adversary, in the Jansenist convicted of vain Sophistry.

That Mr. Imbert in his Letter to this Bishop, offered to refute the Preservative, provided he might be secured, that no violence should be done him, and that he might have the

the liberty of saying what he thought. In fine, after that he himself Answered divers passages of the *Preservative*, in his *Treatise of the Communion under both kinds*.

Let us add to all this, what *M. de Meaux* had the confidence to advance in his Pastoral Letter upon the Persecution of *France*: *I do not wonder*, says he, *my dear brethren*, *that you are come in such great numbers*, and *so easily into the Church*: *none of you have suffered violence either in his Body or Goods*. And *so far from suffering Torments*, *that you have not heard talk of any*. *I hear that other Bishops say the same*. Let this notorious falsehood be compared with the Apology for the *Persecution*, which this Prelate made in a Letter to one of his Friends, that I read my self, Writ and Signed by his own hand; The Original whereof a certain Author proffered to shew him. And it will be acknowledged, that one may be very hard upon the Catholick Religion without committing so gross a contradiction.

But why should we stay so long upon the discovering the mystery of the Composition? the Gentleman has done it himself without thinking of it. Confessing, that he weighed all his words, and racked his Invention to cheat the simple. At least this is what they that understand *French* will soon perceive, in reading this period of his *Adversifement*. In the mean time the *Italian Version* was mended very exactly, and with as much care as a Subject of that importance deserved, wherein one word turned ill might spoil all the Work.

Though one must be very dull to look upon these pious Cheats as a sincere dealing, *M. de Meaux* was so fearful, lest he might be thought to abolish some abuses, and to labour to reform his own Church, that he has lately given evident proofs of the hatred that he always bore the Protestants, and which he thought fit to hide under an affected mildness until the *Dragoon Mission*. It was in the *History of Variations* that he unmasked himself; and shewed him what he was, by the Injuries and Calumnies which he cast upon the Protestants, and has given a Model of the manner how he deserves to be treated.

There were Three Months past when *Dr. Burnet*, whom this Bishop attacked without any cause, made a general Critique of all this History; to which he adds some Reflections upon *M. le Grand*. It was translated into *French*, and had been published long ago, had not *M. le Grand* busied himself in making a small Book against a Letter of *Dr. Burnet*, and against the Extract of his *History of Divorce*. The Author of this *Bibliotheque* had begun to Answer it, but this xi. Tome of the *Bibliotheque*, which lay upon him alone, and which could not be put by, made him discontinue; yet 'tis hop'd, that the Publick will lose nothing by this delay, but may see once more, if God be pleased to lend him health, and

give him leisure to shew, that *M. de Meaux* is none of the sincerest in the World.

And yet this Prelate has subject to reason himself, since those who approve his Works, have as little sincerity as himself. At least *Mr. Wake* shews, that what the Cardinals *Capisucchi* and *Bona* teach in their Works is a very different Doctrine from that of the *Catholick Exposition*, concerning the Invocation of Saints, and the Worship of Images.

Dr. Wake's Adversaries were so long silent, that the Dispute was thought ended; but at last they broke silence about the middle of the year 1687, when was published a *Reply to the Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, with a *second Letter from M. de Meaux*.

Dr. Wake a little after that made his 2d Defence, which he divided into two parts; in the first he justifies all that he advanced concerning the Expositions of *M. de Meaux*. He brings many Historical Proofs of the difference between the old and new Papism, or between the Speculative Doctrine of *M. de Meaux*, and of the other Doctors of the Catholick Church, and their common practice. And examines in particular what *Rome* Teaches concerning the Worship of Images. The Second Part runs upon the Nature and Object of the Divine Service; upon the Invocation of Saints, and upon Images and Relicks, and upon the accusation of Idolatry, which the Protestants charge the *Roman Church* with.

III. *M. de Meaux's* Apologist believed, that to be even with *Dr. Wake*, he should make a History of Controversies; and presently runs upon Generalities that are not to the purpose; he speaks of the *Roman Catholicks* Zeal, and of the different methods that *Rome* has made use of to bring back those who have left her Communion; but he has forgot the chiefest of them, at least that which had most success, which is her Persecution. Then he comes to *England*, jumps from the Monk *Augustin* to *Henry the VIII.* makes some Reflections upon the Duke of *Somerset*, and on Queen *Elizabeth*, and then, like Lightning, passes to the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and then to *James the 1st* to *Charles the 2d*, and then to *James the 2d*.

These Preambles gave *Dr. Wake* occasion to speak of several remarkable things which would be too tedious to mention here. It will be enough to Remark two of the most important. The First relates to the Dissentions of the *Episcopal* Party and the *Presbyterians*; and the other to the Murther of *Charles the 1st*.

1. As to the First; He acknowledges that many of those whom the Persecution of *Q. Mary* had Exiled, were obstinate in the Form of Religion which they saw abroad; but that this Spirit of Schism was fomented by *Roman Catholicks*, who mix themselves with

with them, pretending to be of their number. In effect it was by the *Roman Catholicks* in 1588, that the Puritans begun to make a noise, the Chief of them being *Commin, Heath, Hallingham, Coleman, Benson*, were all Papists; who thus dissembled and disguised themselves, as appeared by a Letter which dropped out of *Heath's* pocket. And it was discover'd, that the *Roman Catholicks* had Colledges in *Germany, France, Spain* and *Italy*, wherein the Students were brought up in Sciences and Mechanick Arts, and they exercised twice a week, to Dispute for and against *Independents, Anabaptists* and *Atheism* it self. After which they sent them to *England*, to play the best game that they understood. A Jesuit of *St. Omers* acknowledged, that there were some of the Fathers of their Society hid for Twenty years among *Quakers*, which is likely enough, because the scruple these Fanaticks make of Swearing, gives the Fryars the means of living among them, being so exempted from the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*.

In 1625. the Jesuites published a Book, Intituled, *Mysteria Politica, or the Letters of some famous persons*: designing to break the League that divers Princes of *Europe* made against the House of *Austria*; it contained Eight Letters, equally injurious to *France* and *England*, to the *Venetians, Hollanders* and *Swissers*. In the last, the Author that counterfeited the Protestant, forgot nothing which he thought proper to give a mean Idea of King *James*, and to sow division between this Prince his Son and the Prince's *Palatine*; and between the Lords of the Parliament, the Clergy of the Church of *England*, and the *Puritan* Ministers.

Upon the Civil Wars of *England*, and the death of King *Charles* the First, Mr. *Wake* acknowledges, that the fear of seeing Popery re-established, made the People take Arms; who, since the Reformation, had always horror for this Superstitious Worship. But he maintains, that the Papists were the first Authors of the troubles. *M. du Moulin*, Doctor of Divinity, and Chaplain to King *Charles* the II. accused the *Roman Catholicks* with this a little after the Re-establishment of this Prince; and not contented to prove it in his Answer to the *Philanax Anglicus*, he offered to prove it legally, or by Law; there were then many alive that were ready to Swear, that there was held a Consultation of Cardinals and Doctors of *Sorbonne*, wherein it was declared, That it was lawful for the *English Roman Catholicks* to push the King on to his ruin, thereby to endeavor the Change of Religion and Government. The *Roman Catholicks*, instead of taking this Challenge, made use of King *Charles's* Authority to hinder Mr. *Moulin* to press for the decision of this Suit. And though the Book and Accusation remained without Answer for 17 years. The Author renewed the Challenge in a Second Edition of his Work, and dyed without being Answered, none having Courage

to undertake it. They that do not understand *English* will find the most part of *M. Moulin's* proofs, in the *Politicks of the Clergy*, in the last endeavors of afflicted innocence. And in Mr. *Jurieu's Parallel betwixt Calvinism and Popery*, with some new reasons of the Author, to which if we add what Mr. *Wake* has here, the conjecture will be more than probable.

1. In the beginning of the Troubles, the King perceived that the Fanaticks were set on by the Papists. Their Principles, says he, in his Declaration against the Rebels of Scotland, are those of the Jesuites; their Preachers Sermons are the style of Becan, Scioppius and Eudæmon Joannes, from whom they borrow their very Phrases. The pitiful Arguments of their Seditious Libels are drawn word by word out of Bellarmin and Suarez. The means they use to make Profelytes are the pure Stories and Inventions of the Jesuites, and false Reports and Prophecies, and pretended Inspirations of Womens Dreams; as if Herod and Pilate were reconciled, and had joyned to destroy Jesus Christ his Worship and his Religion.

In 1640, there was a design discover'd to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, That the Pope, the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, and several *English Roman Catholicks*, but especially the Jesuites, were engaged together, and that what they propos'd, was, to cause a Rebellion in *Scotland*, as was done a little after; this is certain, for the Histories of those times have it all at length.

Sir *William Boswel* was then King *Charles* the First's Resident at the *Hague*, he was told of this Conspiracy, and that the *Roman Clergy* misled the *English*, giving them hopes of a *Presbyterian* Government. That there were Indulgences from *Rome*, and Dispensations from the Pope, approved by a Congregation of Cardinals, that suffered Scholars to be instructed to Dispute against the Episcopal Party, and against the Liturgy of the Church of *England*. That in the space of a years time 60 Priests and Fryars went from *France* to *England*, to Preach the Scotch Doctrine, and to endeavor to destroy the Bishops, whom they looked upon as the only Supporters of the Crown.

Arch-bishop *Bramhall* being in *France* some time after the King's death, learned there how this business was manag'd. In 1646, about 100 Popish Clergymen crossed the Seas, and being Mustered in the Parliament Army, they kept Correspondence with the Catholicks that served the King, and acquainted them with what passed every day. The ensuing year, having deliberated among themselves, whether the King's death would not be an advantage to their Cause, and main Business; they concluded in the Affirmative. But some Priests and Fryars were of opinion, to Consult the Universities, and among others, that of

Sorbonne, which made Answer, *That for the good of Religion, and Interest of the Church, it was lawful to alter the Government, especially in a Heretick Countrey, and that so they might take off the King with a safe Conscience.*

Father *Salmone* in his History of the Troubles of England, Printed in France, with the King's Priviledge, makes mention of two Companys of *Walloon Catholics* which the Parliament had in it's Service; and that at *Edge-Hill-Fight*, there were many Popish Priests found among the dead of their Army.

After all these Proofs, if one does but consider the Principles of both Religions, it will be easie to find the true Authors of King *Charles's* Death. It is certain that the Reformed had not Pastors at the Court of *Vienna*, nor in *Italy*, nor in *Spain*, to cause Rebellions, or beset the Prince, and make them violate the Priviledges of their Subjects. But it must be confest that they were for a Common-wealth, as their Adversaries accuse them, and not that they did not obey a King as freely as they would States; it was because they loved Peace and Liberty, and that after the Example of Common-wealths, they sought quietness, suffering others to do as they please. Their Doctrine and Discipline dispose them equally for a Peaceable Life. All their Ministers may Marry, and because this is a Grave and Staid State, there are few but do Marry. When one is engaged in such firm Tyes, there are but few that think of Removing, or Seeing and Travelling the World: whereas those that serve the Roman Church have no greater engagement than that of a *Mistress*, which they may break at pleasure, and which they always do when a good occasion serves, or when they are sent into other places by their Superiors.

Moreover, the Popish Conspirations against *Q. Elizabeth* and King *James* the First, without mentioning other Princes, make it more suspicious that the Monks were the contrivers of King *Charles's* death. What could not they do against a King who did not love them, and that is certainly dead in the Profession of the *Protestant Religion*; since they have Sacrificed the Repose and Restitution of both his Sons, whereof the latter has declared in Ascending up to the Throne, that he was of their Communion? After a step of that consequence, one should think, that the *Roman Church* had reason to be satisfied, and that they should study to blot out the remembrance of her past Cruelties, by a more moderate and mild conduct.

But on the contrary it is well known, how far the Jesuites have pushed this easie Prince; and his Retractions are undoubted proofs of the Infringments they made him guilty of; they may be seen in

the Memorials of the *English Protestants*, and in his Highness the Prince of *Orange's*, (now King *William's*) Declaration, which now are very common. But if these Books, and several others, were lost, and that one had but the King's own Writing, they would be sufficient to condemn that Society. The Proofs that were brought that the Prince of Wales was but a *CHEAT*, deserved to be otherwise destroyed, than by Witnesses, incapable of being heard, to Swear according to the Laws of the Country. Or of such as only heard a Woman Groan, which they did not see; or have seen a Child new-born, without being sure that it was the Queen's. To examin a business of this consequence, and to prevent Civil Wars, there ought to be a Free Parliament, according to the Custom of the Nation. And though all England desired it, yet the *Roman Catholics* stay'd the King a long time from calling it, to give all along the marks of their bad intentions.

IV. It is time to give an Idea of each of these Treatises.

In the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, Dr. Wake follows the Bishop of *Condom's* Order, and in explaining his Doctrine, he shews wherein it agrees, or disagrees with *Popery*, as Mr. *de Meaux* explains it, and according as the other Doctors Teach it.

There is a Preface in the beginning, where the Author examines the Principle by which the Expositor pretends to justify the Tenets of his Church, which is, that it is unjust to impute the consequences of a Tenet to Adversaries that deny them. Which is true, when they deny as well in deed as in word. And thus the *Contra-Remonstrancers* are to be excused, that make God the Author of Sin; for this Inference can lawfully be made out of their System of *Absolute Predestination*: Nor can it be imputed to the *Lutherans*, that some of them believe, that *Jesus Christ* ceased to be Man, and was Transformed into a Deity after his Ascension, though this is a clear consequence from the Doctrine of *Ubiquity*. The reason is not that *Contra-Remonstrants* fear these consequences; but because they do not influence neither their Worship, nor their Practice; and because they Teach contrary Doctrines to these Principles. If in stead of this the first had maintained, that a Man was but a *Machine*, that had neither Liberty, Vice nor Vertue, nor Punishment nor Reward; and that all is necessary to God himself: And if the other affirms, that *Jesus Christ* Interceded not for us, and takes no care of his Church; and that he pities not our Infirmities, having suffered them himself; and that he will not come at last to Judge all Mankind; then there would be Reason to call the one *Atheists*, and the other no *Christians*: but every one knows that they are far from these impious thoughts.

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The *Protestants* accuse the *Romish Church* of Idolatry, and for having recourse to other Saviours besides *Jesus Christ*; but the Moderators make a noise of that, as if it were a hainous Calumny, and maintain that it is only God that is to be worshiped with Religious Worship, and that we are not saved but through the Merits of *Jesus Christ*. The Reformed shew them, that they invoke Saints, and that they worship them and the Cross, Images and Relicks, as the Pagans did their Heroes, their Demons, and inferiour Gods, their Statues, their Idols, &c. That they believe they satisfy Divine Justice, by Indulgences, Vows, and Pilgrimages, and that according to them the Merit of these Actions, and of the Saints, together with them of *Jesus Christ* reconcile Sinners to God. They prove that this is the Doctrine which their Divines, Popes and Councils teach, not only in their great Volumes for the Learned, but also for the rest in their Catechisms and Prayer Books, and other Books of Devotion for the use of the People; that it is not only the practice of the Laity and of some ignorant and superstitious Priests, but also of all the *Roman Church* in their Rituals Breviaries, Missals, and other Publick Offices, that it never punished such as pushed the Superstitions to an Excess, which the Moderator seems to blame: But that far from having a mind to redress these Abuses, she prosecutes such as are suspected to have a design to abolish them, as the *Jansenists* and *Quietists*, tho' these two at bottom are but idle People, and of little sincerity. Would a Magistrate set a Murderer at liberty simply because he denied a Deed that is well proved, or because he has the face to maintain, that the killing a Man at 12 a Clock is neither Murder nor a Crime punishable by Law? On the contrary, this Criminal would deserve a double Chastisement, as a Murderer and as a Disturber of the Publick Peace in teaching a Doctrine that is contrary to Civil Society.

Because M. Daille acknowledges the Fundamental Points, which the Reformed teach, M. de Meaux pretends to justify his Church, and prove it's Purity, tho' this acknowledgement serves only to state the Question between both Parties; and to shew that the Question is not whether the Fundamental Doctrine of Protestants be true, seeing that is confessed on both sides; but the Question is to know, whether what the *Roman Catholics* hold over and above be Articles necessary to Salvation as they pretend, or whether they are contrary to the truth that both hold as Divine, and whether they ought to be cast away for this reason, as the Reformed have done.

It is according to this method that Dr. Wake explains the Articles exposed by M. de Condom, marking in each what the *Protestants* approve, and what they condemn in the Tenets of Rome, and bringing some

of the chief reasons that make them remark these Distinctions.

V. We said before, that we were not willing to enter upon the particulars of Controversies; but because the *Roman Church* continually fomenting the Divisions of *Protestants*, have persuaded some illiterate People, that the Church of *England* agrees in a great many more Points with it than with the other *Protestants*. We shall mention her Sentiments here according to Dr. Wake's Exposition upon the Articles, wherein the *Roman Catholics* brag of this pretended Conformity: As

First, The Invocation of Saints.

Secondly, Justification.

Thirdly, The Necessity of Baptism.

Fourthly, Confirmation.

Fifthly, Orders.

Sixthly, Real Presence.

Seventhly, Tradition.

Eighthly, Authority of the Church.

Ninthly, That of the Fathers.

Tenthly, The Question if one can be saved in the Roman Church?

Eleventhly, If it be Idolatry?

First, The *Invocation of Saints*, Dr. Wake speaking in the name of his Church, says, it is an extravagant Practice invented at pleasure, and so far from being contained in Scripture, that it is several ways contrary to it. It is true, that according to an innocent ancient Custom, we make mention before the Communion Table of Saints that dyed in the Communion of our Church, thanking God for the grace he did them, and praying him to give us the grace to follow their Example: But this respect we bear their Memory, does not hinder us from condemning a Practice that M. de Meaux seems to have omitted, and which cannot agree with us at all, which is, that *Roman Catholics* recommend the Offering of the Host to God by the Merit of the Saints, whose Reliques are upon the Altar; as if *Jesus Christ* whom they pretend to Sacrifice, needed S. Bathilde, or Potentiana's Recommendation to become agreeable to his Father.

Secondly, *Jesus* by his Passion has satisfied Divine Justice for us, and therefore God pardons us all our Sins thro' the Merits of his Son, and by an Effect of his Good Will treats us with an Alliance of grace, and by Vertue of this Alliance solely founded on the Death and Passion of *Jesus Christ*, he sends us his Holy Spirit, and calls us to Repentance. If we answer this Calling, God justifies us thro' his pure Goodness, that is to say, he forgives us all our past faults, and gives us the grace to obey his Precepts better, and better, and will Crown us in Heaven if we persevere in his Alliance; he grants us all these Graces, not for any good Quality that he sees in us, or for any good we do, but only in ver-

tue

tue of the Satisfaction and Merits, of his Son that are applied to us by Faith.

Thirdly, Tho' our Church take all manner of care to hinder Childrens dying without Baptism, rather than to determine what would become of them; they died without it; we cannot nevertheless but condemn the want of Charity of *Roman Catholics* that excludes them from Salvation.

Fourthly, The Church of *England* does not believe that Confirmation is a Sacrament, nor that the use of Chrism, tho' of an antient Custom, was an Apostolical Institution; but because the Imposition of Hands is an antient Custom, and comes from the Apostles; the *English* have kept it, and according to their Discipline the Bishops only have liberty to administer it. The Prelate that does it, addresses his Prayer to God, to beg of him to strengthen with his Spirit him that he puts his Hands upon, and that he may protect him from Temptations, and that he may have the grace to fulfill the Conditions of his Baptism, which he that he prays for ratifies, and confirms with his Promises.

Fifthly, Nor are the Orders a Sacrament according to the Church of *England*, because they are not common to all Christians; but she believes that no one ought to put himself upon the Function of a Minister without Ordination, and that it belongs to the Bishop only to confer it; and she allows the Distinction of Orders: And tho' there is none under a Deacon, because the Scripture makes mention of none; yet she acknowledges that they are very antient.

Sixthly, As for the *Real Presence*, tho' Dr. Wake treats of it at length; we will omit speaking of it until we come to the XII. Article, where there are many Books seen that concern this Subject.

Seventhly, We receive, says the *English Expositor*, with equal Veneration all that comes from the Apostles, let it be by Scripture or Tradition, provided we be assured that they are the true Authors of the Doctrine or Practice attributed to them; so that when we are shewn, that a Tradition was received in all Ages and by all Churches, then we are ready to receive it, as having the Character of an Apostolical Institution. So our Church does not reject Tradition, but only the Tenets and Superstitions which *Rome* pretends to justify after this way.

Eighthly, And as for the *Authority of the Universal Church of all Ages*, the *English* acknowledges, I. That they have received Scripture from their Hands, and it is chiefly for this Authority, that they look upon *Solomon's Song* to be Canonical, and reject other Books *Apocryphal*, which

perhaps they would have received with as much ease. These Books have our respect even before we know by reading whether they be worthy of the Spirit of God; but this Reading confirms us in the respect which the Authority of the Church gives unto them, as to the Holy Writings.

II. If there had been an *Universal Tradition* not contested, that had come from the Apostles to us, concerning the meaning of the Holy Books, as concerning their number, the Church of *England* would receive it also; but she does not believe that a particular Church, such as that of *Rome*, should usurp this Privilege, nor that it ought to force others to follow the Interpretations which she gives of the Passages of Scripture.

III. When any Disputes arise concerning Faith, the best way to appease them is to assemble a Council; but it does not follow, that such an Assembly can say as the Assembly of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, *It seem'd good to the Holy Ghost and to us, nor that it is Infallible, or that it's Canons are not subject to Correction.*

IV. Dr. Wake goes on, and says, *When we say, I believe in the Holy Catholick Church, we do not only understand, that Jesus Christ has planted a Christian Church which is to last to the end of the World, but also that the Son of God will conserve either among the Christians, or in the Universal Church, Truth enough to denominate it such a Church; that is, he will never suffer that Truths requisite for Salvation should be unknown in any place. So that tho' the Universal Church can err, it does not follow, that it can sink altogether, nor become wholly erroneous, because then it would cease to be; but such a particular Church as that of Rome, can err and fall into utter Apostacy. And tho' the Fundamental Points be clearly contained in Scripture, and that it is very hard that one Man alone should gain-say the Opinion of all the Church, nevertheless, if this Man was certainly convinced, that his Opinion was grounded upon the undoubted Authority of the Word of God, we would be so far being afraid to bear with him, that we all agree, that the most glorious Action that St. Athanasius ever did, was that he alone maintained Christ's Divinity against the Pope, the Councils, and all the Church.*

V. And so, tho we acknowledge that God has subjected Christians to the Government of the Church for Peaces sake, and to preserve Unity and Order, and that she has power to prescribe to her Children what Doctrines are and are not to be publicly taught in her Communion, yet we believe that the Holy Scripture is the only Support of our Faith, and the last and infallible Rule by which the Church and we are to govern our selves.

Ninthly;

Ninthly, That there are some that think that the Church of England makes the Fathers of the three First Ages Idols, and equals them in Authority to the Holy Scripture: But Mr. Wake will undeceive them; for, says he, *Tho' we have appealed to the Churches of the first Ages for new Proofs of the truth of our Doctrine; it is not that we think that the Doctors of those times had more right to judge of our Faith, than those had that followed them, but it is because that after a serious examination, we have found that as for what concerns the common Belief that is among us, they have believed and practised the same things without adding other Opinions or Superstitions that destroy them, wherein they have acted conformably to their and our Rule, the Word of God; notwithstanding it cannot be denied, but that they effectually fell into some wrong Opinions, as that of the Millenaries and Infant Communion, which are rejected by both Parties.*

Tenthly, Whether one may be saved in the Roman Church; the English think that as she yet conserves the Fundamental Doctrines, those that live in her Bosom with a disposition to learn and leave off their pernicious Errors and profess all the truth that they will discover, may be saved thro' the grace of God, and Faith in Jesus Christ, and by a general Repentance, that puts their Errors in the number of the Sins they do not know of. But that ill use may not be made of this charitable Grant, the Expositor limits it as followeth.

I. That it is harder to be saved in the Communion of this Church, since the Reformation than it was before, because its Errors were not so well known, nor so solidly refuted, which rendred the ignorance excusable.

II. That they that live among Protestants and in a Country wherein they may learn and make publick and open profession of the Truth, are more condemnable than the other.

III. That Priests are yet more than Laicks. In a word the Protestants hope that the good Men of the Roman Church will be saved; but they have no assurance, that they are to be saved: Whereas they are assured, That they will be saved that live Christian-like in their own Communion. They do not know, whether God will condemn Roman Catholicks for the Errors they professed, taking them for truth; but they are assured, that the Crime of those that being convinced of Popish Superstitions, leave the Protestants thro' motives of Interest and Ambition, and maintain Tyrannical and Superstitious Tenets against their Consciences, deserve no pardon.

Eleventhly, As for Idolatry, the Homilies of the Church of England accuse that of Rome,

as well as the English Doctors who lived under Edward the VI. and Queen Elizabeth. The Catholicks object, that the Learned of this Kingdom changed Opinion in the Reign of King James the First, and begun to maintain, that the Church of Rome was not Idolatrous; but these Gentlemen are so unlucky in Proofs, that of six Authors which they quote, the Arch-bishop Laud, Jackson, Feilding, Heylin, Hammond, and M. Thorndike: There is not one but has writ the contrary.

These are the Points whereon the Enemies of Protestants would make the Church of England pass for half Papists, tho there is not one but was taught by other Reformed, excepting Episcopacy. And this Government is so ancient, that even those who think Presbytery better, ought not to condemn for some little difference in Discipline a Church that is otherwise very pure, unless they are minded to anathematize St. Ignatius, St. Clement, St. Polycarp, St. Irenaeus, St. Cyprian, and the whole Church of the second and third Age, and a great part of the first.

Without question the Episcopal Clergy of England, have the like Charity for Presbyterians. I will not alledge the Testimonies of Modern Doctors, nor of such as were accused of having favoured the pretended Puritans; we see the Marks of its mildness and moderation towards all, excepting some turbulent Spirits amongst 'em, which indeed are too common in all Societies. If there ever was a time wherein the Church of England differed from Presbytery, and had reason so to do; it was in the middle of the Reign of K. James the First; and notwithstanding, you may see how the Bishop of Eli speaks, writing for the King, and by his Order, against Cardinal Bellarmine.

One may see how much the Protestants of this Country agree, by Harmony of their Confessions, where each Church acknowledges wherein she agrees with the rest. Then lay aside those odious Names, seek our Professions of Faith in our Confessions. The Reproach you make us concerning the Puritans, is altogether absurd, because their number is but small, and the most moderate among them agree with us in the chief Articles of Religion. The Scotch Puritans Confession has no Error in Fundamental Points; so that the King might say with reason, That the Establish'd Religion of Scotland was certainly true.

And as for the rest, there's no reason to suspect Dr. Wake's Testimony; for the Bishop of London, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, have approved his Books: None of the other Doctors contradicted him; and some sided with him against Roman Catholicks. And these last have not accused him of swerving from the common Doctrine of the Church of England, only in the Article

ticle of the necessity of *Baptism*; and he proves by several Authorities in his Defence of his Exposition, what he therein advanced.

At the end of this Defence are several curious Pieces:

1. A Comparison betwixt the Ancient and Modern Popery.
2. An Extract of the Sentiments of Father Cresset, and Cardinal Bona, concerning the Devotion to the Blessed Virgin.
3. The Letter of Mr. Imbert to Mr. de Meaux.
4. The Epistle of St. Chrysostom to Cæsarius, with the Preface of Mr. Bigot, which was suppressed at Paris in 1680. and a Dissertation of Dr. Wake upon Apollinaris's Sentiments and Disciples.

A DISCOURSE of the Holy EUCHARIST, wherein the Real Presence and Adoration of the Host is treated on, to serve for an Answer to two Discourses, printed at Oxford upon this Subject. With a Historical Preface upon the same Matter. At London, 1687. p. 127. in 4to.

DR. Wake, Minister of the Holy Gospel at London, who is said to be the Author of this Book, gives, First, In few words the History and Origine of *Transubstantiation*, as it hath been ordinarily done amongst Protestants. Secondly, He names several Illustrious Persons of the Romish Church, who have been accused of not believing the Real Presence, or *Transubstantiation*, to wit, Peter Picherel, Cardinal du Perron, Barnes, an English Benedictine, and Mr. de Marca, Arch-Bishop of Paris, who gave his absolute Sentiment hereon, in one of his Posthume Dissertations, tho' in the Edition of Paris; the places wherein he said, it have been changed or blotted out. But it could not be hindered, but that this Work having appeared before Persons, took notice of these Sentiments; some entire Copies thereof have fallen into the hands of Protestants, who got it printed in Holland in 1669. without cutting off any thing. To these Authors are joined F. Sirmond the Jesuite, who believed the Impanation, and who had made a Treatise upon it; which hath never been printed, and whereof some persons have yet Copies. M. de Marolles, who got a Declaration printed in form in 1681. by which he declared, that he believed not the Real Presence, and which was inserted here in English: And in short, the Author of the Book Entituled, *Sure and honest means of Converting Hereticks*, whom we dare not affirm to be the same who published a Treatise of *Transubstantiation*,

which the Fifth Tome of the French Bibliothecque speaks of, p. 455. The Cartesians, and several others, are suspected of not believing the same no more than the Protestants. So that if the Catholics cite some Reformed for them, Protestants also want not Catholic Authors, who have been of their Opinion. Thirdly, The Author sheweth the dangerous Consequences which arise, according to the Principles of the Romish Church, from the incredulity of so many Men of Knowledge, be it in respect to Mass, or in respect of the Infallibility and Authority of the Church.

The Treatise it self is divided into two parts. The first contains two Chapters and an Introduction, wherein is expounded the Nature and Original of the Eucharist, much after the Ideas of Lightfoot. In the first Chapter *Transubstantiation* is at large refuted by Scripture, by Reason, and the Fathers. We shall make no stay at it, because this Matter is so well known. The Second Chapter is employed to refute what Mr. Walker said, concerning the Opinions of several Doctors of the Church of England, upon the Real Presence. Dr. Wake at first complains, That his Adversary in that only repeats Objections which his Friend T. G. had before proposed in his Dialogues, and which a Learned Man had refuted in an Answer to these Dialogues, printed at London in 1679. As to what concerns the Faith of the Church of England, which he maintains to have been always the same, since the Reign of Edward. He reduces it to this, according to the Author, who refuted T. G. viz. That she believes only a Real Presence of the invisible Power, and grace of Jesus Christ, which is in, and with the Elements; so that in receiving them with Faith, it produces Spiritual and real Effects upon the Souls of Men. As Bodies taken by Angels, continueth he, may be called their Bodies, whilst they keep them; and as the Church is the Body of Jesus Christ, because his Spirit animates and liveneth the Souls of the Believing; so the Bread and Wine after the Consecration, are the Real Body of Jesus Christ, but spiritually and mystically.

He gives not himself the trouble to prove the solidity of this comparison by Scripture; and when he comes to the Examination of the Authors, that Mr. Walker hath quoted; he contents himself to produce other Passages, where they do not speak so vigorously of the participation of the substance of Jesus Christ, which according to Calvin, descends not from Heaven: The virtue of the Mind being sufficient to penetrate through all impediments, and to surmount the distance of Places.

He cites several other places of Beza, of Martyr, and many English Doctors; by which it appears, that they did not believe the Body of Jesus Christ properly descended from Heaven into the Eucharist, or is in divers places

ces at the same time, though they say we are nourished hereby through Faith, but after an incomprehensible manner. Yet it must be granted, that if these Great Men understood nothing by *nourishing our selves by the flesh of Jesus Christ*, but to believe that we are saved by his Sacrifice, and, to feed our selves with this hope, or to receive his Spirit, it was not necessary to tell us of a miraculous Union of our Spirits with the Body of *Jesus Christ*, notwithstanding the distance of places; the Spirit of God being every where, and Faith having no relation to local distance, there's nothing in the Spiritual eating of the Body of *Jesus Christ*, taken in the sense we have above-mentioned, of Miraculous, nor of Incomprehensible, more than in other acts of Piety, and other Graces which God gives unto us. Whether we suppose this, or any other method to expound the eating of the Body of *Jesus Christ*; there would be no danger to the Reformation, to say, that these Learned Men have not had an Idea altogether distinct thereupon, or that their Expressions are not exact. Although it were granted that they mistook in some things, it would not follow that the *Romish Church* could have justly rejected all their Doctrines; or that *Protestants* are in the wrong, by inviolably retaining their Sentiments, as far as they are conformable to Holy Scripture; and to abandon that wherein they might be deceived. We do not make a profession of believing, that those who err in one thing, are deceived in all; or of rejecting every thing they have said, because they have not perceived the truth clearly enough in some things. Thus all the Objections of this nature might be ruined, without undertaking to defend indifferently all that the Reformers may have said, seeing it's agreed on, that the Protestant Religion is not founded upon their Authority, and that they might be mistaken in inconsiderable things, without its being in danger. But *Dr. Wake* thought not convenient to act in this manner. He believes that the Reformed never changed their Opinions hereon; and for the Divines of *Edward* and *Elizabeth*, he maintains that they were perfectly of the same opinion; which he proves by a passage of the *History of the Reformation*, by *Dr. Burnet*.

In the Second Part, which is wholly included in the 3d Chapter, he answers first to what *Mr. Walker* affirms to have been allowed by Protestants, and maintained against him, that he hath not well understood the words of some of the Authors whom he cited, that say very well, that in Communicating, *Jesus Christ* ought to be Adored, but not as Corporally present under the Species of Bread and Wine. As for *Forbes* and *Marc-Antony de Dominis*, it is agreed on, that the desire they had of reconciling Religions, made them say too much. *Thorndyke* speaks not less

vigorously, but upon a Hypothesis quite different from that of the *Roman Church*, seeing he believed that the Bread is called the Body of *Jesus Christ*, and the Wine his Blood; because by the Consecration they are Hypostatically united to the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, as well as to his Natural Body. It was spoken of in the First Part. To oppose to the Catholick Author, Doctors of his own Party; they say, that *Thomas, Paludanus* and *Catharin*, maintains, that it was an enormous Idolatry to Adore the Sacrament without believing Transubstantiation. Thus, although it is agreed on, that if a Consecrated Host is truly Adorable, one would not be guilty of Idolatry, if one Adored one which should not be Consecrated, thinking it once would be so: It's incredible that the Reformed Religion can receive so much prejudice hereby, as the Authority of the Catholick Doctors who have been cited; because the Reformed deny that a Host can be Adored, whether it be Consecrated or not. As to the Grounds of this Subject, he sends us in his Preface to a Book, Entituled, *A Discourse concerning the Adoration of the Host*, Printed at London, 1685.

In the Second place, The Catholick Doctrine is briefly examined; but as there is none who hath not read divers Treatises upon this Subject, we shall insist no longer upon it.

ORIGINES BRITANNICÆ, Or, the Antiquities of the British Churches; with a Preface concerning some pretended Antiquities relating to Britain, in vindication of the Bishop of St. Asaph, by *Dr. Stillingfleet*. London, 1685, in Fol. p. 364.

WE should speak of the Preface of this Work, wherein the Author refutes the Opinion of the *Scots*, concerning the Antiquity of their Kings, if there had not been an Extract made (a) of a Book, wherein it is already done, and the Principal reasons related with much fidelity. It shall suffice to say in general, that our Prelate in it defends the Bishop of *St. Asaph*; who, in his *Relation of the Antient Ecclesiastical Government in Great Britain and in Ireland* hath shewn;

1. That the *Scots* could not be in *Great Britain*, so soon as they say.

2. That the Historians, from whom this is maintain'd, are not of sufficient validity for one to rely upon. As the *Scots* may be par-

pardoned the zeal they have for their Country, their Neighbours likewise may be suffered to endeavor the refuting them, if it be necessary. It's a contestation, which as Dr. *Stillingfleet* observes, will not be decided neither by a Combat, nor a Process; and which hath no influence in matters of Religion, or State. That which concerns the Antiquities of the *British Churches* is more considerable, by the connection, which this matter hath with the important Controversies, as it will appear hereafter. This nevertheless is but the Proof of a greater Work, where the Author endeavors to clear the most important difficulties of Ecclesiastical History. Judging, that to Write a compleat Ecclesiastical History is a design too great for one Man to accomplish: he hath only undertaken to clear some parts thereof, and thought he was obliged to begin with that which concerns the Antiquities of the Church whereof he is a Member. This Book is divided into Five great Chapters, the Abridgment of which you have here.

1. It hath been believed for a long time in *England*, that the Gospel was Preached here in *Tiberius's* Reign. But if the short time be considered, betwixt the Resurrection of our Lord, and the death of this Emperor, and that 'tis thought during a long while, the Apostles Preached the Gospel only to the *Jews*; it will be hard to suppose, that in this little distance persons came from

Judea into *Britain* to Preach the Gospel. (a) Some of the *de 2 Dionys.* Learned of the Church of *cap. 1.* *Rome* have, by the same Reason, refuted the Fabulous Tradition, which brings *Lazarus* and his Sisters at the same time into *Provence*.

The strongest reason to persuade us, that the Gospel was so soon Preached in *England*, is drawn from a passage (b) *Tom. 5f. 350.* of *Gildas's*, which was not well understood. *Interea glaciali frigore rigenti Insula, & veluti longiori Terrarum Recessu, soli visibili non proxima, verus ille non de firmamento solum* (Dr. *Stillingfleet* reads *Sol*) *sed de summa etiam* (those who read *Solum* for *Sol*, have also added this *Etiam*, for the clearing of the sense) *calorum arce tempora cuncta excedente, universo orbi praeulgidum sui coruscum ostendens tempore, ut scimus, summo Tiberii Caesaris (quo absque ullo impedimento, ejus propagabatur Religio, comminata, senatu nolente, a Principe morte dilatoribus Militum ejusdem) radios suos primum indulget, id est, sua praecepta Christus.* These words of *Gildas* were taken until now, as if he meant that the Gospel was Preached in *England* towards the end of *Tiberius's* Reign. But thus the Bishop of *Worcester* understands them. *Jesus Christ, the true Sun, who, as 'tis known, made his Light to shine over all the Universe, towards the end of Tiberius's Reign, at which time his Religion was propagated, without hinderance, in spite*

of the Senate, because this Prince threatned those with death that should accuse the Christians; Jesus Christ, I say, made his Sunbeams to shine, to wit, his Precepts, not from the Firmament, but the highest place of the Heavens, (and which was from all Eternity) upon this frozen Island, distant from the visible Sun. *Gildas* speaks of two several times, wherein the visible Sun appeared; the one towards the end of *Tiberius's* Reign, at which it shined to the view of the whole World: and the other that it particularly appeared in *England*, and which he marks by the Particle *interea*. This word relates to the time whereof he speaks, to wit, that in which *Suetonius Paulinus* Conquered the Queen *Boadicea*, which happened towards the middle of *Nero's* Reign, about Twenty years after that *Claudius* had sent *A. Plautius* to reduce *England* into the form of a Province.

The Monks of the last Ages, fruitful in Ancient Histories, affirmed, that *Joseph of Arimathea* came from *Glassenbury*, where he founded a Monastery, Preaching there the Gospel. In a time, wherein all that came from these pious Lyars was believed, this Fabulous History was taken for an ancient Tradition; but the Bishop of *Worcester* easily shews it is supported only by the Authority of such Men and actions as are very suspicious, and accompanied with ridiculous circumstances.

Nevertheless he believes it may be proved by good Authorities, and maintained by probable circumstances, that Christianity entred into *England* in the time of the Apostles. *Eusebius* (c) positively affirms, that these Holy Men Preached the Gospel in the *British Isles*. *Theodoret* (d) reckons the *Britans* amongst those People Converted by the Apostles. *St. Jerome* (e) faith, that *St. Paul*, after his Imprisonment, Preached the Gospel in the *West*, in *occidentis partibus*; by which he seems to understand *England*, as well as *St. Clement*, who faith, that *St. Paul* went to the farthest part of the *West*; Terms which Dr. *Stillingfleet* proves to have been commonly taken for *Great Britain*. He shews after that, by the History of *St. Paul's* Life, that this Apostle had time to come into *England*; and that he might have been persuaded to have taken this Journey, because this part of *Great Britain* was then reduced into a Province. There is also some likelihood that *Pomponia Gracina*, Wife to *Plautius*, was a Christian; *Tacitus* (f) assuring us, that she was accused of a Strange Superstition, and that she lived in a continual Melancholy. If this Lady was a Christian, she might have inform'd *St. Paul* what state *England* was in, and encouraged him

(c) *Dem. Evangel. l. 3. c. 7.*

(d) *T. 4. Serm. 9.*

(e) *De Script. Eccles.*

(f) *Annal. 13. c. 32.*

him to come hither. He might likewise have been instructed by those, whom *Plautius* led Prisoners to *Rome*. True it is, that it has been said, that *St. Peter* and some other Apostles were in *England*, but these Traditions appear altogether Fabulous; and if any came it was undoubtedly *St. Paul*, according to the Testimony of *St. Clement*, of whom we have spoken.

II. To pursue the Ecclesiastical History of *England*, our Prelate undertakes in the 2d. Chapter (a) to Collect what is found in the Antients, about the space of time, from the Apostles to the First Council of *Nice*.

The Principal Proofs from whence we conclude there were Christians in that time in *England*, are the Testimonies of *Tertullian* (b) and *Origen*, (c) which the Author defends, and Expounds at length. Many of the Writers of the last Ages, said, that a King of

England, named *Lucius*, was Converted to Christianity, in the time of *M. Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*. But suppose this true, in the Main, there are divers circumstances, which are really false; as when this *Lucius* is made King of all *England*, which was, at that time, a *Roman Province*. Our Prelate believes there might be a Christian Prince of that Name, in some place of *England*, and whom the Romans suffered to Reign, because he was of their side; such as might have been the Descendants of one *Cogidunus*, who favoured them. That this place of *England* perhaps was the County of *Suffex*, where there is no Monument of the Romans. This being so, it may easily be conceived, that *Lucius* had heard Discourses of the Christian Religion by some antient Britans, or Soldiers of the Army, which *M. Aurelius* brought hither, and which had been delivered from an eminent danger, by the Prayers of the Christians that

were in it, as the Emperor himself said (d) in one of his Letters. After that, *Lucius* might send (as Tradition has it) Messengers to *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, to be better Instructed, because of the great Commerce which was betwixt *England* and *Rome*. If Persons had been satisfied to have related this History after this manner, it may be none would have called it in question; but the Lyes wherewith it's stuff'd, the better to maintain it, have rendered, according to the Remark of the Author, doubtful and suspicious, that which may be true in it. Others will not fail to add to this, that in the Conjectures that are always made in the Enquiry after these Antiquities, founded upon the Traditions of as great Lyars as the Monks of the past Ages; that in these

Conjectures, I say, *Si trapassano i confini del vero, per scrivere negli ampii spatii del possibile, (e) Idea dell' cose incerte & non seguite, Ungheria in the (e) according to an Italian Author.*

And also the silence of *Gildas*, who inform'd us of all he knew of the Antiquities of *England*, yet speaks not one word of this *Lucius*, which renders this History very suspicious, even in what appears most possible in it.

Our Prelate proves there were Christians in *England*, in the time of *Dioclesian*, and that several suffered Martyrdom in it; though the Persecution could not last long here; seeing *Constantius*, Father to *Constantine*, stopped it. *Constantius* dying at *York*, and his Son being declared *Cesar* by the Army, the Christian Religion was secure: we find the Names of Three Bishops of *Great Britain*, who Subscribed to the Council of *Arles* in CCCXIV. The Author believes there were a great many more; and that those Three were sent by the Bishops of the Three Provinces, for all were never at any of the Councils, which wou'd have been too numerous, if every one had gone thither. He believes also, that there was a continual Succession of Bishops in *England*, from the Apostles till that time. Some Monks have thought, that Bishops were Established in *England* in imitation of the *Flamines*, and *Archiflamines* of the Heathens; but *Dr. Stillingfleet* shews 'tis but a Dream, and that the first Pagan Hierarchy was established by *Maximinus*, after the Model of the Christians, which was much more Antient.

Speaking of the Council of *Arles*, the Author shews, that its Canons were sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, not to Confirm them, as *Baronius* maintains, but to Publish them. *Qua decrevimus*, say these Fathers, in *Communi Concilio*, *charitati tua significare, ut omnes sciant, quid in futurum observare debeant*. To this he joyns the Canons of the Council, which he reduces to certain Heads, and expounds, in a few words, particularly the Third *De his qui arma projiciunt in pace*, who ought to be suspended from the Communion. If an Allegorical sense might be given to these words, our Bishop believes they may be expounded of the Christians, who, in the time wherein the Persecution ceased, grew more indifferent, as to their manner of living, and less conformable to the Discipline which they had kept before. But if they are understood Literally, they may refer to the Christian Soldiers, who would leave the Army, when there was no fear of being constrained to any Idolatrous act, in serving the Emperor, as they had been under the Heathen Princes. *Constantine* offered to dismiss all the Soldiers that desired it. The Fathers of the Council might fear that all the Christians wou'd abandon his Armies, and that afterwards it should

be supply'd with *Pagans*; which could have been fatal to Christianity: So the Bishops assembled at *Arles*, and thought they ought to prevent this accident, in suspending from the Communion such *Christian Souldiers* as quitted the Service.

III. After having (m) shewn, (m) P. 88. That there were Bishops in *England*, before the Council of *Nice*; the Author speaks of the State, wherein the Churches of the same Island were after this Council to that of *Rimini*. Although in the Subscriptions, which we still have of the Bishops who assisted at the Council of *Nice*, there is none of any Prelate of *England*; it is very probable there were some of them. 1. Because *Constantine* did all he could, to assemble a great number of Bishops. 2. Because there is no likelihood this Emperor should forget the Bishops of *England*, where he was born and proclaimed *Cesar*. 3. Because they having been at the Council of *Arles*, which was held before, and at those of *Sardis*, and *Rimini*, which followed that of *Nice*, there was no reason to suppose, that they should be forgotten in this latter.

This being granted, Dr. *Stillingfleet* believes, that we may learn from the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, the Rights and Priviledges of the *British Churches*. Therefore he relates and expounds (t) Page 95. these Canons; but makes the longest stay upon (t) three which concern *Ecclesiastical Discipline*.

The fourth is conceived in these Terms, That a Bishop ought chiefly to be established by all the Bishops of the Province; but if that be too difficult, either because it requireth more haste, or that the Proceedings of the Bishops wou'd make it too long; there must at least be three present, and they have the consent of the Absent to consecrate him. But the Confirmation of all that is done in the Province, ought to be reserved to the Metropolitan.

By this Canon, the Rights of the Metropolitans are established after an uncontestable manner; but that which creates difficulty, is to know whether the word *established* to establish, which is at the beginning, must be understood the Right of choosing a Bishop, was devolved on the Bishops of the Province; or whether the Question be only of Conservation, which should be done by the Bishops upon the Election, made by the Suffrages of the People. Several Interpreters of the Canons, understand by the Word to establish, to elect; and Dr. *Stillingfleet* sheweth, That all this may be proved, by a place (n) Conc. of the Synodal Letter (n) of l. i. c. 9. of the same Council to those of *Alexandria*, where it's said, That the *Meletian Bishops*, which the People should choose, should be received, and

that in the time of the Council of *Nice*, the People named the Bishops, which hindered not but that they were elected by their Brothers, and confirmed by the Metropolitan, without which the nomination of the People signified nothing. So that all that can be concluded from thence is, that the People had the Right of Nomination; which they have since deservedly lost, by Seditions and Tumults, and which they cannot recall; unless it is shewn whether it is a Divine and unalterable Right; which will never be, adds our Author, and which even those, who strive to win the favour of the People, in defending it's Rights, do not endeavour to prove, upon the Principles of the first Ages. It will not be denyed, but that the People had then the Right of Opposing the chosen Persons, by shewing, That they were not worthy. But in this case, the People were heard as Witnesses, and not as Judges. If the Bishops who had chosen him who was opposed, judged that the Accusations, which were against him were just; they proceeded against the Accused, according to the Canons; and then they came to a new nomination, whereof notwithstanding the Synod of the Province was to judge: The Author expounds thereby the 16 Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, and the 12 of that of *Laodicea*, where mention is made of the popular Election; not to mark the Preferment of some one to the Episcopacy, but the choosing of a Bishop already ordained, to be Bishop of some Church.

The fifth Canon of *Nice* informs us, That he who shall be excommunicated by one Bishop, shall not be received into Communion by another. If any one complained of being unjustly excommunicated, the Provincial Synod judged thereof, and if this Synod revoked not the Sentence of this Bishop, every one was to hold him Excommunicated. 'Tis for that the Council of *Nice* orders, That there should be every where held Provincial Councils twice a year, at *Easter* and *Autumn*. Our Author maintains, that the Council of *Nice* doth not ordinarily acknowledge in her Procedures any other Tribunal than the Provincial Synods; except in places, whose ancient Customs were different, as it appears by the following Canon. So that all strange Jurisdiction is forbidden, by the Fathers of *Nice*; as the Churches of *Africk* maintained it boldly against the Popes. Thence it's concluded, That the *British Churches* have a right of absolute judging of all that happens, in the Extent of their Jurisdiction, seeing they have no less Priviledges than those of *Africk*.

For fear this Canon should be contradicted by the Bishops, who might have a more extended Jurisdiction, the Council made another, which intimates, That according to antient Customs, the Bishop of *Alexandria* should extend his Jurisdiction over *Egypt*,

Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis seeing the Bishop of *Rome* had a like Custom; and so likewise at *Antioch*, and in the other Provinces, the antient Privileges of Bishops should be kept, that no Bishop should be created, without the consent of the Metropolitan; and that when differences should arise, the Plurality of Voices should decide them.

There are, according to our Author, three remarkable things in this Canon. 1. A Confirming the Privileges of some of the greatest Bishopricks, as of *Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch*. 2. A securing those of other Churches, against Invasions. 3. To put out of contestation the Rights of the Metropolitan Churches. For the last of these three things, it is so clear, that there is no stopping at it; but the others, chiefly the second, are much enlarged upon.

It seems that the Church of *Alexandria* was the occasion of this Canon, and thereby it appears, that the Bishop of the City had a much more extended Jurisdiction, than that of the Metropolitans; seeing it reached over three Provinces, named in the Canon, upon which here are divers Remarks, which we shall pass over. Some Learned Men have maintained, that there were no Patriarchs in the time of the Council of *Nice*; but without disputing about words, Dr. *Stillington* shews by this Canon, and other Proofs, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* had already before the Council of *Nice*, a true patriarchal Power over *Egypt*, and which answered to that of the Governour, named *Præfectus Augustalis*. Some pretend, that the Power of this Bishop was only that which commonly the Metropolitans had; because the Provinces of *Egypt* had no other Metropolitan but him, and depended immediately of him. But tho' this Authority was as that of Metropolitans, as to what concerns the manner of exercising; it was Patriarchal, in respect of the extent. Such was also that of the Bishop of *Rome*, who had under him no Metropolitans, and who received immediately the Appeals of divers Provinces.

Dr. *Stillington* believes, that the Council of *Nice* provincially confirmed the custom of *Alexandria*, fearing that if it were abolished, in remitting to the Provincial Councils of *Egypt*, the Supream Authority, as was done for the most part by other Provinces, the *Arians* should draw an advantage thereby; fearing also that this should draw too much hatred upon the Bishop of *Alexandria*, if he were named alone; those of *Rome* and *Antioch* were added; notwithstanding afterwards, these Regulations of the Council of *Nice* were abused; several Churches aspired to the Patriarchship, and that of *Rome*, tho' named only upon occasion, pretended that its Universal Supremacy was established therein. The Agents of

the Bishop of this City had (o) the boldness to falsifie the Title of this Canon in the Council of *Chalcedon*, and of drawing an Advantage from it. (o) Conc. Chalced. Act. 16.

The other thing that they principally proposed, was to preserve the Privileges of other Churches; for it is known that Exceptions render the Laws more uncontestable in unexcepted Cases; so the Provinces, which are not excepted in this Canon, have a right to govern themselves by their Provincial Synods, without acknowledging any Superiour Authority: Whence it's concluded, that the *British Churches* ought peaceably to enjoy this Right, seeing they never have submitted to the Patriarch of *Rome*. This Bishop hath never had the right of Consecrating the Metropolitans, or *British Bishops*, he hath not convoked them to his Assemblies at *Rome*, none of their Synods have been called to him; so that the *British Provinces* have the Right, according to the Council of *Nice*, of governing themselves independant of every other Church. It was upon this Principle that the Council of *Ephesus* condemned the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who pretended to have right of Consecrating the Metropolitan of *Cyprus*, against the antient Custom. The Canon of this Council may be seen, in our Author who defends it against the Carplings of some *Roman Catholick* Doctors, and shews the true sense thereof, particularly against F. *Marin*.

Notwithstanding, these same Doctors pretend that the Pope hath always had a Patriarchal Power over all the Churches of the *West*. It is granted that he had this Authority before the Council of *Nice*, over the Dioceses of *Rome*, or the *Suburbicary Provinces*; but it is maintained, that it reached not any farther, and divers Doctors are refuted who have pretended the contrary. (p) Mr. *Schelstrate* is particularly opposed, who in the second Dissertation of his *Antiquitas Illustrata*, hath undertaken to prove, That the Bishop of *Rome* hath this Patriarchal Power upon all the *West*. We agree with him, that the Patriarchal Rights consist in these three things:

1. The Right of Consecrating Bishops and Metropolitans.
2. In calling them to a Synod.
3. In receiving Appeals and deciding 'em.

1. As to that which concerns the Consecration of Metropolitans and Bishops in all the Western Churches; Mr. *Schelstrate* grants, That it was not exercised by the Pope. His Adversary shews, even that St. *Ambrose* was elected Bishop of *Milan*, without asking the consent of *Damasus*, who was then Bishop of *Rome*; indeed the Dioceses of *Rome* extended not unto *Milan*, but

comprized only 5 Provinces, or 70 Bishops. Some call these Provinces thus: *Marsi, Campania, Thussia, Umbria, and Marchia*; and others thus, *Latium, Valeria, Tuscia, Picenum and Umbria*.

To prove that the Diocess of the Bishop of Rome extended further, a Letter from Pope *Syricius* to *Anysius*, Bishop of *Theffalonica*, is cited where the latter is declared Legate of the Pope in *Illyria*: But our Author shews at length, that that begun but in the time of *Syricius*, upon the end of the fourth Age: and that this Pope did thus, to oppose the Grandeur of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who extended his Diocess too far; upon which there are Remarks in the Original, that cannot be related here.

Tho' the Library of the Pope is obliged to grant, That the Bishop of Rome, consecrated not all the Western Bishops, he pretends to shew, that before the Council of *Nice*, he had the power of deposing the Bishops of the *Gauls*: He proves it, by the Example of *Marsian* Bishop of *Arles*, who was deposed by Pope *Stephen*. But it appears, That nothing else was desir'd of the Pope in this Rencontre, but to join his Authority to that of the Bishops of the *Gauls*; that acting jointly, the People should the more easily submit to their Order, as appears by the *LXVIII* Letter of *St. Cyprian*, wherein he speaks to this Pope as his Equal, exhorting him to do what we have said.

Dr. Stillingfleet refutes also two other Proofs of his Adversary, not very considerable; we shall not stop at 'em, that we may not be tedious.

2. The Bishop of *Worcester* maintains, that the Pope could not convocate Councils, but within the extent of the suburbicary Provinces; tho' he denies not, but on certain singular occasions other Bishops have not been invited to these Councils, as when *Aurelian* permitted the Bishops of *Italy* to assemble at *Rome*, for the Affair of *Paul* of *Samosatus*. But the Bishops of the Diocess

of *Italy*, who acknowledged (q) *Sirm. App.* the Bishop of *Milan* as chief, *ad Cad. Theod.* (q) thought themselves not obliged to be at the Patriarchal Councils of *Rome*. And that which is remarkable, is that one of these Councils was of Sentiments very different from him, who then was upon the Patriarchal See of this City, concerning the Ordination of *Maximus*, to be Bishop of

Constantinople. *Damasus* writ (r) *Collect.* twice (r) to *Constantinople*, *Rom. p. 37.* with much fervour, for the deposing of *Maximus*. But *St. Ambrose*, and the Bishops of his Diocess, in a Synodical Letter to *Theodosius*, justified the Ordination of *Maximus*, and disapproved the Election of *Gregory*, and *Nestorius*. The Defenders of the pretensions of

the Bishop of *Rome*, are asked, If this Council acknowledged the Patriarchal Power of this Bishop? Mr. *Schelstrate* saith after Father *Lupus*, That the Power of the Pope gave him the Right of deciding all things, consulting only the Bishops, who could do nothing without him. If that is true, it must be granted, That the *Italick* Diocess was without the limits of the Patriarchate of *Rome*, seeing the Bishops of this Diocess sent their Advices to the Emperor, without having any respect to the Sentiments of *Damasus*. *Dr. Stillingfleet* sheweth the independancy of the same Bishops, in respect to *Rome*, by the Example of the Council of *Capua*; where *St. Ambrose* presided, without asking so much as the Advice of the Bishop of *Rome*.

To prove that the Pope had the Right of calling the Bishops of all the West to all his Patriarchal Councils. Mr. *Schelstrate* relates some Examples of Bishops amongst the *Gauls*, and *Great Britain*, who were at some Roman Councils. But he is answered, That it is no wonder, that some should be found, in extraordinary Rencontres; and that it doth not follow from thence, that the Pope was Patriarch of all the West, no more than that Councils of Western Bishops being held at *Milan*, *Arles*, *Rimini*, *Sardis*, and elsewhere, prov'd, That the Bishops of these Cities were their Patriarchs. It ought to be shewn, That the Pope convocated the Bishops of the West, by virtue of his Patriarchal Authority. There was also a great Difference amongst the Councils assembled, for the Unity of Faith and the Discipline of divers Diocesses; and the Provincial or Patriarchal Synods, convocated at a certain time, to appear before the Metropolitan or the Patriarch. This is seen in the *Diurnus Romanus* (s) where the Bishops of *Rome* oblige (s) p. 66. themselves to be present at the Councils of this City assembled at certain times, as *Garnier* sheweth. He saith, it was thrice a year; but no more for the Suburbicary Churches, which had no other Primate but the Bishop of *Rome*.

The last of the Patriarchal Rights was to receive Appeals of the Provinces of the Patriarchship. By these Appeals we must not understand, the free Choice that parties can make for one, to be an Arbitrator of their Differences; but Juridical Appeals, from an inferiour Tribunal to a higher one. It hath oft fallen out that Bishops have been chosen Arbitrators of a common approbation, to make others agree; or that Bishops intermeddled in the Differences of others, without pretending to end them with Authority. Our Author brings (r) an Example of a (r) p. 128. Council of the *Italick* Diocess, who meddled with a dissention at *Constantinople*, whereof we have already made mention.

But

But to this is opposed, That the Bishops of Rome have several times sent Legates, throughout all the West, to examine the causes of the Bishops, and to make Report of 'em. For the Letters of the Popes to the Bishops of *Thessalonica*, which are in the *Roman Collection* are cited to prove this. But we have already taken notice, what Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Answer is to that. He adds here, that the Origine of these pretensions was from this, That the Council of *Sardis*, being exasperated against the *Eastern Bishops*, gave the Bishop of Rome the liberty to re-examine some Causes in divers Provinces. He took the occasion from thence of sending Legates, and that was one of the first steps by which he ascended to so great a Power in the West. A Doctor of *Sorbone*, who writ some years ago, *de antiquis & majoribus Episcoporum causis*, alloweth, That in the space of CCCXLVII Years, viz. about the time of the Council of *Sardis*, no Example of a Cause can be produced, which was referred to Rome, by the Bishops who were the Judges thereof.

It is besides Objected, That the Council of *Arles* attributes to the Pope *maiores Diaeceses*; but it hath been seen by the Government of this Council, which has been spoken of, that it was far from acknowledging the Bishop of Rome for Superiour. Besides, there are reasons to believe, that the place where these words are, has been corrupted; and tho' it was not so, this may signifie another thing, except this Bishop had a Diocesis more large than his Brethren.

Dr. *Stillingfleet* refutes some more Reasons of Mr. *Schelstrate* of small consequence, and relates some places of (a) *Ep. 78, 79*, the Letters (a) of Pope *Leo*, and 80. where he presses hard the Canons of *Nice*, against the usurpations of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*; and maintains it was not lawful for any to violate or to reveal the Decrees of this Council; from whence it's concluded, that the Churches of *England* are in no wise obliged, according to the Discipline of the first Ages, to submit to the Pope.

After having ended (b) this (b) p. 134. Controversie, our Prelate sheweth there is a great likelihood that some Bishops of *England* were at the Council of *Sardis*. But thence an occasion is taken, to say, that the *British Churches* having received the Council of *Sardis*, they are obliged to acknowledge the Pope for the Patriarch of the West; seeing this Council hath established the Appeals to the Bishop of Rome. To see if this Objection be of any force, Dr. *Stillingfleet* examines the Design and the Proceedings of this Council as follows:

Athanasius Bishop of *Alexandria*, had been deposed by two Synods of *Eastern Bishops*, for some Crimes of which he was accused. He could not hope to have this Judgment

revers'd in the East, because the *Arian Party* was very strong there; he made his Address to the Bishops of the West, and particularly to *Julius*, Bishop of Rome, as to the Chief. He desired, that his Process might be revers'd, and shewed, by Letters of divers Bishops of *Egypt*, that he had not been heard according to the Forms neither at *Tyre* nor *Antioch*, because of the violence of the Faction of *Eusebius*. Thereupon *Julius* (c) having communicated his De- (b) *Vid. Ep. Julii ad Athanasium*. sign to his Brethren the Bishops of the West, writ in their name and his own, to the *Eastern Bishops*, That it was just to examine this Cause, by Judges that were not suspected of Partiality; and desired them to go to the places where these Judges should be, with the Informations they had taken against *Athanasius*. The Bishops of the East would not hearken to it, whereupon those of the West received *Athanasius*, *Marcellus* and other Bishops of their Party, into their Communion. Those of the East were extremely affronted at it, there were many Complaints on each side, and at last the two Emperours *Constantius* and *Constantine* agreed to call a General Council at *Sardis*, to decide this Difference. There went Bishops to it from all parts, but the *Western Bishops* were willing that the deposed Bishops should be admitted to the Communion, and take place in the Council; the *Eastern* would not suffer it, and withdrew to *Philippopolis*, where they protested against the Proceedings of *Sardis*, as contrary to the Canons of *Nice*. The Bishops of the West notwithstanding continued their Session, and made new Canons, to justify their Conduct. The *Eastern Bishops* complained, that the Discipline established at *Nice*, was manifestly violated; and the *Western Bishops* said, That there was Injustice done to the deposed Bishops, that *Athanasius* had not been heard in *Egypt*, and that it was just that all the Bishops of the Empire should re-examine this Affair. The Bishops of *Sardis* had no respect to the reasons of their Brethren, they renounced not the Communion of *Athanasius*, and made divers Canons, the chief of which are the III. the IV. the V. which concern the Revival of the Causes of Bishops. In the third they declared, that the causes should first come before the Bishops of the Province; and if one of the Parties was grieved by the Sentence, he should be granted a Revision. Our Author makes divers Remarks upon two Canons of the Council of *Antioch*, to which its commonly believed, that that of the Council of *Sardis* has some affinity, which we have spoken of; our Author discovers the Irregularities of the Councils of *Antioch* and *Tyre*.

He also remarks, that to obtain the Revision of an Ecclesiastical cause, an Address was made to the Emperor, who convoked a greater number of Bishops, to make this new Examination. The Council of *Sardis* made an Innovation in this; for it seems, that

that it took away as much as it could, the Right of reviewing these sorts of Causes from the Emperor, to give it to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, in honour to *St. Peter*. He might, by the Authority of this Council, if he thought fit, Convocate the Bishops of the Province, to revise the Process, and to add Assistant Judges to them, as the Emperor used to do. Besides this, the Fourth Canon enjoyn'd, that no Bishop should enter into a vacant Bishoprick, by the deposition of him who was in it, nor should undertake to Examine a-new a Process, until the Bishop of *Rome* had pronounced his Sentence thereupon. The Fifth Canon signifies, That if he judges the Cause worthy of Revising, it belongs to him to send Letters to the Neighbouring Bishops to re-examine; but if he thinks it not fit, the Judgment pronounced shall stand.

This is the Power which the Council of *Sardis* grants to the Pope, upon which our Author makes these Remarks.

1. That there was somewhat new in this Authority; without which these Canons would have been useless. Thus *de Marca*, and he who published the Works of Pope *Leo*, have established this Power of the Pope upon the Canons of the Council of *Sardis*. But an Authority given, by a particular Council in certain Circumstances, as appears by the name of *Julius*, which is inserted in the Canon, cannot extend itself to the following Ages; upon the whole, this Authority has changed nature so much, that now it passeth for an Absolute and Supream Power, founded upon a Divine Right, and not upon the Acts of one Council.

2. These Canons do not give this Bishop the Right of receiving Appeals in quality of Head of the Church; but transport only unto him the Right of a Revision, which the Emperor enjoyed before. It is a great question if the Council of *Sardis* had the Power of so doing; but there is a great likelihood, that the Protection which *Constantinus* granted the *Arian* Party, engaged it thereunto.

3. These Canons cannot justify the conduct of those who should carry Causes to *Rome*, by way of Appeal, because they return the second Examination to the Bishops of the Province.

4. The Council of *Sardis* it self took knowledge of a Cause, which had been decided by the Bishop of *Rome*.

5. This Council could not be justified by the antient Canons, in that it received *Marcellus* to the Communion; he, who before had been Condemned for Heresie, as

also afterwards even by *Athanasius* himself.

6. The Decrees of this Assembly were not universally received, as it appeared by the Contestations of the Bishops of *Africk* against that of *Rome*, seeing the first knew nothing of it some years after, as our Author sheweth.

IV. *Arianism* being spread every where, and afterwards *Pelagius* and *Celestius* being gone out of *England*, the Clergy of this Isle were accus'd of having been *Arians* and *Pelagians* in those Ages.

Our Author (a) under- (a) Page 145. takes to justify them from these suspicions, and afterwards describes the Publick Service of the *British Churches*. But as the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of *England* afford no great matter, he hath supplied them by digressions. He immediately refutes I know not what Modern Author, who hath been mistaken in some facts concerning the History of *Arianism*, since the Council of *Nice*, at which we shall not make a stay. After that (b) there is an Abridg- (b) Page 150. ment of this History until the Council of *Rimini*.

The *Arians* being condemned at *Nice*, and vainly opposing the term of *Consubstantial*, thought they could not better save themselves, than by yielding to the times. They also suffered themselves to be condemned by the Council, and to be Banished by the Emperor *Arian*, with *Theones* and *Secundus* his Friends. *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice*, Chief Heads of the *Arian* Faction, Signed as the rest, yet without changing their Opinion. Afterwards they, in like manner, endeavoured to hide themselves under Equivocations. The Circumstances of this History may be seen, as *Dr. Stillingfleet* relates them in the Tenth Tome of the *Universal Bibliotheca*, p. 447. and the following ones. Yet there are these differences, that our Bishop is larger in Reflections drawn from *St. Athanasius*, concerning the Address of the *Arians*, who expressed themselves almost as the Orthodox of that time, to deceive the simple. Moreover, the Relation which we have cited, was not made on design to justify the Orthodox, and to get those of the *Arians* Condemned, but to give an Idea of these confusions, without taking any Party; whereas the design of our Author is, to inform the Publick against the *Arians*, without reprehending any thing whatever in the conduct of their Adversaries. And our Author hath not applied himself so much to the order of years, which he doth not mark; as hath been done in the Life of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*.

Dr. Stil-

Dr. *Stillingfleet* goes also further than any, seeing the History of *Arianism* was left off at the death of *Eusebius*. Here is an Abstract of what he adds, and which is chiefly drawn from St. *Athanasius*. The Falsities of the *Arians* were not discovered until after the Council of *Rimini*; and it was chiefly at the Council of *Seleucia*, where they declared themselves more openly. It was then that the Followers of *Basil of Ancyra*, who rejected the word *Consubstantial*, as well as the *Arians*, would separate themselves from them. But the *Arians* had still recourse, in this occasion, to their old Artifices, and consented to Sign any *Creed* whatever, excepting that of *Nice*. They caused *Athanasius* to be banished a second time; but he was soon recalled, and his greatest Enemies were obliged to make him Reparation, if he may be believed. A little while after, the Persecution began against him and all the rest, who professed the Faith of *Nice*; as our Author describes at large, until the Council of *Rimini*, whose Bishops were constrained to abandon the Terms of *Hypostasis* and *Consubstantial*. The Orthodox Bishops would willingly depose all those who refused to Sign the Symbol of *Nice*, and the *Arians* did not treat their Adversaries better, when they could not prevail with them; so that they ceased not Persecuting each other reciprocally. Councils declared both for the one, and the other, which makes our Author reasonably conclude, that we must not yield to the Authority of any Council whatever, till having well examined the reasons of its Conduct. If it was not lawful to do it in times past, the Faith of *Nice* could not be re-established; which would have received an irreparable breach at *Rimini*; if the Orthodox Bishops were not restored to their Churches, after the death of *Constantius*, and had not re-established, in smaller Assemblies, what so numerous a Council had destroyed. We find

a remarkable example here—
(a) *Hil. Frag.* of (a) in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, where we see that a Council Assembled at *Paris* declares, that it abandons the Council of *Rimini*, for assenting to that of *Nice*. Dr. *Stillingfleet* conjectures, that the *British Churches* did as much, because St. *Athanasius*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Chrysostom*, do, in divers places praise their Application to the Orthodox Faith.

Sulpicius Severus (b)
(b) L. 2. speaking of the Bishops of the Council of *Rimini*, saith, they refused to be entertained by the Emperor; excepting those of *England*, who were too poor, too bear this charge. Thereupon Dr. *Stillingfleet* makes divers Reflections, whereof these are the Principal.

1. That it followeth from thence, that what *Geoffrey of Monmouth* saith of *Riches*,

which King *Lucius* gave the Church of *England*, is false.

2. That it is notwithstanding strange, that the Bishops of *England* should not have wherewithal to maintain them at *Rimini*, since before *Constantine* the Churches had divers Funds, besides the Offerings of the People, which were considerable in the numerous Churches; and since *Constantine* had granted them great Privileges, as is shewn at length by divers Edicts of this Emperor, which are in the *Theodosian Codicil*, and elsewhere.

He comes thence to the Accusation of *Pelagianism*, (c) which *Beda* and *Gildas* had before (c) P. 180. raised against the Clergy of *England*. He remarks first, that *Pelagius* and *Celestius* were both born in *Great Britain*, and not in the *Armorick Britain*, as some have believed; and Refutes, at the same time, some places of *F. Garnier*, who hath spoken of *Pelagius*, in his *Notes* upon *Marius Mercator*.

2. That the *Monastick History* makes him Abbot of the Monastery of *Bangor*, but that there is little likelihood that *Bangor* had had a Monastery famous in that time, because the Convents of *England* are no antienter than the time of St. *Patrick*; and if *Pelagius* was a Monk, he was of such an Order, as were *Pammachius*, *Paulinus*, *Melaninus* and *Demetriades*, who were pious persons, withdrawn from the Commerce of the World, but without Rule.

3. That the Occupation of these Men, after the Exercises of Piety, consisted in the study of Scripture; and that it was in such a Retreat that *Pelagius* Writ his Commentary upon the Epistles of St. *Paul*, and his Letters to *Melaninus* and *Demetriades*.

4. That since he was accused of Heresie, he was employed to defend himself; and that after having been Condemned in *Africk*, and Banished, he was yet Condemned in a Council at *Antioch*, under *Theodorus*, as *Marius Mercator* tells us; and all that, because the Sentiments of *Pelagius* were not well understood (d) as the Bishop of *Worcester* (d) Pag. 185. justly saith.

5. That wretched *Pelagius* passed the remnant of his Life in obscurity, and dyed, according to all likelihood, without returning into *England*.

6. That without the extraordinary cares of the Bishops of *Africk*, *Pelagianism* would have been established by the Authority of the See of *Rome*.

Though

Though *Pelagius* had been Condemned by the Emperor and the Councils; *Agricola*, Son to *Severian* Bishop, who had embraced *Pelagianism*, brought it into *England*. It was perhaps the severe Edict of *Valentinian III.* Published in CCCCXXV, against the *Pelagians*, who were amongst the *Gauls*, which drove him thence. *Prosper* witnesseth, that there were several of them in *England*, which made some believe that *Celestinus* was returned hither; but our Author shews, that this Opinion has no ground. The Adversaries of the *Pelagians* not being able to defend themselves against so subtil Controvertists, sent to demand aid of the Bishops of the *Gauls*, who sent them *Germain* and *Loup*, two Bishops of great Reputation, but suspected to be Semi-*Pelagians*; the first being a great Friend to *Hilary of Arles*, and the second being brother to *Vincent of Lerins*, Semi-*Pelagians*. It's found in a certain Writing, that is attributed to *Prosper*, Disciple of *St. Augustin*, that it was *Celestinus*, Bishop of *Rome*, who sent him; but our Author shews, that there is reason to suspect this to be the writing of some other *Prosper*; and that though it were his, we have reason to believe, that he was deceived.

Germain and *Loup* being arrived in *England*, had a publick Conference at *Verulam*, and acted so, that they left *England* in the old Opinions, as they believed; but they were forced to return sometimes after. Our Author relates no Head of the Doctrine of *St. Germain* and *Loup*, by which we may know, whether they Taught Semi-*Pelagianism*, or the *Predestinarianism* in *England*, to free themselves from the suspicions which might be had of them.

He passeth (e) to the Justification of *Fastidius*, an English Bishop, suspected of *Pelagianism*, and of whom there is yet a Book *de vita Christiana*, published by *Holstenius*. It is not so easie to justifie *Faustus of Riez*, from Semi-*Pelagianism*, though in his time he passed for a Saint, and that he was Prayed to in this quality, during many Ages, in the Church of *Riez*: *Sidonius Apollinaris* gives him this fine Encomium (f)

(f) L. 9. Ep. 9. Cui datum est soli melius loqui, quam didicerit, vivere melius, quam loquatur; To whom alone it hath been given to speak better than he had Learned, and to Live better than he Spoke. What has been said of him may be seen, Tome 8. p. 228. and Foll. of the *Universal Bibliothecque*.

The Learned have much Disputed, to know if there really had been Hereticks who may be named *Predestinarians*. Some believed they were but Semi-*Pelagians*, who turn'd the Sentiments of *St. Augustin* into Heresie, and consequences of 'em into another Name; and others have said, that really there were some, who had indeed drawn, from the Doctrine of this Father, this

consequence; That there was no Free-will, and consequently, that God would not Judge Men according to their Works.

Our Author proves (g) (g) P. 199. there have been Men who and foll. maintained these strange Opinions, though there was not enough to make a Sect.

After that, (h) Dr. *Stillingfleet* returns to St. (h) Pag. 202. *Germain* and *Loup*, who established Academies, or Schools in *England*, and who also introduced here the *Gallican Liturgy*. Upon this Subject he seeks for the Origine of the most antient Schools of *England*, and speaks of the *Gallican Liturgy*, which he compares with the *Roman*. He shews finally the Conformity of the *English Church* of this time with the Antient *British Liturgy*, and concludes, that the Non-Conformists are in the wrong, to accuse the *Episcopal Church* of having received its *Liturgy* from the *Roman Church*. It sufficeth to speak of this briefly, because there are almost none but the *English*, who can be curious of these sorts of things.

V. The same reason obligeth us to make this use of it in respect of the 6th and last (i) (i) Pag. 239: Chapter, where the Author treats of the fall of the *British Churches*. He sheweth,

1. That all *Great Britain* was never Conquer'd by the *Romans*; and that the *Picts* and *Scots*, being not subdued, made Excursions upon the *Britans*.

2. That what is said of *Scotch* and *Irish* Antiquities is no more assured, than what *Geoffrey of Monmouth* hath published of those of *England*.

3. That as soon as the Barbarous Nations of the North had some knowledge of Sciences, they would have Histories, as they saw the most Polite Nations had; and to descend from some Illustrious People, such as the *Trojans* were, the *Greeks* and the *Egyptians*, whence an Infinity of Fables hath taken birth.

4. That the Evils of the *British Churches* came from their being exposed to the Fury of the *Scots* and *Picts*, upon the Declining of the Empire of the West, which was no more in a way of helping them; and that several times there were Walls or Retrenchments made betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, to preserve the latter from the Incurfions of these Barbarous People.

5. That the *Britans* being afterwards divided, one of the Parties called to its help the *Saxons*, whose Origine is here sought for, that they repented it soon after; and that the *Britans* were obliged to make War against them, whereof divers events

events are described, drawn from the Monastick Histories full of Lyes, and at the same time very defective.

6. That *Armorick Britain* was Peopled by a *British Colony* towards the end of the Fourth Age. There it was that *Gildas* Writ his Letter, where he Addresses himself to Five Kings, amongst whom *England* was divided, and describes at large the Vices of the *Britans*, to induce them to Repentance.

Lastly, The Bishop of *Worcester* Relates the manner how the Prelates of *England* received the Monk *Augustin*, who was sent hither towards the end of the Sixth Age, by *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome*. This *Augustin* being made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* by the Pope, desired to have a Conference with the *British* Bishops, to whom he represented, that they ought to embrace the Unity of the *Catholic Church*, viz. to submit to him and the Pope. All that he could obtain, is, that they asked time to consult; and offered afterwards to Answer him in a greater Assembly. There were Seven *British* Bishops, and several Learned Men, chiefly of the Monastery of *Bangor*, whereof one named *Dinot* was Abbot. The Result of the Assembly was, That the *Britans* altogether refused to submit to the Church of *Rome*, or to *Augustin*, as their Arch-Bishop. It is what *Beda*, whose Authority is indisputable in these matters, relates of this Conference. It is yet found more at large in a *M. S.* published in the Collection of Mr. *Spelman*, an Antient *Britan*, in *English* and in *Latin*. As there have been some objections made against this History, and this *M. S.* *Dr. Stillingfleet* Answers 'em at the end of this Chapter. Thence he concludes, that the *British Churches* are in the same case, in relation to the Dispute they have with the Bishop of *Rome*, as the Churches of *Cyprus* were, in regard to the Bishop of *Antioch*; who would fain be their Patriarch, against their Antient Rights, according to which they had a particular Metropolitan: As the Council of *Ephesus* condemned the Bishop of *Antioch*, who would extend too far the limits of his Jurisdiction: If the pretensions of the Pope upon *England* be this day judged by the antient Canons, he shall infallibly be condemned, for striving to extend his Patriarchship in places, where he hath not been acknowledged for above 600 years.

All the WORKS of James Alting, Professor of Divinity in the Academy of Groningen. Fifth Vol. in Fol. at Amsterdam. Sold by Gerard Borstius, 1687.

Those that have read the *Schilo* of this Author, his Treatises upon the Sabbath, the Conversion of the *Jews*, and his Theological and Philosophical Dissertations, will not wonder that Mr. *Becker*, Minister of *Amsterdam*, hath taken care to Print all his Works Posthume. It hath been thought that the Style of Mr. *Alting*, which is simple enough, and sufficiently disengag'd from the terms of Schools, would not be ill received in an Age, where neatness is so much loved, and wherein great words are no more taken for great things. This is what may be judged by a general view of the Subjects to which this Divine hath applied himself, and by an Essay that shall be given here of his Method.

1. We find in the First Tome an *Analysis*, and *Notes* upon the Four first Books of *Moses*, and upon the 24 First *Psalms*; a larger Commentary upon *Deuteronomy*, from the first Chapter until the XIX. Vers. 11, and Lessons upon all the Prophet *Jeremy*.

The 2d contains, besides the Parallel of divers Prophecies of the Old Testament cited in the New, very ample Commentaries upon several passages of the Old Testament, whose sense is given, and whose use is shewn in Religion and Morality.

The 3d and 4th Volumes comprise Expositions of the same nature upon the whole Epistle to the *Romans*, and divers Texts of the New Testament, an *Analysis* of this Epistle, and of that to the *Colossians*, with Lessons upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, from the beginning to the Ninth Chapter, Vers. 10.

In the 5th there are the Dissertations which have been already Printed, with a very long Treatise upon the Nature of the Sabbath, where 'tis shewn it was altogether Evangelick; *Notes* upon the *Catechism* of *Heidelberg*; a Method of the Didactic Divinity. Five Heptads of Theological and Philosophical Dissertations; the First upon Holy Writ and its Perfection; The Second upon Justification; the Third and Fourth upon the *Messia*; and the Fifth upon divers Subjects.

Amongst the Pieces which have not as yet been published, are Nine Discourses, delivered at divers times, at the opening of the Academy of *Groningen*; Two Dissertations upon the Hebrew Tongue; divers Letters, or Extracts of Letters, which de-

serve to be Read, as much for the matters of Critick which are therein treated, as for the moderation which the Author shews upon Controversies, which in his time were agitated amongst the Divines of those Provinces; and for several Historical Actions, which may be there learned. To help the Reader to judge of the knowledge of Mr. Alting, we shall shew some of the critical Subjects, which are treated on in his Letters, or in the Pieces which have not yet been published.

The First Dissertation of the Fifth Heptad is Entitled, *de Cabbala Scripturaria*; (a)

He first seeks for the Etymology of the word Cabal, (a) Cabal. 1. mology of the word Cabal, v. P. 4. p. 118. which is the Name that

the Jews give to their Traditions, and pretends, that even after that God had given his Law by Writing, a kind of an Oral Tradition was conserved in the Church, as long as there were Prophets and Apostles. He adds, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews esteem'd another Cabal, which they have equalled, and even preferred to the first, and which is not in the Talmud; but in Books a great deal less known; whether the Jewish Doctors do keep them hidden, or whether their proper obscurity renders them impenetrable.

In regard to the Practick Cabal, which only serves for Magical Operations, the Author entirely disapproves thereof: but as for the Theoretick, where some make Thirteen sorts, and others Three, as it is a kind of a Symbolick Divinity, he will have it to be treated even as Allegories are. There's a great respect due to Allegories, whereof the Sacred Writers are the Authors, as in Gal. 4. 22. But those that have no grounds in Scripture are looked upon with contempt. Mr. Alting maintains, that we ought to make this use of the Cabal, and pretends that in the Old Testament there are divers Transpositions, Changes, Additions or Retrenchments of Letters, which have not been without a Mystery. He gives, for example, the change which

God himself made, of the Names of Abram (a) and Sarai, into those of Abraham and Sarah.

He saith these Names were given them by a particular Providence, to mark that they should be the Heads of a Holy Generation, whence the Messiah should spring; that it is for this reason that Abram signifies Father raised, or rather Father of the raised; and that the Name of Sarai shews, that this Raised is the Messiah, the Son of the Sovereign, being composed of Sar, שר and of the first Letter of the Name Jehova, יהוה so that it signifies a Prince-Lord: that the ' which marks Jehova was in the Name of Sarai, and not in that of Abram, because it was to the Woman Eve, and not to

Adam, that God made a Promise of the Messiah, or the Seed which should bruise the Serpent's head. That God, to reward the Faith of Abram, being willing to admit him to the participation of this Promise with Sarai, would have them partake of the Sign, which was the ' , and that they both should have, in their Name, (c) a Letter of his, viz. ה, which is worth (c) Abraham, Five, or the half of ' , Sarai. which stands for Ten.

The Author in this Dissertation makes still many Remarks upon divers proper Names, and other words of the Bible, Written diversly, to shew, that this came not by chance.

There are many of these Mystical and surprising Expositions in the Fourth Dissertation of this Heptade, *de arborum fructiferarum praputio, sanctitate & fruitione*; where our Author Answers to the following Questions, according to his Method, viz. in relating the Opinion of divers Rabbins, and several Famous Divines, and then his own; These Questions are, Why God commanded that for the Three first years of a Tree, People should look upon the Fruit of it as polluted, and why he forbid the eating of it? And why he would have the Fruit of the Fourth year dedicated to himself? If these Consecrated Fruits belonged only to Priests and Levites, or if all persons which were not polluted, or if all unclean persons might eat of them?

The Second Discourse of the Seventh Heptade treats of the Anointing of the Chief Priests and Kings; where the Author mentions the Opinion of the Jews, which believed, that Moses only made the Holy Oyl; because in the Second Temple there was none of this Oyl, the Vial wherein it was being lost with the Ark; which denoted, according to Mr. Alting, that the Priesthood and Temporal Reign of the Jews was declining, and making room for the Reign and everlasting Priesthood of the Messiah. This Exposition is founded upon this, That the Chief Priests and Kings of the House of David were Consecrated with this Oyl, whose Dignity was hereditary, and descended to their Children. But for the Officers, whose Charges were not considerable, nor did belong to a certain Family, they were not Anointed. As for the Kings of Israel, after the Schism of Jeroboam, either they were Anointed, or not; if they were as Jehu was, it was with another Oyl, and not with that which was kept in the Temple of Jerusalem.

There was much of this Holy Oyl poured upon the Heads of Chief Priests and Kings, to Consecrate them; but the manner of this pouring was different. 'Twas poured round the Head of a King in form of a Crown; and the Forehead of Chief Priests

was

was Anointed in such a manner, that the Traces of the Oyl expressed the Figure of X. The Rabbins troubled themselves to find out the Reason of this Ceremony; but our Author finds it not hard to discover it in the Truth of *Jesus Christ*, Sacrificing himself upon the Cross.

In a Discourse upon the Leprosie, which is the Fifth of the IX. Heptade, it's asserted, that the *Jews* believe, that the Leprosie is no Contagious Disease; but an extraordinary one which God inflicted upon certain persons, by an effect of his unsearchable Judgments; which they prove by Seven Reasons.

1. Pestilential Diseases fall indifferently upon Men and Beasts, but the Leprosie has never infected a Beast. It's true, that there is talk of the Leprosie of Cloaths and Houses, but it's not well known what that is; and 'tis believed this kind of Contagion never appeared out of *Palestine*.

2. All Lepers were to present themselves to one Priest, who should carefully examine, and was obliged to search them strictly. But if the Distemper had been Contagious, the Priests would have been exposed to great danger, because the Labour of their Duty, and the Obligation of going bare-foot made them very weak.

3. These who were attackt with this Distemper, were comers-out amongst the rest of the People, till they were visited by the Priests, and declared Lepers. And this Inspection was neither made upon the Sabbath, nor Holy-day, that Devotion and Publick Rejoycings might not be hindered. It is not likely that People should tarry so long a time to separate the Pestiferous.

4. The Gentiles who were not Proselytes, and who lived in *Canaan*, were not obliged to shew themselves to the Priests, though they were Leprous, and yet they were not hindered to converse with all the World.

5. Those who were suspected to be Lepers, were shut up in the Field, or even in the Town, and there were only those who were judged Lepers, that were obliged to go out, which if they recovered, were not suffered to enter till after many washings, and other Ceremonies which they were to observe.

6. According to the Judgment which the Priest pronounced, a Man was looked upon to be clean or unclean, and so he was conversed with, or his company shunned. But it is not likely that this Sentence rendered a Man more or less Contagious.

7. The general Leprosie which covered the whole Body, did not render a Man unclean, because they were declared clean

who had all their Body covered with White Leprosie, and in whom there was not a bit of Live flesh to be seen. *Naaman* the Leper had several to serve him, and he himself was Minister to the King of *Assyria*, which could not be if his Distemper was Contagious. Also the Word *טמא* *Tame*, which is spoken of polluted and unclean People, marks only a legal impurity, and is not applied to them who are infected with a Contagion.

The Heptades are followed by a small Treatise, entituled, *Sciagraphia Biblica, seu specimen Oeconomiae Patriarcharum*. It is as it were a Historical Abridgment of Divinity, disposed according to the order that is contained in Holy Writ. This Treatise is not ended, because it begins at the Creation, and ends at the Punishment of *Sodom*.

The Letters of Mr. *Alting* are one of the most considerable Pieces of this Volume, being all full of Moderation and Learning. In the Second he proposes some difficulties to Mr. *Wetstein* Professor at *Basil*, who said in one of his Dissertations, that *ἐν ἀρχῇ & ἀπ' ἀρχῆς; ὁ λόγος, & ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς* were Synonyms in *St. John*. The Author, on the contrary, will have the terms, *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἢ ὁ λόγος*, shew not only, That the Word was in the beginning of all things; but supposeth also, that he was in being before: Whereas the words *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς & λόγος τῆς ζωῆς*, shew, that this word is destined to the Office of Mediator, which was done since or at the beginning; God having Promised the *Messiah* who was to bring Life to Men, and that immediately after the first Sin.

In the Third Letter, which is Written to *Buxtorf* the Son, Mr. *Alting*, to shew that the Sabbath was a Ceremonial Institution, which Figured *Jesus Christ*, and the Gospel, thus Translates a passage in *Isaiah*, 58. 13. *If thou call the Sabbath a delight, יהוה מכבד לקדש Likdosch Jehova mecnubad; the Holy of the Lord*. He pretends, that this *Holy of the Lord* is the *Messiah*, who is called the *Holy One of God*, Mark. 1. 24. Luke 4. 34. And that the Father bath sanctified, and sent him into the World, John 10. 36. The Author Answers in the 4, 5 and 6th Letters, some difficulties which were made upon the Explication of this passage, and upon *Job* 11. 7.

In the Ninth is sought the Origine of this Phrase *בשר ודם* *Basar uedam*, *Flesh and Blood*, which is common in the Rabbins and Writings of the new Testament. The Author believes, that the *Jews* did not begin to make use of it until after the Prophets times, when Philosophy began to be brought in amongst them. They saw some Pagan Philosophers define a man a compound of Body and Soul, and searching in their own Tongue for familiar Terms, which would answer

answer this Definition; they added to the word *Basar* Flesh, by which the Scripture commonly marks Man, & that of *Dam* Blood. Besides the passages of *Genesis* 9. and *Levit.* 17. where it is said, That *the Blood is the Soul of Beasts*; there are many others by which it appears, that the Soul and Blood are Synonymous, with the sacred Writers; so they say in some places, the *Messiah* has given his Blood, and in other places, he has given his Soul to ransom many.

There is in the 16. 50. a Judgment which deserves our observation; but to know the importance of it, we must know the dispute upon which it was delivered about the end of the Year 1655. There arose a dispute amongst the *Mennonite* Ministers of *Amsterdam*, about the external State of the present Christian Church; from Conferences they came to Writings, whereof there were several Copies soon made, and as soon printed. The first which appeared upon this Subject was signed by *Galenus*, and *David Spruit*, who put it into the hands of their Brethren. The 11th. of January 1657. it was digested in Nineteen Articles wherein these two Ministers expounded their Opinion touching the Church, which is to this purpose:

1. That there is but one Church, which is called the Spouse and Body of *Jesus Christ*, and that it was to that alone that the promises of *Jesus Christ* were made.

2. That *Jesus Christ* has established in this Church Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Doctors, and hath given them the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, which guide them infallibly, so that they and their Hearers might be assured they did not err.

3. That not only the Apostles, but even the inferiour Ministers of the Apostolical Church, and even the Deans, and Antients after receiving the imposition of hands, were endowed with miraculous Gifts which were necessary for the Exercise of their Charge.

4. That so the first Ministers had a Right to call themselves *Embassadors of Jesus Christ*, and that the People were obliged to receive them in that Quality.

5. That the Church should fall into an entire Apostacy; that this Prediction should be accomplished soon after the Death of the Apostles, seeing that from the time of *St. Paul* and *St. John* the mystery of Iniquity began to increase, since there were already several Antichrists. One must have but a small insight of Ecclesiastical History, to know that the Zeal of *Christians* cooled a little after, and that they fell from a Remissness into a corruption of Manners, from a corruption of Manners into that of Doctrine: and that instead of the Gifts of the

Holy Ghost there was nothing seen to Reign in the Church but the Spirit of Superstition, of Tyranny over Consciences, of Schism and Excommunication.

6. That those who undertook in these late Ages to reform the Church, had neither miraculous Gifts nor an Express, nor extraordinary Vocation from *Jesus Christ*.

7. That to prove that the Assemblies which were held are the true Church, they have only some Arguments drawn from passages of Scripture explained according to the weak Lights of their own reason, or to speak better, according to their conjectures.

8. That there is no Text in the Bible which privileges a Man who is not inspired to form an Assembly, which should call it self the true and only Church of *Jesus Christ*, and should appropriate to it self it's Privileges, by excluding all others.

9. That nevertheless, *Christians* divided themselves into innumerable Sects, whereof the most part excommunicates and condemns the other.

10. From all this it's concluded, That one cannot look upon any of these Churches, nor the Ministers thereof, nor the Tenets, nor the Ceremonies of them, with the same respect which one was obliged to have for the Church and Apostolical Pastors.

11. Consequently that these Assemblies have no Right to impose their Doctrine or Worship as a necessary Yoke upon Consciences, nor to condemn and excommunicate such as do not the same with them.

12. That Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, are Sacraments ordained by *Jesus Christ*, whose use is very profitable; that the Assemblies of Piety are so likewise, provided their Government be not Tyrannical, that they are looked upon as the work of some godly Persons who have endeavoured to imitate the model of the Church, which they found in Scripture; and they confess these Institutors were not infallible, and that they left faults in their Works, which they are willing to correct when they are better instructed. This was the occasion of a Dispute, that then made much noise. One of *Mr. Galenus's* Brothers answered these Articles, which *Mr. Galenus* had printed in the Year 1659. with a Reply to his Adversary. In 1660. *Mr. Pontanus*, Minister of the Remonstrants at *Amsterdam*, undertook to examine this Opinion in a Treatise which he made of the visible Church of *Jesus Christ*, of it's Office and Worship. Without doubt this dispute was spoken of in 1664. seeing one of *Mr. Alting's* Friends, ask'd him his Opinion upon it, to which this Professor answered:

I do not see that the Opinion of Galenus, such as you mention it in your Letter, is so condemnable; it would be in vain now to search the form of the Apostolical Church, and the Gifts which the Apostles conferred by imposition of hands. I remember I told you that we have a Faith which makes us incapable of receiving Gifts. As we believe that the Signs which according to the Promise of Jesus Christ, Mark 16. 17, 18. should accompany the Faithful, viz. the gift of Miracles, the gift of Tongues, and of Prophecy, have ceased in the Church, then it is not strange, that they descend not to us. In the Opinion of some Men, this Faith and its Efficacy, lasted not as long as the first Age: It wou'd distract us to find out the Signs of it in such distant times; after this, I do not admire that most Doctors have taken so different ways, and that like Painters they have drawn more or less near after the model of the Apostles, according as their Pencil was fine or gross. Thence sprung so many different Churches, to which were given the names of their Doctors, as commonly the names of Painters are given to their most excellent pieces. It's true, that there are some far better than others: but there are none but please some people so much, that they despise and condemn sometimes all other Churches, how little soever they differ from theirs. It's an evil that could only be deplored hitherto, and God only knoweth when it will be remedied: When he is pleased to give us this Faith which we have lost, he will give us its Fruits, and 'tis then we shall be the Image of the Primitive Church. In the mean time, we must preserve, and endeavour to preserve and increase the Faith we have, which is that of Tenets, and which may conduct us to Salvation, notwithstanding the faults of the exterior form and Government of the Church.

In answering to the same who asked him his Opinion upon the Visions of Drabicius; he saith, I know nothing certain upon that business now: I cannot approve them, and I dare not condemn them, I suspend my Judgment in the design to meditate upon this Subject, and perhaps at another time I will write to you at large of it, l. 17.

In the Twenty first Letter are a great many helps for the History of David, and upon the Persecutions which Saul makes against him. In answering a Divine of Herborn who exhorted him to make a Translation of Scripture but, without swerving from the received Versions, and the common Tradition; I cannot, saith he, make that two Councils agree, for one ruineth the other, to what purpose is it to spoil Paper to say the same things a hundred times over? I take notice of another fault, which has taken root amongst the Reformed, that is, that we are very Orthodox upon the Theory or Speculation of Scripture, but as to Practice we are altogether Papists, Furi puti Pontificii. You will acknowledge it if you reflect upon the Actions of both the one and the other. You advise

me to be silent upon the question of the Sabbath, tho' you acknowledge it is of great importance, and you will not have me to oppose myself to the received Hypothesis. I know full well, that it is an Axiom of the prudence of this Age not to touch an evil which is strongly rooted; but the Reformers of the past Age, had far more Christian Thoughts. They had the courage to attack the Errors which were in the peaceable possession of Mens understandings, tho' they foresaw the troubles which they would cause throughout all Europe. It is in vain to expect to gain time, till Men were silent or did agree all to maintain a false Hypothesis; this silence and this consent would not render it true. I do not take the Testimonies of Men, saith Jesus Christ, nor would he have St. John Baptist himself to be believed if his words were not conformable to the Writings of Moses, 50. 27.

Upon the famous passage of the Romans, 3. 25. the Author hath an opinion altogether different not only from the common Interpretation, but also from that of Beza and of Cocceius; the first Translates *πάρεσις*, Dissimulatio, and the second Præteritio: But Mr. Alting will have it Transmissio or Translatio, a Transposition. He founds it upon this, That there is a Pleonasmus in the Version of these two learned Interpreters, because the terms of Dissimulation, Præterition, and Non-imputation, give no other Idea but the Patience of God, ἀνεχθήσεται, of which mention is made in the following vers. 2. He adds *πάρεσις*, which answers here to the Hebrew העֲבִיר *Hegnebbir*, which is spoken of Sins, 2 Sam. 12. 13. and Job 7. 21. and that so *Paresis* mark'd in this place, that Action of God considered as a Debtor, who transports the Debt or the Crimes of Sinners upon Jesus Christ, who is made their Pledge or Surety. So the sense of this Passage is according to our Author, that God has transported upon Jesus Christ the Sins which were committed before his coming, and which he bore by his patience, and that God hath declared in the Gospel how much he loves Justice, since he has pardoned Sinners after that his Son, their Surety, had expiated their Crimes, and has even pardoned those which sinn'd before his coming. It was objected, to Mr. Alting, that the sense he gave to the term *Paresis*, was unknown to all Greece. He answers to this, it is the Custom with the Writers of the New Testament to give Hebrew Significations to Greek Words, and that *πάρεσις* answers to the *Hegnebbir* of the Hebrews; nor is it strange that St. Paul has taken *πάρεσις*, for Transport. To confirm his Opinion, the Author brings many Examples of a very extraordinary Signification, of the Particle γὰρ, for, which answering to that of כִּי *Chi*, in Hebrew, is employed for although in the following passages, John 4. 44. Two days after Jesus returned into Galilee, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπαρ-
τηνεν, altho' Jesus had testified himself, that

no Prophet would be well received in his own Country. Rom. 5. 7. One would scarce die for a just Man, *ὅς γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τάχα τίς ἕτοιμος ἐσθαι εἴη*, alio for a good Man some would even dare to die. There are infinite Examples of these Hebraisms: Thus the passage of St. John 8. 25. *τίθεν δὲ λέγει τὶ καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν*, which has given so much trouble to the Interpreters, is a phrase of the Rabbins, *לבתחלה אשר אני אומר לכם*, *Le-bitchilla rascher ani omer Lachem*: I am really what I tell you. The same Apostle doth not commonly take the word *παρρησία*, in a Greek sense, but in a signification which the Rabbins give to their *בפרהסיא* *beparhesia*, which signifies Publicly, 50, 27, 42, 44, 52.

In the 45. 50. Mr. Alting proves the necessity of studying the Hebrew Tongue against a Professor who durst maintain in his Publick Lessons that that Tongue was not necessary for Ministers, nor for Students in Divinity, because St. Augustine and all the Doctors of his time were ignorant of it, except St. Jerome, who drew upon himself the hatred of all his Contemporaries. The same Author writing against the Jew Athanasius, p. 4. according to the citation of Mr. Alting, *Libros veteris Testamenti partem Bibliorum inutilem dixit, potiore vero & sanctiorem novi Testamenti libros*; that is, the Books of the Old Testament, are the unprofitable Part of the Bible; but that those of the New Testament are the most holy and most considerable.

Mr. Perizonius designing to refute Spinosæ, consulted Mr. Alting upon some difficulties, which our Professor resolves in his 59. and 50. The first relates to the Authors of the Canon of the Old Testament; and 'tis asked whether it was Esdras? Mr. Alting saith, 'That 'tis commonly believed upon the Testimony of Buxtorf who assures us in his *Tyberiadæ*, That the Members of the great Synagogue assembled to bring into one Body the Canonical Books, and that Esdras presided in that Assembly, and that the three last Prophets were there accompanied with Mordochæus. But Gans David remarks that Simeon the Just, who is said to have been the last of the Assembly of this great Synagogue, lived eight Generations after Josuah, Son to Josadack. Add to this, that there is no likelihood that Malachy was Contemporary with Esdras, since he doth not speak of the rebuilding of the Temple nor return of the Jews, and that he chiefly sticks to reprehend the Priests, who corrupted the Law by their Interpretations: So that this Prophet seems to have lived about the time of Hillel, when the Sect of the Pharisees began to flourish, and their Traditions to be in Vogue. Parker has remarked, that the Fathers of the Church pass'd for Apostolical Traditions, customs established by long use, whereof the first Author was not known, and to

which they had a mind to give some Authority. The same Remark may be made concerning the Jews. There were amongst them Institutions, whereof the Authors were uncertain, which they attributed to the Members of the great Synagogue, and made them come from inspired Men, which were but Traditions of the Pharisees. The Members of the Synagogue never lived in the same time, nor in the same place, and that consequently there never hath been such an one. It is an invention of the Sticklers for Tradition, to give some likelihood to their System.

The second difficulty regards the numbering of Jews who returned from Babylon to Jerusalem. Esdras and Nehemiah agree in a Total Sum, which was 42360. but when we our selves will muster up the number of each Family, there will be only found 29818 in Esdras and 31089 in Nehemiah. There is yet this thing remarkable, that Nehemiah mentions 1765 Persons, which are not in Esdras, and that Esdras has 494, whereof Nehemiah doth not all speak. The Difference that seems to make it impossible to reconcile these two Authors, is what makes them agree; for if you add the Over-plus of Esdras to the number of Nehemiah, and the Surplus of Nehemiah to that of Esdras, the same Number will come of them both.

29818 Esdras Number.

1765 Over-plus of Nehemiah.

31583

31089 Nehemiah Number.

494 Esdras Over-plus.

31583 Which being subtracted from 42360, there remains 10777. which were not mentioned perhaps because they lost their Genealogical Books, being of the Posterity of the Priests, Chabaja, Cotzi, Barzillai, or of the Israelites of the Ten Tribes.

In the sixtieth Letter our Author makes the History of the Canon of the Old Testament, Moses, saith he, committed the keeping of his Books to the Levites, Deut. 31. 25. and the following, and created them as 'twere Doctors of the People. Deut. xxxiii. 10. And it seems that Malachy alludes to this charge, Ch. 2. vers. 4, 5, 6, 7. Yet these Doctors did not much increase this *Bibliothèque* until the time of David. The Prince assisted with some Prophets, divided the Priests and Levites into divers Classes, who were to serve by turns: But this Order was the cause of a great confusion amongst the holy Levites, whereof none took care, but when his turn was come. Thence proceeds the disorder which is remarked in the Collection of the Psalms: David gave them to the Levites,

Levites, who were in their Week, according as he composed them; each Classis kept those which had been remitted to it: In fine, there was a Collection made, joining together what each Classis had received, without having regard to the Order or time in which they were Written. The same thing sometimes hapened, in regard to the Sermons of the Prophets, *Habac. 2. 2*; which having been intrusted to divers Priests, were gathered, according to this Method, and put into the number of the Sacred Books. As in the time of *Malachy*, they began to have too much esteem for Traditions, and to attribute unto them an Authority, which weakned that of the Sacred Writings; this Prophet discover'd the Imposition of the *Levites*, who gave way

to these Traditions (*a*)
(*a*) *Malac. 2.* 'because it augmented
8, 9. 'their credit. He prohib-

'bited, for the future,
'that any Writing whatever should be put
'into the Sacred Volumes upon their Word,
'and before it had been compared with the
'Law of *Moses*, (*b*) which

(*b*) *Malach. 4.* 'he would have to be as
4. 'the Rule to all Books:

Thence it cometh, that
'after him nothing was added to the Canon
'of the Holy Writings. I cannot believe
'that this was done by the advice or order
'of some Ecclesiastical Assembly. There
'are no Footsteps of these sorts of Assemblies in Scripture, and 'tis evident that
'God would not suffer that there should be
'any; least it should be thought, that the
'Authority of his Word depended on the
'Will of Man; or that the Church, under
'this pretence, should attribute to it self
'the right of Pronouncing upon the Canon,
'and to reject, or admit the Books, as it
'should think fit. If the Church had this
'power, there are many Prophetical Writings which we should miss: undoubtedly
'we should not have the Prophecies of *Jeremias*, to whom the whole Colledge of
'Priests, and all the ordinary Prophets
'were opposed; and it is absurd to say,
'that the Church had this Power one time,
'and not another. God gave Credit enough
'to *Moses*, in speaking to him in the sight
'of all *Israel*, *Exod. xix. 14.* and his Writings never wanted the Authority of any
'Assembly to be received. As to the other
'Prophets, Do you ask how their Books
'were received, or how they have been
'preserved? It is a conduct of Providence,
'which I adore without comprehending its
'ways. It hath not yet been proved that
'we owe this obligation to the *Pharisees*, or
'*Rabbins* in particular. It is to the Jewish
'People in General that *St. Paul* gives the
'Title of *Depositors* of the Divine Oracles,
'*Rom. 3.*

Several other Questions of Criticks are treated of in these Letters, of Divinity and

Morality. If *Boaz* (*a*) E-
spoused *Ruth* by vertue of (*c*) *Lev. 68.*
the Right of Next-a-Kin? & 69.

What Motive compelled
the *Gibeonites* to feign that they were come
from a far Countrey? If the Seven Nations of the *Canaanites* were not of the number of those to whom God had commanded Peace to be offer'd? It's Answer'd, That these Seven Nations were excepted, and not contain'd amongst those
to whom Peace was to be (*b*) *Deut. 20.*
offered; (*b*) That the *Gibeonites* being of their number, saw themselves obliged to put a Guile upon the *Israelites*, to be received amongst their Allies; that this having been Sworn, it was not permitted to break it, because it was not the *Israelites* who had offered Peace, but the *Gibeonites* which had demanded it; a Conjunction upon which God pronounced nothing, and which seemed even to exempt them also: Submission being a mark of Faith, see *Joshua 11. 9.* and compare the example of *Rahab*, *Jos. 2.* Yet as the *Gibeonites* had obtained this Alliance by deceit, and remained in the midst of *Palestine*, for fear they should corrupt the People, they were obliged to Abjure Idolatry; and an Employment was given them, which kept them with the Priests. As for the other People which the *Israelites* Conquered, they were suffered to live in their Religion, as it appears by the Example of the Neighbouring Nations, whom *David* made Tributaries:

It is Asked if the Daughter of *Jephtha* ought to have been Sacrificed, and it's Answer'd, Yes? Divers Questions are put about the Baptism of little Children, if it can be Administred without the Temples, and set Hours, or by Laicks? upon which occasion our Author makes the History of this Sacrament, and concludes, that we ought to Conform our selves in this to the use of the Church wherein we live: that it is absurd to have the Publick stoop to our own particular Customs; and that a *Protestant*, who threatens to separate himself, for these things, from the Communion of a Church, hath already abandoned it, seeing he has a design to trouble the Peace thereof, and that he can suffer no Order but that which he establisheth: *L. LXX.* Other Questions upon Baptism of Infidels, may be seen in *L. XCVIII.*

Those who would have it, that the Prophets who followed *Moses*, made alterations in his Writings; and those who suspect that the Pentateuch is a Collection of some other Prophet, who lived a long while after, and composed it upon the Memoirs of this Lawgiver, commonly do cite, to prove their Hypothesis, the Passages of the Five Books of *Moses*, where there are Names which

which were not in use in his time. That of *Genesis*, Chap. xiv. 14. where it is said, that *Abraham* pursued the Five Kings unto *Dan*, seems one of the strongest, seeing it is evident by *Josh. xix. 47.* and *Judges xviii. 29.* that this City was called before *Leshchem*, or *Lais*. Mr. *Alting* Answers, 'Tis likely there were Three Cities of this Name, *Leshchem* and *Lais* being perhaps different Cities, to which the *Danites* gave the Name of their Father; and that of *Genesis*, being, it may be, a Third City situate near the source of *Jordan*: If we may not rather say, that it is at the very source of *Jordan*. And this source was but Ten Miles from *Sidon*; whereas *Lais* seems to be distant enough from it, *Judg. xviii. 7, 28.* This same source was very distant from the Territories of the Tribe of *Dan*, being at the South of *Naphtali* and *Asher*. There is no likelihood that these two Tribes should permit the *Danites* to seize upon Cities, which were fallen unto them by Lot; nor that the Idol of *Micah*, to which the Tribe of *Dan* gave Publick Adorations, was erected so far from their Land, *Judg. xviii. 18, 30, 31.* All this makes our Author believe, that *Lais* was situate near *Jappe*, more than Forty Miles from *Sidon*, since it is said, it lived after the Fashion of the *Sidonians*, because it was washed with the Sea, that it subsisted by Commerce, and that its Government was *Democratick*, as well as that of that Famous Republick, *L. lxxx.* and the *Letters lxxxiii, lxxxiv, lxxxvii, lxxxviii,* are *Buxman's* and *Alting's*, and Treat of several Questions, wherein these Two Divines differ'd in their Opinion, concerning the duration of the *Sanhedrin*, and the *Scribes* of the Old Testament: What the *Face of God* signifies in the first Precept of the Decalogue? If the Seven *Epistles* of the *Apocalypse* are Prophectical? The *CXLV.* contains Two Curious Questions of Morality: Whether it be lawful for a Christian to wear Modest Ornaments, and to get his Livelihood in making Lace, Ribbands, Perukes, &c. After the *Letters* are Two Dissertations upon the Hebrew Tongue; the first Treats of its Names, *Judaic, Hebraic* and *Holy*: The Second shews, that 'twas God himself who Taught Man this Tongue.

The Manner of Thinking well, as it has a Relation to the Operations of the Mind. In Dialogues. At Paris, Sold by the Widow of Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy, 1687. in Quarto, p. 402. And at Rotterdam by Reinier Leers.

IT is not difficult to find out the Author of the Dialogues of *Aristus* and *Eugenius*. Here we find the same Form and Politeness, with a Collection of the finest places of the best Authors, done by a delicate Hand. Yet we are not more charmed with the choice of things, than with the pleasant turn, and refined manner, wherewith they are united, and which will very well bear a second or third review by the Reader. As the Definition of an *Art* is, *the manner of well-doing a thing*; so this Work seems, at first sight, to be the same thing with a *French Logick*, attributed to the Gentlemen of the *Port-Royal*, and intitled, *The Art of Thinking*. Wherefore Father *Bouhours* thought himself obliged to say in a *Preface*, That his Object was different, and that he hath not proposed the Teaching how to form *Ratiocinations*, with all the exactness that Reason requireth, assisted with Reflections and Precepts; but that his end was to observe those Ingenious Sentiments which are called *Thinking*, as it has a relation to the *Operations* of the Mind. So that one regardeth exact Reason, and the other a good Relish and Fine Wit. The Two Persons that are to maintain the Four Dialogues, whereof this Work is composed, are adorned with all the Gifts which can render Conversation Ingenious and Sparkling. *Science* hath not spoiled them, nor have they much less Politeness than Learning. The Judgment of the one is good, and nothing pleaseth him but what's Reasonable and Natural: And all that is Glittering and Bright charms the other. It's this difference of their Judgments which is the Subject of their Dispute. If there should a new *Cleanthes* arise, he would perhaps find that Father *Bouhours* could as well say, without Complements, that he himself hath all the Good Qualities, seeing he is here both *Eudoxius* and *Philanthus*, as he formerly was *Aristus* and *Eugenius*. In short, unfold the matter (to wit) blot out those imaginary Names, and the *Elogiums* run immediately back to the Author. This severe Critick would perhaps let go some fine Raillery, because Father *Bouhours* makes the Conversation proceed from the doubts upon the *French Tongue* proposed to the *Academy* by a Country Gentleman. *Philanthus* found his Friend intent upon this Book, and the business could neither be more agreeable,

ble, nor more necessary to the will of Father *Bonhours*. But this place ought not to be examined with rigour. The tenderness of a Father left him, and he could not retain his love for this expos'd Child, which beareth not the Name of him that gave it Birth. Do we not forgive the Transports of a Mother for her Infant, because of Nature? This secret power draweth us as 'twere against our Will, and possesseth all the affections of our hearts.

The first Thought that falls under the Censure of Father *Bonhours*, is that of *Lucan*, in this Verse so famous;

Vitrix causa Diis placuit; sed victa Catoni.

The Gods serve Cæsar, and Cato follows Pompey.

He saith, That notwithstanding the Adorers of this *Poet*, it hath only a fine appearance; and that when it's examin'd into, it is no good Sense. For it representeth the Gods upholding the Unjust Party, as was that of *Cæsar*, who Sacrificed his Countrey to his Ambition, and Oppressed the Publick Liberty. But good Sense will suffer the Gods to approve of the Unjustice of an Usurper. And *Cato* being a Man of worth, according to the *Poet*, there is no reason to oppose him to the Gods, and to give him even the advantage over them. That would destroy his Character of Vertue. Notwithstanding, the Friends of *Lucan* might say, that his Thought shoud be examined by the Spirit that reigned then amongst the Heathen. The Pagans, far from making any scruple to put their Gods in the unjust Party, made use of a way, in relation to them, which was not the most respectful in the World: On the contrary, they would sling them out of the Windows when they were not well satisfied with them; and it hath been observed, that *Alexander* was so angry because they had let *Hephestion* dye, that after having said a Thousand Injurious things to them, he destroyed their Altars. According to this opinion of Father *Bonhours's*, there is no good Sense in all the *Aeneids* of *Virgil*. For one of the finest places is the Anger of *Juno*, who persecuteth pious *Aeneas*, and utterly resolveth the loss of so good a Man, in a passion, because *Paris* did not think her handsome. As for *Cato*, all the World knows, that those who were educated as he was in the Opinions of the *Stoicks*, had not a Piety so exact. *Seneca* would say boldly, That the Prosperity of *Sylla* was the crime of the Gods. The quality of Honest Man that was given to *Cato*, regardeth only his unshaken Love for the Publick Liberty and Good wherewith he was animated. So the *Poet* that makes him a Hero upon that account, by a noble and bold thought, puts the resolution of *Cato* in ballance with the Power of the Gods, and the Fortune of

Cæsar. The Reader charmed with so fine a stroak, doth not stand to decide the Quarrel of *Cæsar* with *Pompey*, nor to examin, which of the two had most justly unsheathed his sword. Father *Bonhours*, after having marked that *Brebeus* mistook the Sense of *Lucan*, and that he has been a little remiss in this place; begins to give Rules to discover a True Thought. He saith, That it ought to be Natural, and far from those Lustres which have no Solidity; that it ought to be a faithful Image of the Thing it Represents, and always founded upon Truth. Not but that a Thought which runs upon a Fiction, may be Just, provided it be authorised in the Fable: but the points of Wit which the *Italians* call *Vivezze d'ingegno*, are not agreeable to the Judgment of this Age. Metaphors well placed produce a handfom effect; and they are very ingeniously compared to Transparent Vails, which let us see what they cover. The Author disapproveth not Equivocations: For example, this of Mr. *Voiture*, in favour of the Coachman that had overturned Cardinal *Mazarin*. He thought he could hazard nothing in overturning you, saith he to him, because you always fall upon your feet. The true sense of this Equivocation was, that nothing overturned either his Designs or Fortune, and that his Wit was still in the same scituation, and drew him out of the most entangling Affairs. But if the Reputation of Mr. *de Voiture* made it be approved in that time, we may doubt it would not now have the same success. Our Age, delicate even to a scruple, loves not the Games of Wit, wherein Ambiguity makes all the Finery; wherefore he adds here, that they become nauseous, and insipid, even at the very instant that we think to gain credit by 'em. A mysterious appearance that forms a double sense, causes a secret despire; when having sought long to find the true meaning, we perceive it to be a thing of so little value. Hyperboles, so dear to the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, have a little more credit, provided there is nothing excessive in them. For Vertue itself ceaseth from being so, as soon as it runs into Extremities: and it was permitted to Mr. *de Balzac* only to speak with a Grave Tone things that were extream. If they are too harsh, they must be sweetned with Terms, and so prepare the Mind for it, that it might not be obliged to revolt. Notwithstanding they lye, according to *Quintillian*, without deceiving, and lead to Truth by a Lye; because something on't is always abated, and the intent of it is reduced to a reasonable Sense. And if the exactness of thoughts makes the beauty of the Work, we must not be litigious with a Sporting Writer, who, in a small debauch of Wit, speaks a World of Follies to please himself. Then too much strictness would be a Fault. And as a Woman ought not to be regularly dressed but for Ceremonious days, so the yre

only grave and important Pieces, where all ought to be in the utmost exactness.

After that, the Author relates Examples of false Thoughts, that he has drawn (if our Conjecture be true) from *Essays of Morality*. He condemns much this Moral Reflection: *When Ignorant Persons see these great Libraries, they imagine a Man happy, or capable to know all that was contained in these Collections of Volumes, which they consider as Treasures of Light. But they are mistaken; for if all that shou'd be reunited in one head only, it would not either be more Regular, or more Wise: It would but augment its Confusion, and darken its Light.* Yet the Fancy is neither altogether just, nor altogether false. For if there are Wits capable of disintangling all these Ideas; there are a great many more to whom Reading doth but produce disorder and obscurity. And, as the design is to make Men perceive the unprofitableness and vanity of Human Sciences, there was no great danger of pushing the Reflection a little beyond the Truth. Father Bouhours also condemneth the false Motions of Preachers. He Laughs at him, who, examining the Reason why *Jesus Christ*, after his Resurrection, first appeared to *Mary*, saith, That it was because God would have the Mystery of his Rising to be Publick, and that a Secret of this Importance, in the hands of a Woman, would speedily be spread every where. He maintains, that if Custom hath authorised, in Profane Works, such Thoughts, as make *Fortune* enter in the shape of a Person, that is like the trifling and Chimerical Divinity which the Pagans thought presided over Events, and dispensed Good or Evil, according to its Capriciousness; it ought now to be banished, because it favors too much of the Fable, and Paganism. After which he merrily proposeth this Question, Whether we may, with exactness, say, *That the Heart is more ingenious than the Mind?* But why should it not be said, Seeing those that Love have their sight more fine, and quick, than the most apprehensive persons? Nothing escapes Love, it refines above all things, and knows how to deceive the most clear-sighted. This opposition of the Heart and Mind may be very delicately applyed: And can there be any thing juster than this, *The Mind cannot personate the Heart very long?*

At the beginning of the Second Dialogue, the Author gives us to observe, That from the Elevation of our Thoughts shou'd proceed a certain Sublimity, that transporteth even to rapture. He cites this Magnificent Elogy that *Seneca* gives to *Cicero*, *That he is the only Wit that the Romans had equal to their Empire:* and this of *Horace*; *That Cæsar brought into subjection the whole Universe, except the fierce and invincible Soul of Cato.*

After this, is a long Chain of Passages of divers Authors, and a very Polite Commentary upon the finest places of *Tatius*. He shews, that this Poet robbed others; but that sometimes he so pleasantly stole from them, that his Thefts were pardonable. Father Bouhours ingenuously confesseth, that he's not violent for the Antients; and it's easily seen that the Moderns have very much Charmed him. Wherefore he rangeth himself in the Sentiment of Chancellor *Bacon*, who said, That the Antiquity of Ages was the Youth of the World; and that in Accounting justly, we are properly the Antients. Those that will be willing to determin of his Judgment, may do it by examining the Choice of such Thoughts as he cites for Examples of Nobility and Majesty. In this great number, the Praises of the King are not omitted. It is, say they, a Noble Thought, to tell him, *That he hath the Looks of a Hero; and that if the Title of Majesty was not due to his Rank, it would be to his Person: That he is not like those, that would be Nothing if they ceased to be Kings: but that the Hero is greater in him than the King, and that there is nothing above his Dignity but his Merit.*

We shall add, that in the high Elevation Kings are placed, they seldom tast, without mixture, the pleasure of being Praised, because it may be perplexed with this unquiet Thought, that in their Persons is not adored the Fortune whereof they are Masters; and by this Reflection, so Judicious in a Prince: *I should be proud of the Praises that are given me, if those that give them to me durst tell me the contrary.*

Comparisons also produce a handsom effect, where they are rich and noble, well chosen, and borrowed from the greatest Subjects of Nature and Art. They must not be too bold, neither ought they also to be condemned with too much precipitation; because with them often it is the same, as with those Pictures; where that which seems at first to offend the sight, by strokes too strong and particular, is a happy boldness, and a Master-piece of Work in the eyes of understanding Men.

In the matter of Comparisons it's said, that the Prince of *Conde* said one day, after having read the Lives of *St. Ignatius* and *St. Xavier*; *St. Ignatius Cæsar who never did any thing without good Reasons: St. Xavier Alexander whose Courage hurry'd him away sometimes.*

The Author ravished with so happy a Comparison, finds a wonderful Relation between the Character of these Two Apostolical Men, and these Two Famous Conquerors. For *St. Ignatius* was Illustrious by his

his fine Atchievement in Arms, and in leaving the World, he lost not his Warlike Ideas: On the contrary, he conceived the Affairs of God under these Martial Images, whereof his head was filled; and it was in the Meditation of the Two Standards that he formed the Draught of his Order, and in the same Mind he gave it a WARLIKE NAME, calling it the Society of Jesus. As for St. Xavier, as he has made many Evangelical Conquests in the Indies, so there is no Injustice in comparing him to Alexander the Conqueror of Asia; both having always followed the ardour that animated them, without being frightened at the perils inseparable from great Designs. But both have sometimes suffered themselves to be transported with their Courage, and have almost passed the bounds of Heroick Vertue. Can there be any thing more Noble, or that can give a higher and more magnificent Idea of the Society, than to make these Two Founders equal with these Two Heroes, who have brought the World under their Yoak, and founded the Two Greatest Empires in the World? We must not therefore wonder, if the ORDER have kept the Spirit of CONQUERING, and this Warlike Humour, that makes People submit to it.

To awake the Mind of the Reader, Father Bonhours observes, that the Gallant Strain hath its Licences as well as the Poetrick. He gives a Picture, (or rather Translation) of the Despair of the unfortunate Dido, and of the Habitation of Lovers in Hell. Virgil seats them in places besprinkled with Tears, and in Solitudes under the shadow of Myrtles; because Melancholy does not abandon them even in the Habitation of Death. He confesseth, that his heart is touched with this Thought, and that nothing makes us more sensible, how far this foolish Passion reacheth. He very gallantly Laugheth at the folly of Orpheus, who went in search of his Wife even to Hell. The Torments of the Unhappy were suspended, according to his Opinion, more by the surprise that this Husband gave by his New Enterprize, than by his Melodious Voice: And the God of Hell, being touched to see him re-enter into such hard bonds, snatched his Wife from his hands to recompense his Musick.

After the Thoughts of Pleasantness, Men pass to those that are delicate; If you ask of me (saith he) what delicateness of Meat or Musick is, it would not be hard to content you: But I do not know where I should meet with Terms to expound a delicate Thought. It sufficeth not to say, it is the finest production, and even the most Curious Piece of Wit; it must be added, that it containeth a Sence, which is not visible enough to transport us of a sudden. It resemblenth not those Sheperdeses, whereof the great Strokes offer themselves immediatly to our

eyes; but such Master-pieces, where Nature worketh by little, and whose Matter and Structure, almost imperceptible, make us doubt whether it hath a design to shew, or hide its Address. For an Example of this Delicacy, which leaves more to be Thought on than is said, we'll cite this place of Cardinal Bentivoglio; The Illustrious Birth and great Merit of the Marquis of Spinola made him a Grandee of Spain before he was so. Is not here a little Point and Game of Wit rather than Delicateness? This Stroak of the Panegyrist of Theodosius the Great appears more fine. You have, saith he to him, so acted, that no Man thinks himself Conquered when you are Victorious: and that of Cornelius, that makes Sabina say, being divided betwixt her Love to her Husband Horatius, and her Tenderness for her Brother Curiatius;

I fear our Victory as much as our Loss:

Rome, if thou complaineest that this is to
(betray thee,
Make thyself Enemies that I can hate.

The Application of these two last lines to a Catholick who had changed his Religion, to Espouse a Huguenotish Woman, I believe is no less delicate than the Thought it self. It's a great Art continues the Author, to know how to Praise well; and no kind of Eloquence requires turns so delicate as this. A gross Praise, that is, a Praise that is affected, or strain'd, and which is in no wise conceal'd, makes Rational Persons ashamed. A false Praise renders those ridiculous that are praised; Whilst the Praises that are acute flatter their Self-love, and satisfie their Vanity.

At the beginning of the Third Dialogue is his Criticks upon Thoughts, wherein too much Affectation and Art appears. 'Tis a defect that costs much: But the Reader loves not to perceive the Work of the Author, and will not have us shew him all the efforts that we make to please him. He imagins, that we would ravish his approbation. A Painted Discourse (if I may use the Expression), and too exact, as much displeaseth delicate Minds, as high flights displease Men of a good Judgment. Artifice spoileth Nature. A Thought is vitious in a sublime strain, when it is too far sought, and too much extended. True Greatness ought to have Just Measures: or to express our selves more Figuratively, A Discourse, like to a River, quiet in its Course, should not overflow, nor become of a sudden an impetuous Torrent, which produceth a Noise, and falls into Precipices. The Spaniards only are lovers of these Foppish Thoughts, and Chymical Pomp, which they insert with so much Pride into their Works.

Lucan also sometimes raiseth things a little too high, and beyond their Nature.
Is

Is there not an excess in this Flattery, wherewith he treated Nero? For after having lamented the evils of the Civil War, he again cries out, *But if the Destinies would not give Nero to the World, but only in lieu of so many Evils, let us no more complain of any thing, we are very willing to buy him at that price.*

*Jam nihil, O superi, querimus, scelera ista
(nefasque
Hac Mercede placent.*

It's likewise a Vice to affect too much Finery in Ornaments, and it often happens that we Please not, for having too much Wit. For Example, these Verses are drawn from a Treatise, which hath passed for a Master-piece, and where the Author Paints a Fountain:

*Within this Grove a Liquid Cristal Glides,
Which like a Mirror made of Frozen Glass,
Shews every Passenger his Mien and Face.*

There is nothing natural in this. On the contrary it may be said, that it would be finer if it were less, and that it were better a Thought should be a little more Dim, than to be so bright. It is sufficient to adorn, without setting it off with so many false colours. Seneca the Tragedian often falls into this Fault. He's so much afraid lest a fine Thought should escape the Hearer, that he sets it off with all the colours that can render it pleasing. Prest on by the heat of his imagination he will have every thing sparkling in his Works. But it's a sign of great Wit to stop, and know how to make an end when it's necessary. The Passions, of all things, will not be too ingenious. The agitation they cause suffers no motions that are exquisite, for Nature expounds it self more simply. In fine, Men Preach too acutely, because the Thought being too much refined, degenerates into subtilty, and evaporation. It is with them, as with Works that are over-fine, which have no solidity, and where Art is no more sensible, because there is too much on't. The Author upon this proceeds to Tacitus, because his reflections are too refined. Every thing is a Mystery with him, and he relates not things as they fell out, but as he imagines they might have been. *That is the Turn*, addeth he, *that pleaseth one of those Apes of Tacitus, who thinks to be as great in counterfeiting him, and in giving us noble Ideas which his Imagination furnisheth him with, as also Political Mysteries forged by his own brain, which he hath added to his Memoirs.*

The Fourth Dialogue is design'd to recommend to us the care we ought to have for neatness of phrase. The Mind is not agreeably touch'd, when 'tis put to too much trouble to clear the obscurity of the thought. He shews here, the difference betwixt Gallima-

tins and Phœbus. Gallimatus (says he) is incomprehensible, and dark on every side. Phœbus is less obscure, and seems to signifie something fine. Doth it belong to Phœbus to call the Long Robes of Women, *Hyperbole's of Cloth*? The Author relates the unimitable Models of Gallimatus, and the Abbot of St. Cyran furnished him with the chief of 'em. The Adorers of Aristotle have invented a most honourable reason to excuse his obscurity. They said, that the Ambition of Alexander could not endure that all the World should know as much as he did; and that these Mystrious ways produc'd more veneration to the sublimity of the Matter. But why should any one Write when he has no mind to be understood? He thinks that this Reflection is not well displayed, how fine soever it appears: *Gravity is a Mystery of the Body, invented to hide the faults of the Mind.* These Terms, a Mystery of the Body, are not altogether intelligible. Obscure Thoughts resemble those Pits, whose depth surprizeth the Sight; or such Persons as have always their Masks on their Faces, so that they cannot be known.

Is not this to lead the Reader into by-ways, where perpetual Night Reigneth, or at least a very dull day? There are besides so great a number of fine things mixt together in this Work, that it appears to be made only for the Imagination, and to please the Ears; that one is dazzled with the variety of Objects. It must be granted that Father Bonhours had the advantage of Youth in his Age, for he appears as Polite and Sparkling as in the Dialogues of Aristus and Eugenius, which was Writ Twenty years before. His Wit hath always the same advantages, and resembles not in any thing the Melancholly common to Old Age, which is an Enemy to the Graces and Charms of Raillery, under pretence that it no longer becomes it: A great Wit, once said, that an Honest Man ought to be of all Professions, and to make no shew of his own. And here he may be pleas'd, for the Author does it without discovering his.

The History of a Christian Lady of CHINA: Where occasionally the Customs of these People, and the Exercises of Piety of the New Christians, are explained. At Paris, by Stephen Michalet, 1681. in Twelve, p. 151.

THIS is a Second Work of Father Cappel's, who, after having given in his First Treatise an exact Idea of the Philosophy of the Famous Confucius, and of the Principal Sciences of the Chinois, was willing, in this, to instruct us in the Life and excel-

excellent qualities of a Christian Lady of China: to which he adds the Relation of the Manners and particular Intreagues of some of the Missionaries, and of the Establishment of the Christian Religion in this great Kingdom.

Yet he first declares, that he pretends only to give here an Abridgment of the Life of this Illustrious Lady; and that he intends to edifie the Publick by a more Ample Relation of her Vertuous Actions; which if we Judge of them by this Abridgment, ought to be very surprising, and the worthy Subject of an Apotheose.

The Author begins his History with relating, in a few words, who were the Ancestors of this Heroine; their Life, their Manners, their Employments, and their happy Calling to Christianity, in spite of the blind Error and Idolatry wherein they were plunged for so long a time.

He insists most a Discourse upon Paul Sin, her Grandfather, who, he says, was not only the Introducer and Protector of the Missionaries at the Emperor of China's Court, but also the Apostle and Doctor of his Nation, by the Translation of several Books and Treatises of the Christian Religion, and even by the Learned Apologies he made in its favour in the Chinese Language.

He observes that Paul Sin was one of the Colao, which are the Chief Ministers of State, and the Great Officers of the Empire. From whence he takes occasion to speak of Matthew Riccius and Adam Schall Jesuites, and of their Entry into the Court of China, which was effected by the means of the Mathematicks, and Reformation of the Calendar they undertook, whereof he relates the Particulars: adding, that after Five years labour of these good Missionaries, Paul Sin took the pains to Revise and Translate into his Tongue their Works, with all the Elegance that could be expected from the most able and intelligent Man of all China: Which sufficiently shews, that no Science ought to be neglected: since the simplicity of Evangelical Doctrine would have rendered useless the important projects of this Mission, if it had not been upheld by Astronomy, to which, with the Protection of this Great Minister, it owes its Establishment.

After that, the Author comes to the particulars of the Life, and Pious Employments of the Grand-Daughter of Paul Sin, which he makes to consist almost wholly in Alms, building of Churches, and Ornaments for Chapels, the particular Chapter of the Missionaries, which they commonly imbellish with the most pathetick Figures

to touch the Consciences, and inspire the most harden'd hearts with compassion.

Yet that nothing might be objected against the great Liberalities of this Lady, who was a Widow indeed, but had many Children; he saith, that her Work, and that of her Daughters, was sufficient to have furnished all her Charities, which were so prodigious, that at one time she gave 220000 Livers to the Jesuits. She was so scrupulous, that she could not suffer her Son to Employ for the Maintaining of the Mission, the Money he got by his Employments: fearing lest what he got in the Tribunals of Justice, should not be acquired by lawful means.

This Example would be dangerous to be proposed, if our Devotees in the West had such tender Consciences on this Subject, as the Profelytes of the East.

He afterwards Treats of the different Congregations that were established in the Provinces of China, on the account of this Christian Lady, who is the Mother and Benefactress thereof; and plentifully furnishes them with Pictures of the Passion, Images, Beads, Agnus Dei's, Crosses, Medals, and other such things as may serve to the Instruction of New Converts.

And on this occasion he makes mention of the Conversion of the Bonzes, which would easily be effected in giving each Thirty Crowns a year, since the fear only of seeing themselves miserable and abandon'd, hinders them from embracing the Christian Religion, whereof in their hearts they acknowledge the Excellency and Truth.

These are the Efficacious Means with which our Modern Apostles Convert Pagans as well as Hereticks. But it's much to be feared that this Character of Interest does not agree with that of the Inspirations of the Spirit.

This was not the Motive to Madam Hui (which was the Name of this Christian Lady.) The Fervor of her Zeal did not permit her to be one moment at rest. She went from City to City, and from Province to Province, to re-establish desolate Churches, to build new ones, and to provide, in all places, for the wants, and Assistance of the Missionaries and new Converts.

Her indefatigable cares were very useful in the time of a great Persecution, which arose against them in 1664, which Father Couplet gives here the particulars of.

They were accused of Inspiring into the People a Spirit of Rebellion; and of

persuading them to change their Religion; a Capital Crime in this Kingdom: and they would infallibly have suffered the rage of their Enemies, had it not been for divers Prodiges that appeared in their favour, and which the Reiterated Prayers of Madam *Hin* obtained from Heaven.

We must not wonder at it, since her Devotion was so great, and so universal: she observed all Duties of Piety, from the least unto the greatest, which she acquitted admirably well.

Never was there a Life better employ'd. Women, Children, Old Men, the Poor, and chiefly the Jesuites, were the continual Objects of her Care and Charity, without interrupting thereby her particular Exercises of Meditation and Prayer, which she Addressed to the Blessed Virgin, to whom she Devoted her self.

From whence the Author takes occasion to give us an account of the Devotion of the *Christians* of *China*, which hath scarcely any other object but the *Virgin*, the *Angels*, St. *Ignatius*, and Saint *Francis Xavier*, and consists entirely in the frequent Rehearsal of *Litanies*, and upon the number and measure of sundry Adorations, and Reiterated Genuflections, which is as much as to say a kind of Idolatry, disguised under the Name of Christianity.

This Remnant of Pagan Superstition disperse it self through all their Acts of Religion, but particularly their Funeral Poms, in which they express an ardent zeal to make them very Magnificent, for their Parents and Friends; whose Mourning and Ceremonies last many years after their death. This is it wherein the Missioners have not had any great need of their Complaisance.

Father *Couplet* therefore confesseth, that these Funeral days of *Christians* are days of Triumph for Religion; and that the Magnificence of the Images wherewith they adorn them, the Wax-Candles, the Perfumes and Incenses they imploy therein, make the *Chinois* look on them with admiration, and as People of a singular Piety.

They have found by the Advice of Madam *Hin*, the Secret of entring into several Provinces, where they never had any establishment; in burying there the Bodies of some of the Fathers of their Mission, having first asked leave to perform their last duties to them, which lasteth as long as the Devotion of Parents finds it convenient, and often as long as they live.

Upon this Subject the Author gives us an Account of a Stone Table adorned with the Figure of the Cross, and several *Chinois* and *Syriack* Inscriptions, which were taken out of the Earth in 1625, in the Province of *Kin-si*. He pretends that the Names of Seventy Preachers of the Gospel, which went from *Palestine* into *China*, in the year 636, are Engraven thereupon, and amongst others those of some Bishops: which he pretends are an Authentick Testimony of their Mission.

Howbeit, its Antiquity is considerable, and if the Truth on't was called into Question, that joyned to what I have said before, would suffice to shew, how Ingenious the Devotion is, when the Propagation of Faith is questionable.

He passeth from this to shew the difficulties which the Missioners find in that Country, for the Instruction of the *Neophytes*, and chiefly the Women, with whom there is no Commerce in *China*, no more than in other parts of the East.

Which sheweth, that they must needs have extraordinary regards and managements to succeed: to which the Charge of President of the Tribunal of *Mathematics*, and the Title of *Mandarin* that the Emperor of *China* hath given to Father *Adam Schall*, and to Father *Ferdinand Verbiest*, successively, and which they accepted of, with the consent of the Pope, hath not a little contributed.

We must notwithstanding confess, if Father *Couplet* is to be believed, that nothing has so much contributed to the advancement of *Christianity* in this Empire, as the assiduous and charitable Cares of this Lady.

He imployeth the rest of his History to Relate some Surprising Particulars of her Zeal and Piety.

He saith that she hath Founded near Thirty Churches in her Country; that she also built Nine more, with Fine Houses in other Provinces; and that there is neither Chapel, nor Oratory, nor Mission, nor Congregation, that hath not had share of her Liberalities; that she would even Correspond as far as the West, after divers Manners, to oblige, by her Example, the *Christian Ladies* to imitate her industrious Piety.

That which is very surprising in this, is, That in all these Foundations, and these particular Charities which she gave several Thousands of Persons, she only imployed the fruit of her Labour and Parsimony,

simony, without prejudicing the Fortunes of her Children.

He ends with a Remark which the Death of Madam *Hin* causes him to make, upon the particular care that the *Chinois* shew in all the Funeral Apparel of their Burials.

They cause Rich Coffins to be made a long time before their Death; and even the Children often do make a Present thereof to their Fathers and Mothers, as did the Lord *Basil* Son to Madam *Hin*, who gave her a Coffin worth Eight hundred Crowns.

They buy Gardens; they build therein Houses and Chappels to be joyned to their Tombs: and the Great Mourning of the Parents who survive, answers well enough to the Care which the Dead have taken of 'em, to preserve their Bones, and to perpetuate their Memory.

'Twas in one of these places that the Body of Madam *Hin* was Interr'd after she dyed as she lived, to wit, as a Saint, whose Memory is blessed, to all the *Christians* of *China*.

If her Death hath not obstructed the Progress of the Gospel, their Number at present ought to be very great; seeing the Author saith, that at that time there were Ninety Great Churches in one only Province, and that Fifteen Thousand Children were Baptized a year in all *CHINA*.

But this we have only the *Author's* word for; be the whole true or false, it shews what the Spirit of *JESUITISM* is, and 'tis of Use to Expose their Ridiculous Principles.

The History of the East-Indies, by Mr. Souchu de Reunefort. At Leyden, by Frederick Harring, 1668. in Twelves, P. 571.

THE Great Advantages that *Holland* hath drawn from the *East-India* Companies (which are become so famous throughout all the World) have caus'd other States to form a Design of Erecting the like.

France especially, by reason of its Power and Advantageous Situation, conceiving great hopes from this Enterprize, form'd a Company in 1664. for the Commerce of the *East-Indies*. They made a Fund of Fifteen Millions, whereof the King was pleas'd to advance Three; and his First Exploits were in the *Ile of Madagascar*.

This *Ile*, the greatest of the known Seas, was occupied by the *Marshal de la Meilleraye* for his particular profit; and the Company then, by Orders from the King, took Possession of it. The *Portuguese* call it the *Ile of St. Laurence*, because they discover'd it on the Feast of this Saint; and the *French* called it the *Dauphine Island*, in 1665.

The Description that is here made of it, gives a very pleasing Idea of the same, whereas the Orange-Trees, and Trees covered with Flowers, like the *Jasmin* of *Spain*, by their mixture, form natural Arbours, which surpass all the Regularity of Art. It produceth all sorts of Animals, and particularly *Chameleons*, whereof Naturalists have so variously spoken. The Author assures us, that they take by the eyes the colour of the Objects upon which they stay.

The Cloathing of the Inhabitants is Fantastick enough, and their Past-times gross and barbarous. He observeth nevertheless a singular Ceremony amongst them; which is, that the Master of the House offers the Fairest of his Women to the Pleasure of those that come to Visit him; It is an Incivility, and even a kind of Shame to make any Excuses. The Woman, on her part, is grieved, when her Beauty acquireth only Looks.

The People of the Country are of a Large Size; they have a Proud Gate, and can Dissemble as well as the most refined Nations. Their Blackness is unalterable, and proceedeth not from the heat of the Sun. The Cause is chiefly in their Blood;

Blood; for the *French* there are Born as White as at *Paris*.

The Author shews that these Black Women have the advantage of having a constant Beauty, because it hath not those inequalities and paleness of White Faces, which renders our Beauties variable.

Marriage is there accompanied with no manner of Ceremonies. The Virgins make none unhappy; and each takes a certain number of Women, according to his Fortune, or his Quality.

There are no Temples seen in the *Isle*; and Circumcision, which is in use amongst them, makes us judge, that the *Jews* or *Mahometans* have left there some footsteps of their Religion. They Adore an *Oly*, which is a kind of a Cricket, that they nourish with great care. When one Reproches them that they prostrate themselves before a vile Animal, they Answer very seriously, *That through it they respect the Author; and it being necessary to have some Object to fix the Mind on, the lowest best represents the Homage which they owe to the true and Sovereign Being.*

The Beginnings of the Company was not Prosperous at *Madagascar*. The Jealousie of Command divided the *French*; and that which hastened their Ruin in the Island, was, that the Catholick Zeal came in for a share. A Missioner, willing to Convert *Dian Manangue*, the most Valiant and full of Spirit of all the Princes of the *Insulars*, without staying for the tediousness of Reasons and Persuasion, made use of Force and Menaces.

Dian Manangue, that had been drawn into the *Dauphin-Fort* under pretence of a Deliberation of War, perceiving the violent designs that were formed against his Person, very cunningly feign'd to yield himself, and set a day apart to be Baptized. He returned very full of Trouble, and meditated the Cruel Tragedy that he Executed some days after. For he Poysoned the Missioner who went to him to perform the Ceremony; and Marching at the Head of a small Army, being Clothed with the Surplis of the Missioner, and wearing the Square Cap upon his Head, in an Insulting manner routed the *French*, and forc'd them to shut themselves up within the Walls of the Fort *Dauphin*. Their Affairs were never since re-established.

On the contrary, *Dian Manangue* having raised the Chief Men of *Madagascar*, drove away almost all the *French*; and those that were left were forced to abandon this *Isle*, which might have served as

the Center for the Commerce to the *Indies*.

The Company not being dismayed at these Ill successes, went further into the *Indies*, and took Measures how to establish themselves at *Suratte*.

This Puissant City is under the Obedience of the Great *Mogul*, and there are Inhabitants of all the Countries of the World. It is the Magazin of the *Indies* and *Asia*, and perhaps the Chief City in the World for Traffick.

The Author makes some Remarks upon the Manners of the First Inhabitants of the Country, and Affirms a thing that without doubt will find many Incredulous Readers; *That there are many Hermaphrodites at Suratte*, who, with Womens Cloaths wear Mens Turbants, for distinctions, and, to shew all the World, they have the advantage of both Sexes.

The Women for Decency and Honour are obliged to Burn themselves with the Body of their Husbands, and give them, after their Death, this sad Mark of their Love. Yet they ask permission of the Governor, who Grants it only according as he thinks fit.

They seem to believe that Old Women Ask it with all their Hearts, and they are permitted to Sacrifice their Sorrowful Remainder according to Custom.

As for the Young, they are Commanded to be Comforted, and are acquitted for some Extraordinary Shew of Grief.

In short, the Company hath not made such progresses as answered what might be expected from a Puissant Kingdom, and the Cares that had been taken to render it Flourishing.

Apostolici,

Of Nature it self: Or, an Ingenuous Disquisition into the received Notions of Nature: In a Letter to a Friend. By the Honourable R. Boyle, Esq; Fellow of the Royal Society. In Twelves, at London.

ONE may see in the second Part of our Bibliotheque an extract of a Book taken from the English Journal: All the Matters which are treated on in this Work are well digested, but there is one thing wanting to render it conformable to our Method, that is, to make an Abridgment of one of the Matters, and also to give an Idea of it, and of the Author himself; but Mr. Boyle having lately done us the Honour to send it to us, we shall now supply the Defect, and set apart the eighth Section for it.

After having explain'd by other Causes in the preceding Sections the greatest part of the effects which we attributed to Nature, we shall here shew that though some of these *Phænomena's* which some would have Nature to produce, could not be explain'd by Mechanick Principles; yet it follows not that we must have recourse to an Imaginary Cause which is express'd by that confus'd word *Nature*, which gives us not to understand after what manner these effects are produced; and to shew that this pretended Principle of all *Motions* and of all bodily Operations, is a Chimera, we demand of all Naturalists, *If it is a Substance or an Accident? If they answer that it is an Accident, we continue to demand, What kind of Accident it is, and how it is possible that an Accident by it self and separate, can produce Effects so different and extraordinary? If they say it is a Substance, we ask of them, What sort of Substance? Created or Increated? Corporal or Spiritual? And as they shew which Side they incline, so they lose themselves in such Absurdities as they cannot disengage themselves from.* Mr. Boyle has not contented himself to maintain this *System* with so many Reasons, but he also ends this Section by shewing that 'tis not less profitable than true. (1.) Because it seems to destroy the Opinion of those Heathen Philosophers, who would make God the Soul of the World, and who would imagine that the Soul of Man is part of his Substance; this is a Sentiment, which those who make an exterior Profession of Christianity, have renewed in our days under other Names, and which Mr. Boyle stiles *wicked*, pretending that their God is very different to that of the Jews and Christians.

The second Use which the Author draws from his Method, is, to justify Providence and the Divine Wisdom against *Atheists*, who pretend that all things happen by pure Chance or Necessity, because of certain Events which they look upon as *Imperfections and Disorders*, such as Earthquakes, Inun-

dations, Volcanos, the Plague, &c. which he explains according to his own Principles.

I. God being one perfect free Being who created the World as a pure effect of his Bounty, when there was no Being besides himself, there could be no Bounds put to his Works by any other Power, nor could he receive Laws of any Creature.

II. And as the Divine Intellect infinitely surpasseth ours in Extension and Penetration, we must believe that God created the World, and form'd its different Motions for various ends; some to serve for Corporal Creatures, and some for Spiritual ones; those which are discovered to us to exercise our Reason, and those which are hidden from us to make us adore the unsearchable depth of his Wisdom.

III. We have Reason to think that this Infinite perfect Being has stamp'd his Works with a Character in which we may discover his Divine Wisdom; this Character is the Production of a great number of things, by a small number of Principles, simple, uniform and worthy his Perfections.

IV. According to these Suppositions, God having duly established among other parts of the World universal and constant Laws, and which should be conformable to the ends he proposed to himself in creating them, did dispose of things in such a manner, that the universal Laws should not contribute to the good of particular Beings, but so long as these particular Beings should agree with the simplicity and uniformity of these Laws, and with the designs of God. Thus laying aside Miracles and Events, wherein God acts after a particular manner, one might reasonably say that the infinite Wisdom, to whom all things are present, having weigh'd all the Consequences of these Laws and all their connexions in all their Circumstances, he always thought fit to prefer (Miracles and other Cases excepted) the universal Laws to the particular ones, the principal ends to the Subalternate, and the uniform Methods to an Inconstant Administration. He thinks not fit to change these simple and pure Laws, to prevent what Men call Irregularities, as Earthquakes, Inundations, Flux and Reflexes of the Sea, the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, &c.

V. He adds, That what appears Irregular to us, in comparing the Designs of God with what we know may be a very wise Method, to find out these other ends which are unknown to us; and 'tis very just to have this thought of God, since in those Works of his which we know least, we see clearly so much Order and so much Wisdom; we should have at least in this search as much Equity, as a Man of a good understanding would have, when he judges of a Book that treats of many Heads, and which is written in divers Languages and Characters whereof he understands but

a part, if what he understands there pleases him, he imagines he should not be dissatisfied with what he does not, if he could find out the sense. Thus it must certainly be confessed, That the Eye was made to see, since all the parts thereof are so composed, that they concur to form the Organs of the the Eye.

VI. This Administration of God which discovers unto us clearly some of his ends, and hides others from us, is worthy of his Wisdom, and adapted to our Wants; for it convinces us of two Important Truths, *That we are of our selves but Imperfection and Darknes*, and that *'Tis God which is the Light of our Minds*.

In fine, Mr. Boyle believes that there may be drawn from this System this Use, which is of great consequence in Religion, to wit, *To look upon God as the only Governor of the World, and to attribute to him the great variety of Effects, which are falsely assigned to a Chimera of Nature.*

An Extract of a Book, Entituled, A Philosophical Essay upon Human Understanding, wherein is shewn the Extension of certain Knowledge, and the manner of attaining to it: By Mr. Lock.

B O O K I.

IN my Thoughts upon *Human Understanding*, I have endeavoured to prove, *That the Mind of Man is at first like a Tabula rasa, a blank Paper, without Ideas and Knowledge*; but as this was to destroy the prejudice of some Philosophers, so I was persuaded that in a small Abridgment of my Principles, I ought to pass by all preliminary Disputes which compose the first Book: I intend to shew, in the following Discourses, the Source from whence we draw all Ideas which happen in our Reasonings, and the manner how.

B O O K II.

The Intellect being suppos'd void of all sorts of Natural Ideas, comes to receive them by degrees, as Experience offers them to it. If we will observe them, we shall find that they all come from two Sources, to wit, from *Sensation* and *Reflection*.

1. It's evident that the outward Objects in striking our Senses, give divers Ideas to our Minds, that they had not before. Thus it is that we have the Ideas of Red, Blew, Sweet, Bitter; and all the rest that are produced in us by *Sensation*. I believe that these Ideas of Sensation are the first Ideas of the Thought, and that until such time as the outward Objects have furnished to the Mind these Ideas, I do not see that there is any Thought.

2. The Mind in attending upon its pro-

per Operations, which regard the Ideas that happen to it by *Sensation*, comes to have Ideas of these same Operations which are in it. And this is the other Source of our Ideas, that I call *Reflection*; by whose means we have our Ideas of *Thinking, Willing, Reasoning, Doubting, Resolving, &c.*

Its from these two Principles that all the Ideas come to us that we have; and I believe I may boldly say, that our Mind hath absolutely no other Ideas, but those which our Senses do present to it, and the Ideas that it hath of its proper Operations, received by the Senses. This clearly appeareth by those that are born Deaf or Blind. It followeth, Secondly, That if we could suppose a Man that had been always destitute of all his Senses, he would have no Idea, because he never would have an *Idea of Sensation*, the exterior Objects having no way to produce any in him but by the means of his Senses; nor an *Idea of Reflection*, because of the want of all manner of Sensation, which is that that exciteeth first in him these Operations of his Mind, which are the Objects of his *Reflection*. For there being in the Mind no innate or natural Idea, to suppose the Mind occupied by Ideas, before it hath received them from without, is to suppose a thing contradictory.

For the better understanding of what I would say, when I affirm that we have not, nor can have any Idea, but from the Sensations or from the Operations of the Mind upon its Ideas, we must consider that they are of two kinds; *Simple* and *Complex*. It is of the Simple that I now speak, such as are the whiteness of this Paper, the sweetness of this Sugar, &c. where the Mind perceiveth no variety, nor any composition, but a perception only, or a uniform Idea. I say that we have none of these Ideas but by *Sensation*, or by *Reflection*. The Mind in this regard is absolutely passive, and cannot produce to it self any new Idea, though of those that it already hath it may compose others, and so make thereof *Complex Ideas*, with a very great variety, as shall be seen in the following Discourse. Therefore though we cannot deny but it was as possible to God to give us a sixth Sense, as it was to give us the five we have; nevertheless we cannot form to our selves any Idea, that might come to us by the sixth Sense; and that for the same Reason that one born *Blind* hath no Idea of Colours, because it cannot be had but by means of one of those five Senses, whereof he hath always been destitute.

I do not see that it is necessary to make here an Enumeration of all the Ideas that are the particular Objects of each of the Senses; because it would not be of any great use for my Design, to give a list of Ideas, whereof the most part present themselves of their own accord, and because the greatest part have no Names; for Colours excepted, and some few Qualities that are perceived by the *Touch*, to which Men have

have given particular Names (although a great deal less than their great variety would require) Taste, Odours and Sounds, whereof the diversity is not less, have but seldom Names, except in general Terms. Though the taste of Milk and the taste of Cherries, are as far distant as white is from red; notwithstanding we do not see that they have particular Names. Sweet, Sour, Salt, Rough and Bitter, are almost all the Names we have for an infinite number of different *Sapors* that are found in Nature. Therefore without applying my self to make an Enumeration of the simple Ideas, that belong to each Sense, I shall only mark that some of these Ideas are carried to the Mind by one only Sense, as the Colours by that of the Sight, the Sounds by the Ear, the Hot and the Cold by the Touch. Besides these, are others that come to the Mind, by more than one Sense, as Motion, Rest, Space and Figures, which are apprehended by the Sight and the Touch. There are also *Ideas* of *Reflection* alone, as those of Thinking, of Willing, and of all their different manners. In fine, There are others that we receive by all the Methods of Sensation and Reflection; as Numbers, Existence, Power, Pleasure, &c.

These in general are all the simple Ideas, or at least the most part, whereof we are capable, and which are the Subject of all our Notions, of which all the other Ideas are composed, and beyond which we have neither Thought nor Knowledge. Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6.

7. I shall yet remark something about *simple Ideas*, after which I shall shew how the *Complex* ones are composed, *viz.* That herein we are easily mistaken, and that we often judge that they are Resemblances of some things which is in those Objects, that perform them in us; but for the most part they are nothing like, although they lead us to the consideration of the manner whereby Bodies operate upon us by means of the *Senses*. I only pretend to expound Historically the Nature of the Understanding, and to mark the way and manner by which our Mind receiveth the subject of its Notions, and by what degrees it comes at them; I should be unwilling to engage my self here, into a Physical Speculation. It's notwithstanding necessary to expound briefly this subject, to avoid Confusion and Obscurity. For the better discovering the Nature of sensible Ideas, and making 'em more intelligible, 'tis necessary to distinguish 'em as they are *Perceptions*, and *Ideas* of our Mind, and as they form in Bodies the *Causes* of those *Perceptions* that are in us.

I call an *Idea* every immediate Object, every Perception that is in our Mind, when it thinketh. I call *quality* of the Subject the power, or the faculty it hath, of producing a certain Idea in the Mind. Thus I call Ideas, Whiteness, Coldness, Roundness, &c. as they are Perceptions or Sensations in the Soul; and when they are in

a Ball of Snow, that can produce these Ideas in us, I call them *qualities*.

The original qualities that may be remarked in Bodies, are Solidity, Extent, Figure, Number, Motion or Rest. In whatever quality the Bodies may be, these qualities cannot be separated from them, and therefore I call them original or first qualities.

What we ought to consider after that, is the manner whereby Bodies act upon one another. For my part, I conceive nothing in it but an Impulse. When therefore they produce in us the Ideas of some of their original qualities, which are really in them, as those of the Extension and the Figure that Senses perceive, when the Object we look upon is at a certain distance, they must needs press our Organs by means of some insensible Particles which come from the Object to our Eyes, and which by a continuation of Motion that they have caused therein, shake our Brains and produce in us these Ideas. Thus we cannot find any thing but the Impulse and the Motion of some insensible Bodies which produce in our Mind the Ideas of these original qualities. Thus we may conceive after what manner the Idea of the Colour and Odour of a Violet can be produced in us, as well as that of the Figure. 'Tis by a particular Motion produced in the Organ by the Impulse of Particles of a certain bigness, Figure, Number and Motion, and continued even unto the Brain: For it is not more difficult to conceive that God can stick the Idea of a Colour, or of an Odour, to Motions, to which they have no resemblance; than it is to conceive that he hath applied the Idea of pains to the Motion of a bit of Iron, which divideth our Flesh, to which Motion the pain bears no resemblance.

What I have said of Colours and Odours may be applied to the Sounds and Tastes and to some tangible qualities, as the Heat and Cold; for the Ideas of these qualities and some others like them, being perfectly distinguished from every perception of Bigness, Figure, Motion, &c. cannot be resemblances of any thing, that may be really in the Object which produces in us these Ideas. Therefore I call second *qualities* the power that Bodies have of producing them in us, according to the order God hath established, by the different combinations of their first qualities, which are imperceptible to us.

Hence we may draw this Consequence, that the Ideas of the first qualities of Bodies do resemble them; but that the Ideas produced in us by the second qualities resemble them not in any wise, and that there is nothing in Bodies themselves, that can have any conformity with these Ideas; there is only in them the power of producing in us *Sensations*, like unto them. That which is blew, sweet or hot in the Idea, is nothing else in the Bodies, to which these Names are given, than the Bigness, the

the Figure and the Motion, of *insensible Particles*.

8. The operations of the Mind, are Ideas harder to be known, than those that come from the exterior Objects which strike our Senses; I have treated at large of some of the principal ones in other Chapters, I shall here speak of *perception* which is the first of all.

9. In the following I have considered what I name *Retention*, which is two-fold: The first I call *Contemplation*, which retains a present Idea in his Mind, who considers it without dis-continuation. To the second, I give the Name of *Reminiscence*, which recalleth and bringeth back to the Mind an Idea that had been there once, but which it had ceased to consider. The Power or Faculty of renewing and re-establishing an Idea which is no more present with us, is that which is called *Memory*.

10. I also consider the operations of the Mind upon its Ideas: 1. *To discern or distinguish them*: 2. *To compare them*: 3. *To compose and extend them*: 4. *To form Abstractions* therefrom.

Having said how the Soul receiveth all these simple Ideas, I shall shew after what manner these Ideas are as the subject of all our Notions, and compose by their divers combinations all our compleat Ideas.

Although the Mind cannot produce to it self any simple Idea, besides those which it receiveth by the means of Sensation and Reflection, where it is purely passive; yet these Ideas being placed in the Memory, it can, by repeating and composing 'em of divers matters, produce a very great variety of other Ideas, as well as it can receive like Compositions by the Senses. I shall give some Examples of this in things that appear most abstruse, after which I shall consider others.

12. I believe no Body will deny that the Sight and Touching do furnish us with the Idea of Space. We can neither open our Eyes nor move our Body, nor lean it against any thing whatever, without being convinced hereof. Having, by the Observation of some Bodies, which often present themselves to us and which are well imprinted in our Memory, the Idea of the greatness of a Span, of a Foot, of a Cubit, or some other Measure that is familiar to us, we can repeat this Idea in our Minds as oft as we please, and so magnifie it; adding thereto the like Extent, or another double to that of the Precedent. In this manner, though the Sensation furnishes us but with the Idea of a Foot, we may by this Repetition form to our selves, the Idea of a Space as great as we will. And as we feel in our selves the power to repeat these Ideas of Space, we may form to our selves thereby the Idea of *Immensury*, which is founded nevertheless upon the Idea of Space that we have received from the Senses.

I shall not relate here what I have written at large, to shew the clear difference which is betwixt the Idea of a Body and

that of Space, which some have endeavour'd to confound. It shall suffice to say, That when we consider by Abstraction the distance that is between two Bodies, without having regard to those that may fill this Interval, it may properly be named *Space*: And when we consider the distance that is between the extremities of a solid Body, we may give it the name of *Extent*. If we apply, as it should be, these two Terms, that will perhaps serve to avoid Confusion, which we meet with in Discourse concerning *Bodies* and *Space*.

13. Time and Duration have much conformity with Extent and Space. If Men had well considered the source whence the Idea of Duration cometh to us, I am persuaded they would never have defined it *mensura motus*, since it hath no Relation with Motion, and should be always the same, though there should be no Motion in the World. Those that are willing closely to consider, and mark what passeth in their Mind, shall find that divers Ideas will appear and dis-appear to them successively, during the whole time they are awake. And that is so true, that though we never are without some Idea, whilst we are awake, it is not one Idea alone that remains in possession of our Mind, but there are several which succeed incessantly one another. If any one doubt hereof, let him make a tryal of fixing his Mind upon one only Idea, without any other coming between: For if the least change is made in the Thought, by Addition or Substraction, or any other manner whatever, it is a new Idea.

It's by this perpetual change of Ideas that we make Remarks, and by this chain of new appearances, that we have a clear Idea of the *Succession*. We call *Duration* the existence of a thing equal to some part of this Succession; and we give the name of *Time*, to the distance which is between two points of Duration. It's visible that the Ideas we have of Time and Duration, draw their original from this Reflection; because the very Time that this Succession of Ideas ceaseth in our Mind, we have no perception of the Duration, and it becomes altogether null in respect to us. Therefore a Person, which hath no Dream in his sleep, perceiveth not the distance that there was between the moment he fell asleep in, and that in which he awoke. But if his Dream present him a Chain of different Ideas, the perception of the Duration accompanies it, and it is thereby he measures Time.

Although Mankind hath chosen the Revolutions of the Sun and Moon as the most proper measure of Time, by reason they may every where be seen, and because it is not easie to observe any Inequality in their courses; yet it is not because there was any connexion between Duration and Motion. Every other periodick appearance, which would have been common to the whole Earth, would as well have measured the Time, without any sensible Motion whatever.

14. Although the word *Time* be commonly taken for that part of Duration, by which the Existence of things natural, or the Motion of the Heavens does measure: Even as Extent is taken for the part of Space, which is measured and filled with Bodies; notwithstanding the Mind, having conceived the Idea of some portion of Time, as of a Day, or of a Year, can repeat the same as often as it will, and thus extend the Idea that it hath of Duration beyond the Existence or the Motion of the Sun, and to have an Idea as clear of the 763 years of the *Julian* period, which preceded the beginning of the World, as of the 763 years that are since past. By this power which the Mind hath to extend and repeat the Idea of the *Duration*, as often as it pleaseth, without ever coming to the end, it formeth to it self the *Idea of Eternity*. So likewise in the power of still extending the Idea of *Space*, it findeth the *Idea of Immensity*, as we have already shewn.

15. All the Objects, as well of Sensation as Reflection, furnish us with the Idea of Numbers. For we reckon our Thoughts and the actions of our Mind, as easily as of Bodies and their Qualities. Having formed the Idea of Unity, we only need to repeat it, or to add several thereof together to make what product of Numbers we shall think fit.

16. As the Mind never can come to the end of these additions, and that it findeth in it self the Power of always adding more, according to what proportion it pleaseth to make, so we come thereby to form the *Idea of Infinite*; which, whether it be applied to Space or to Duration, seemeth to be nothing else than this Infinity of Numbers; with this difference only, that in the subject of Numbers, when we begin by the Unity, we are at the extremity of one line, which we may continue to Infinity on the other side. But in the Duration we extend the Infinity of Numbers or Additions on two sides, in regard of the Duration past, and in regard of that which is to come. As for Space, we find our selves as plac'd in a Center, whence we may add, from all Parts, Leagues or Diameters of the Earth, or of the *Orbis magnus*, with this Infinity of Numbers, which can never fail us.

Thus we form the Idea of *Infinite* by Additions, which always leave an unfathomable multitude of Unities when it concerneth Numbers; and we have no positive Idea that comprehends Infinity. I cannot relate at large, in the briefness I have propos'd, the proofs I have thereof; but let every one examin his own Thoughts, and let him see if he has other Ideas of *Infinite*, than those I mentioned. I shall only say that if we did put any distinction betwixt the Idea of an infinite Number and that of the Infinity of Numbers, it would help to clear the Idea that we have of Infinity. We can have the Idea of the Infinity of Numbers, but we cannot have that of an infinite Number. The reason of that, is, that the Idea of *Infi-*

nite consisteth in an innexhaustible Remainder, which never can enter into a positive Idea; and the Mind in this Remainder, which is always beyond its positive Idea, be it never so great, can always go further by the repetition of Ideas of the same kind, or whatever greatness it pleaseth. It suffices here, to have shewn how the Idea of *Infinite* is formed of *simple Ideas*, which draw their beginning from *Sensation and Reflection*.

17. Although *Solidity* is a simple Idea, which we must constantly receive from a Body, and even so simple, that it is not capable of any Modification, because every part of a *Body* which has no Pores, is equally solid; nevertheless it being that which distinguisheth the Idea of a Body from the Idea of Space, I shall again come to consider it, after I have examined that of Space, that it may the better be seen how these two simple Ideas, so different in themselves, do form a *Complex Idea* of a Body. This simple Idea is also called *Impenetrability*; and though this Name marks the same Idea as that of *Solidity*, I thought it was necessary here to make use of this latter, because a positive Name agreeth better with a positive Idea, than a Name that is only Negative.

18. Compositions formed of divers Ideas of the same sort, are those that I call *simple Moods*. It is not only Numbers of Extent and Duration that can form these Compositions; but also all other simple Ideas, in which are considered divers degrees, whereof all that may therein be distinguished, form distinct Ideas. Several of these Ideas joyned together, make a *simple Mood*. Thus divers Notes of Musick that compose one only Tune, or divers degrees of a Colour, which make but one Idea, are likewise simple Moods. But these Combinations being not of any great use, there are but a very few that have Names, excepting those of Motion, as *to Slide, to Roll, to Turn round, to Crawl, to Walk, to Run, to Dance, to Leap, to Leap over*.

19. The *Ideas of Reflection* have also their *simple Moods*: *Recollection, Attention, Meditation*, and a hundred others that may be named, are but divers Moods of Thought. But I shall only examin a few of them here, which are of a very great Importance.

20. Among the simple Ideas that come to us by Sensation and Reflection, those of *Pleasure* and *Grief* are not least considerable. They are to us of an infinite Consequence, and often accompany our other Sensations and our other Thoughts. As there are but few Sensations of the Body, which carry not with them some Pleasure or some Grief; there are likewise few Thoughts that are so indifferent to us, as not to give us some Joy or some Sorrow. I comprise all under the Names of Pleasure and Grief, whether Satisfaction and Joy, Sorrow and Irksomeness, &c. which our Mind relents, since they come from without, or from some inward Thought.

Every thing that is a proper Cause to continue and augment Pleasure in us, or to diminish and shorten any Grief, is called *Good*, and the contrary we call *Evil*. It's upon this Good and this Evil that run all our Passions; and the Reflections that our Mind hath made thereupon, produce in us the Ideas of the Passions. Thus any one reflecting upon the Thought he hath of Pleasure (which something present or absent may produce in him) is the Idea that we call *Love*. For when any faith in Autumn, there are Raisons; and in the Spring, there are none, that he *Loves* them; he would say nothing else, but that the taste of Raisons doth give him delight. The Existence and Prosperity of our Children and Friends affording us constantly Delight, we say we love them constantly. On the contrary, the thought of Sorrow, which a thing present or absent may produce in us, is that which we call *Hatred*.

The Irksomeness we feel when a thing is absent, which would give us Pleasure if it were present, is that which is called *Desire*, which is more or less great, according as this Longing augmenteth or diminisheth.

Joy is a Pleasure that the Soul feelth, when it considers as certain the Possession of a good Present, or to come. Thus a Man half dead feelth Joy when Succour arriveth to him, even before he receiveth the Effect thereof. We are in possession of a Good, when we have it so in our Power that we may enjoy it when we please. A Father, to whom the prosperity of his Children giveth Joy, is in possession of this Good, as long as his Children are in this State, for he only needeth to think thereupon that he may take Delight.

Fear is an Irksomeness of the Soul, when it thinketh on an Evil to come, which may befall us.

I will not run over all the Passions; it's not the Subject I propose. What I have said sufficeth, to shew after what manner the Ideas we have, draw their beginning from Sensation and Reflection.

21. I shall now speak of a simple Idea, to shew how it is formed, and to give Examples of some of its Modifications; after which I shall end this part touching simple Ideas and their Moods. Every one feelth in himself that he can move his Hand or his Tongue, which were before at rest: That he can apply his Mind to other Thoughts, and abandon those with which he was at present taken up. Hence is formed the Idea of *Power* or of *Faculty*.

Every Power respecteth an Action, and we have no Ideas as I believe, but of two sorts of actions, *to move* and *to think*.

The Power that we find in our selves to prefer the presence of a particular Thought to its absence, or of a particular Motion to Rest, is that which we call *Volition* or *Willing*.

The Power that we find in us to act or not to act, conformly to the preference that

our Mind hath given of Action, furnishes us with the Idea of that which we call *Liberty*.

22. Having thus briefly remarked the Source of our simple Ideas, and shewn in some Examples how the Soul can, by the means of their Modifications, come to those that first seem to be very far off, and which draw their beginning from some Idea received by Sensation, or from some operations of the Mind upon these Ideas; I now proceed to the *Complex*, and I shall shew that all the Ideas we have, whether of Natural Things or Moral, Corporal or Spiritual, are only Combinations of simple Ideas, that come to us by Sensation and Reflection, beyond which our Thoughts cannot reach, though they should raise themselves to the highest Heavens.

The *Complex Ideas* we have, may, I believe, be reduced to these three sorts. 1. The *Moods*: 2. The *Substances*: 3. The *Relatives*. What I call *Moods* are nothing else than certain Combinations of simple Ideas, which do not include the obscure Notion that we have of *Substance*. Of these Moods are three sorts; the one is a Combination of simple Ideas of the same kind, as *four*, *five*, which are formed by the Conjunction of a certain number of Units. The other is a combination of Ideas of different kinds, such as are the Ideas that are marked by words of *Obligation*, *Friendship*, &c. I shall give the Name of simple Moods to the first kind, whereof I have already brought divers Examples; and to the second that of *mixed Moods*.

Although there is an infinite variety of *mixt Moods*, notwithstanding they are composed of nothing else but simple Ideas, which draw their Origin from *Sensation* or *Reflection*, as every one may remark by examining them a little attentively. For Example, if by the word *Lie*, we understand Discourse contrary to a known Truth; it compriseth simple Ideas: 1. From the Articulated Sounds: 2. The Relation that is betwixt these Sounds and the Ideas whereof they are Signs: 3. The Union of these Signs, different from that which is between the Ideas that they represent in the Mind of him that speaketh: 4. The Knowledge, he that speaketh has, in that he abuseth these Signs. These are but simple Ideas, or such as may easily be reduced thereto. So it is with all the other mixt Moods which consist but in Combinations of simple Ideas. We should never have done, and it would be also unprofitable to undertake to make an Enumeration of all the mixt Moods which are in the minds of Men, seeing they include in their Extent all the matters that make the subject of Divinity, Morality, Law, of the Politicks, and divers other Sciences.

23. No body doubts but that there is in the World a very great variety of Substances. Let us then see what Ideas we have of Substances: Let us begin with the most general ones, as are those of the Body and Mind,

Mind. I ask if any thing else be seen in the Idea that we have of the Body but *Solidity, Extent* and *Motion* joyned together, which are the simple Ideas that come to us by the Senses? It may be some Body will say, that for to have a compleat Idea of a Body, the Idea of a Substance must be added to that of Motion and Extent. But I ask of those that should make this Objection, what Idea have they of Substance, and whether they have a clear Idea of the Substance of Bodies, distinct from *Solidity, Extent* and *Motion*?

The Idea we have of the Mind is of a Being which hath the power of *thinking* and of *moving the Body*, whence I conclude, by the bye, That we have an Idea as clear of the Mind as of the Body. In the one we have clear Ideas of *Solidity, Extent* and *Motion*, though we know not what its Substance is. In the other we see with an equal clearness two Ideas, to wit, *Thought*, and the Power of moving, though we know not the Substance: For the Substance is in both of them the Subject in which is supposed to be these Qualities, that is to say, *some I know not what*, which upholds them and in which they exist; so that all the Idea that we have of Substance, is an obscure Idea of what it maketh, and not an Idea of what it is. Thus all the Idea we have of the Substance of a thing, be it corporal or spiritual, being equally obscure, and the Motion and power of Moving being as clear the one as the other; we have nothing left to compare, but *Extent* and *Thought*. These two Ideas are both of them very clear, and the difficulty that some have formed against the Idea of the Mind, consists in that they said that they conceived not a thing that thinketh, without *Extent*. I maintain on the contrary, that they can as easily conceive a thing that thinketh without *Extent*, as they conceive a solid *Extent*. For to conceive a solid *Extent*, we must have an Idea of *Cohesion* of parts; but it is as easie to conceive how a Mind thinketh, as it is to conceive how solid parts do stay stickt the one to the other, that is to say, how a Body is extended. For where there are no parts that are tyed together, there are no parts *extra partes*, as Men speak, and consequently no *Extent*. If the Body is divisible, there must be parts that are united one with the other, and if there was no union betwixt them, the Body would be quite destroyed and would cease to be. Whosoever can tell what holdeth the united parts of Iron, or of the Diamond, shall expound to me one of the capital difficulties of Physick. *M. Barmuli*, who hath endeavoured to give the reason of the Cohesion of the Particles of all Bodies, by the pressure of the *Ether*, hath omitted two things of great Importance.

1. He hath not considered that how great soever the pressure of a *fixed Ambient* may be, if there is nothing else to keep joyned the parts of Bodies, though they cannot be distant the one from the other perpendi-

culatly, nevertheless we may demonstrate that the one may be pushed off the other, as easily as if there was no pressure at all. The experience of two polished Marbles put upon one another (which the pressure of the Atmosphere hold in this state) sheweth to the Eye what I would say, seeing they can be very easily separated, in pushing them on one side, whereas they cannot be so perpendicularly.

2. He hath no regard to the Particles of the *Ether*, which being themselves Particles of Bodies formed of other Particles, ought to have something that may hold them united, which cannot come of themselves; for it is as difficult to conceive how the parts of the least Moth of matter stay united one to the other, as those of the greatest Masses. But without that, it is as difficult to conceive a Body as a Spirit, a thing extended as a thing that thinketh.

But suppose the notion of the Mind is more or less obscure than that of the Body, it's certain we do not receive it by any other way, than that whereby we receive the notion of the Body. For even as after having received by our Senses the Ideas of *Solidity, Extent, Motion* and *Rest*, we form to our selves the Idea of the Body, in supposing that these four things are inherent in an unknown Substance: So in joyning together the simple Ideas that we have formed, in reflecting upon the operations of our own Minds, which every day we feel in our selves, as, *to think, to understand, to will, to know, and to be able to move Bodies*: In joyning, I say, these Ideas, and supposing that these operations of our Mind and all others coexist in a certain Substance which we likewise do not know, we come to have an Idea of the Beings, which we call Spirits.

The Ideas that we have of the *Intellect* and of the *power* formed by the Reflection, which we have made upon that which passeth in our selves, joyned to that *Duration*, and all that augmented by the Idea that we have of *Infinity*, gives us the Idea of the supream Being that we call God.

To convince our selves that all the Complex Ideas contain nothing but what the simple Ideas do, which come to us by Sensation or Reflection, we only need to think on the different sorts of Minds which are existent, or might exist. For though it were likely that there are more different kinds of Spiritual Beings, in ascending from us to God, than there of Material, in descending from us to Nought; because we are at a distance more great from the Infinite Perfection, than from the lowest degree of the Being; nevertheless it's certain that we cannot conceive any difference between the divers natures of Angels, saving different degrees of Intellect and of Power, which are but divers Modifications of two simple Ideas, formed by Reflection upon that which passeth in our selves.

As to what concerneth the Ideas that we have of natural Substances, it is evident that

that they are only Combinations of simple Ideas, which we have acknowledged to exist together by Sensation; for Example, What is the Idea of Gold, but a certain bright Colour, a certain degree of Weight, of *Malleability*, of Fusibility, and perhaps, as the Chymists speak, of *Fixation*, or of other simple Ideas that our Mind uniteth as coexistent all along in the same Substance? This Complex Idea includeth more or less simple Ideas, according as he that maketh this Conjunction is more or less exact in the Observations he hath made touching Gold. Such are our Ideas of the different kinds of Substances, which are nothing else than different Combinations of the simple Ideas which come to us by Sensation and Reflection, and which we suppose coexistent in I know not what Substance.

24. There is yet another sort of the Ideas of Substances, where the Mind joineth together divers Substances distinct, and maketh but one Idea thereof. Thus an Army composed of 10000 Men, and a Flock of several hundreds of Sheep is as well one only Idea, as that of one Man or one Sheep. I call these Ideas, *collective Ideas of Substances*, and they deserve our Observation, tho' it were for nothing else, but to shew the Power that the Mind hath of re-uniting in one only Idea, things in themselves very different, and distant the one from the other. To satisfy fully those that may have some difficulty upon this Subject, we need but simply to name the *Universe*; and to remark that this word signifieth but one only Idea, be it never so compounded.

25, 26, 27. Besides the Ideas, whether Simple or Complex, that the Mind hath of things considered in themselves; it hath others that it formeth of the Comparison that it maketh of these things betwixt themselves, and which are called *Relatives*. A Relative therefore is the consideration of a thing that marketh, or includeth in it self the consideration of another. Seeing all our Ideas may be considered, in as much as they lead our Thoughts to something else, it followeth, that all simple and complex Ideas may serve for the foundation of a *Relative*. And whatever Extent those Ideas may have that are Relatives, it may be seen how they draw their Origin from Reflection and Sensation, seeing they have no other foundation than the Ideas that come to us from thence. It's needless I should enlarge upon every sort of *Relatives* to shew it. I shall only mark that a Relative supposeth two Ideas or things, really separated the one from the other, or at least considered as distinct. We do not always regard these two things or these two Ideas, which is the cause why we pass over divers Terms for Signs of *absolute* Ideas which are effectively *Relatives*. For Example, *great* and *old* are Terms, as Relative, as *more great*, and *more old*, though it is not always believed. When we say that *Peter is older than John*, these two Persons are compared in the Idea of Duration, and we would say that the

one hath more than the other: And when we say that *John is old*, his Duration is compared with that which we look upon as the ordinary Extent of the Life of Men. Hence it cometh that we should be offended to hear one say, That a Diamond or the Sun are old, because we have no Idea of the length of an ordinary Duration that belongeth to them. So we have no Idea to which we may compare it as we have in respect to the things which we commonly call old. There is a great deal of these Terms, which under an *absolute* Form or Termination, hide a relative Idea; and to examin nearly our Ideas they are in a great part a Relative.

This is what I briefly conceive of the different sorts of complex Ideas we have, and which may all be reduced to these three, *Substances*, *Moods* and *Relatives*. As they include nothing else than divers Combinations of simple Ideas, that we have received by Sensation and Reflection, so I conclude that in all our Thoughts, Contemplations and Reasonings, how abstract and extended soever they be, our Mind never goes beyond the simple Ideas that we have received by the way of Sensation and Reflection.

28. One thing may be considered in all the Ideas I have spoken of, whether Simple or Complex; it is that they may be clear and distinct, or obscure and confused. The simple Ideas are clear, when they are very lively in the Mind, such are those which we have from the Senses Object: Again, the Organs being in a good disposition, and all the circumstances requisite for a clear Sensation; it is this clearness that rendreth the Ideas distinct. The complex Ideas are distinct not only when the simple Ideas whereof they are composed are clear; but also when their Number and their Order is clearly fixed and regulated in the Mind. Then the Mind seeth after a clear and constant manner, when his complex Idea as often as it's named, as often as it's thought upon, perfectly distinguisheth from all the others to which it may have any resemblance.

29. *Real Ideas* are those that are conform to that which is considered as their Archetypes, or to the real existence of things. *Phantastick* or *Chimerical* Ideas are those in which is not found this Conformity.

According to this Rule, 1. No simple Idea can be Chimerical, because they all answer to that Power of producing them in our Minds, which God hath placed in things; and that this is the reality which is proper unto them: 2. The Moods and Relatives, unless we joyn incompatible Ideas, cannot be Chimerical, because they themselves being Archetypes, they cannot but resemble their Originals: 3. The Ideas of Substances may be and often are Chimerical, to wit, when the Mind forms them of a certain Combination of Ideas, which are not ally'd to Nature. For the Ideas of Substances being formed, to represent them

such

such as they are, really existent without us, these Ideas cannot be real but in as much as they agree with their Originals. So the Idea that we commonly have of a Man or of a Horse, is a real Idea, and the Idea of a Center is a chimerical Idea.

30. Among real Ideas some are *Compleat*, (in Latin *adæquata*) and some other *Un-compleat* (*inadæquata*.) The simple Ideas and those of the Moods and of the Relatives are all compleat, for nothing is omitted there that may render them more perfect and more conform to their Originals. But the Ideas of Substances are all incompleat, because they include but one part of the Qualities which really are in the very Substances their Architypes.

31. Though, to speak exactly, Truth and Falshood belong not to Ideas, but to Propositions; notwithstanding because we often call the Ideas *true* and *false*, it is good to consider which are true and which are false, and why these Names have been given them. We must therefore first remark that when we look upon any thing as true or false, there is evermore some kind of a Proposition, though it is not expressed in formal Terms, and whereof no heed is taken. Secondly, we often do refer our Ideas to Architypes, which we think they represent, and consequently when some among them agree with their Architypes, they may be called true, as they are called false when they resemble them not. Of these Architypes are two sorts; the one is *real*, and the other *mental*. Real Architypes are those that exist really in the very things. In this respect there are but the Ideas of the Substances that may be false: The Architypes of the other sort that we call *mental*, are the Ideas that are in the Minds of others. For in Language, Men often do refer the Ideas signified by their Words, to the Ideas that are in the Minds of other Men, and which are marked by the same Words. For Example, when we make use of the word *Gratitude*, we pretend that the Idea that is in the Mind, and whereof this word is the sign, is conform to the Idea that others have in their Mind, and to which they apply the Name of *Gratitude*: The same way that we pretend that the Idea of a Horse ought to be conform to this very Animal. Of the first of these two sorts of Ideas dependeth the reality of our Notions, and of the latter the property of Language. Every manner of Idea may be false, in respect of this second sort of Architypes.

BOOK III.

After having considered the Ideas whereof the Mind of Man is full, and found out how they come to us; and of how many sorts they are; I soon thought that I might pass to the examination of our intellectual Faculties, and to see what use the Mind maketh of these materials, or of these Instruments of our Notions which I had collected in the preceeding Book. But when I came to consider a little nearer the nature and manner

of the Notions of Man, I found they had so much connexion with Words, and their Words are so much confounded, either by custom or necessity, that it is impossible to treat clearly of our Notions, without first saying something of Words and Language.

I. The Ideas that are in our Mind are so absolutely out of the sight of others, that we could not communicate our Thoughts without joyning some sign to our Ideas.

II. The most convenient signs for variety and promptitude whereof Men are capable, are articulated Sounds, which we call *Words*. Words then are the signs of Ideas, but as there is no sound which naturally hath any connexion with any Idea of our Mind, except the Idea of this same sound; Words are signs of our Ideas but by an arbitrary Institution, and they cannot be properly and immediately signs of any thing but the Ideas which are in the Mind of him that maketh use of these Words. For in employing them to express what he thinketh, he cannot make use thereof to mark Ideas that he hath not, seeing thus he would render them signs of nothing. It's true, we commonly make use of Words in two other Suppositions. 1. We suppose for the most part that Words are the signs of Ideas that are in the Mind of him with whom we discourse. This is supposed with reason, because without that he that speaketh could not be understood. But as it doth not always happen that the Ideas that are in the Mind of him to whom we speak, answer exactly to those, to which he that speaketh applieth his Words, this signification is not always true.

2. It's commonly supposed that Words are substituted not only in the place of Ideas, but also of things themselves; but it's impossible they should signifie immediately the things themselves. For seeing they cannot immediately be the signs of any thing but that which is in the Mind of him that speaketh, where there is nothing but Ideas only, they cannot hold the place of things, but where there are Ideas whereto they are conform.

3. Words are of two sorts: There are general Terms, and Names to particular things. All that Exist, some will say, being particular, what need have we of general Terms? Where are these universal Natures that these Terms signifie? for the most part of Words that are employed in common, are general Terms. To answer to the first of these Demands, we must remark that there is such a great number of particular things, that the Mind cannot retain as many Words, as would be necessary to mark them all; and though the Memory could retain them, they would be unprofitable; because particular Beings known to one Man are often absolutely unknown to another. So their Names could not serve us, to communicate our Thoughts, because they would not be signs of Ideas common to him that speaketh and to him that heareth. More-

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over, the progress we make in Knowledge, being got by means of the general Notions, we have need of general Terms. As to the second Demand, General Natures, whereof general Terms are signs, are but general Ideas, and Ideas become general only by abstracting time, place, and other particularities, which are the cause that these signs only represent individual Natures. An Idea formed in this wise by Abstraction, and by being disengaged from all that rendred it individual, is capable to represent equally many individual things: And as much as each of them hath all that remaineth in this abstracted Idea, 'tis in that alone that consisteth the general Nature, upon which so many unprofitable Questions have been proposed, and so many vain Subtilties published. Ideas come thus to represent not a particular Being, but a sort of Things; and the Names of these Ideas signify that which the Logicians usually call *Genus* and *Species*, whereof it's supposed each hath its particular Essence. Tho' there be great Disputes touching the Genus and Species and their Essences, the truth is, That the Essence of each Genus and each Species, is nothing else than an abstract Idea in the Mind of him that speaketh, and whereof the general Term he makes use of is the sign. It's also true that each particular Thing has a real constitution, by which it is what it is, and it is that which properly is called *Essence*. But this Word having changed its first signification, and being applied to the Species and Genus of Schools, Essences have been commonly looked upon, as belonging to the different orders of Beings, ranged under divers general denominations. In this sense, Essences are truly nothing else than abstract Ideas, whereof general Terms are signs. We may call the first Essences, whereof we speak *real*, and the second ones *nominal*; sometimes they are the same, and sometimes they are quite different the one from the other, in the same thing.

4. We shall more clearly conceive the Nature and Signification of Words, if we consider the Relation they have with these three sorts of Ideas whereof I have already spoken; to wit, the *simple* Ideas, the *Substances* and the *Moods*, under the which I comprise the *Relatives*: 1. The names of simple Ideas and of Substances denote some Beings really existent, whence they are drawn as from their Original. But the names of the *mix'd Moods* do terminate in the Mind; and I believe it's for that reason that they are particularly called *Notions*. 2. The names of simple Ideas and of Moods always signify the real Essence, as well as the nominal. The names of Substances seldom signify (though sometimes they have another signification) any thing else but the nominal Essence. 3. Of all things the names of simple Ideas are the least doubtful and uncertain. 4. But what I believe to be of a great use, and that no Body, as I know, hath remarked, is that we must distinguish

the Terms that can and that cannot be defined. I observe therefore that we cannot define the names of the simple Ideas, whereas we may those of the complex. For to *define*, being no more than to make known an Idea, which is mark'd by a certain Word, by means of some Terms, that are not synonymous, the Definition cannot have place but in the complex Ideas. It's well known how much the Peripateticks, and even the modern Philosophers, not knowing what Names could or could not be defined, have vainly discoursed, and published such Gallimaufry, whilst they went about to define the Names of some few simple Ideas, because for the most part they thought it not for their purpose to undertake the same thing. Though they have defined Motion and Light; they have nevertheless waved the definition of the greatest part of simple Ideas, and the definitions of Light and Motion that they have hazarded to produce, will appear, if they are thoroughly examined, to have as little sense, as what may be said in expounding the terms of Red and Sweet. When a Man born blind shall be made to understand what Idea the word *Blew* will bear, we may likewise make a Man to comprehend, by the means of Definition, what Motion and Light signify to a Man, who till then shall not know what it is, but by another way. The Names of simple Ideas have but a very few subordinations in that which Logicians call *Linea Pradicamentis*, because these Ideas being not composed, nothing can be retrenched from them, to render it more general and to give it more extent. Therefore the word *Colour*, which comprehendeth Red and Blew, &c. only maketh a simple Idea, which we have by means of the Sight.

5. As to the Names of mix'd Moods and of Relatives, which are all general Terms, we must note, 1. That the Essence of their different sorts are all formed by the Intellect: 2. That they are arbitrarily and with a great liberty formed, the Mind not relating here to the real Existence of any Original: 3. Though the Essences or the Kinds of mix'd Moods are formed without Models, yet they are not formed at all Adventures and without Reason.

It is not only the signification of Words, but also the brevity, which is one of the greatest advantages of Language. Therefore the end that we propose to our selves, is, not only to imploy the Sounds significant of signs to certain Ideas, but also to make use of short Sounds, to signify many distinct Ideas, which by their combinations form thereof one *Complex* Idea conformable hereunto, Men do reunite in one only *complex* Idea several separated Ideas, depending of one another, and give it a name when they have occasion to think of proper Compositions, and of discoursing thereupon together.

Thus it is that Men do arbitrarily form different kinds of mix'd Moods, in giving names to certain Compositions of Ideas, which

which have no more connection in themselves, than others that are not united by any like denomination. This evidently appeareth in the diversity of Tongues, where is nothing more ordinary than to find several Words in one Tongue, which have none to answer 'em in another.

6. The names of Substances signifie their nominal Essences, and not their real Essences, which in Substances are very different from the Nominals. For Example, *Colour, Weight, Malleability, Fusibility, Fixation*, and perhaps some other sensible Qualities, form a complex Idea, which we have in our Mind, and to which we give the name of *Gold*, are the nominal Essence of *Gold*. But the disposition of the sensible Particles, or the Constitution, whereof these sensible Qualities do depend, whatever it may be, is the real Essence of *Gold*. It is in nothing like the nominal, and would give us quite another Idea of *Gold*, if we knew it. But seeing we know it not, and that our words express but the Ideas that we have, the word *Gold* cannot signifie a real Essence. It is then by their nominal Essence, that we range Substances under different kinds, and under divers denominations. These nominal Essences, being nothing else than complex and abstract Ideas, formed of divers Persons of different combinations of simple Ideas, which they have observed or imagined to exist together, it is visible that the Essences of the kinds of Substances, and consequently the kinds themselves, in as much as they are ranged under different Names, are of the invention of Men. I do not say that Substances themselves, or the resemblance and conformity that is betwixt them have been made by Men; but only that the limits of the kinds, as marked by certain names, have been established by Men.

But notwithstanding Men are Authors of Essences, which limit and distinguish the kinds of Substances, they do not here make use of them so arbitrarily as in the Moods. In Substances they propose to themselves things really existing, as of the Models they design to follow. But by the diversity we find in their ability or in their attention, their complex Ideas formed of a mass of sensible Qualities, and marked with the name *Specifick*, are very different in different Persons, one comprehending therein a simple Idea, which the other omits. But the real Essence which we suppose to be in each kind of things, if there be any like Essence, would unalterably be the same.

If the first distribution of Beings in their lowest kinds depends upon the Mind of Man, as we have shewn, it's much more clear that it is so in the highest Classes, which we call *Genus* in Logical Terms. For they are but imperfect complex Ideas, whose divers Qualities are on purpose omitted, which are constantly found in the things themselves. As the Mind, to form general Ideas, which comprise divers particular Beings, excludeth from it Time, Place, and other Circum-

stances, which cannot be common to several Individuals: So to form Ideas still more general, and which comprise different kinds, the Mind excludeth from them the Qualities, that distinguish these kinds from one another, and includeth in this new combination of Ideas, those only that are common to different kinds. Thence it followeth, That in this matter of *Genus* and *Species*, the *Genus* that is most extended is nothing else but a partial conception of what is in the *Species*, and the *Species* is nothing but a partial Idea of what is in each individual. 'Tis conformable to the true intent of Language, to mark by a short sound a great number of particular things, in as much as they agree in a common conception. The *Genus* and *Species* then seem to me to be nothing else but a distribution of Beings, to give them general denominations; and the Essence of each *Genus* and of each *Species* is but an abstract Idea, to which this denomination is applied. The least attention will shew us that there is nothing Essential in the particular or individual Beings; but that as soon as they are ranged under a general Name, or that which is the same thing, reduced to a certain kind, there is somewhat that becomes essential to them, to wit, all that is comprehended in the complex Idea, marked by this general Name.

We must further remark, in regard of the Substances, that they only have proper Names, to which we may add, that although the *Specifick* names of Substances can signifie nothing else but abstract Ideas, which are in the Mind of him that speaketh, and consequently the Substances, in as much as they are conformable to these Ideas; nevertheless it often falleth out that Men do ordinarily substitute these Names to things, which they pretend to have the real Essence of the *Species* whereof we speak, and that they would have the names of Substances to signifie 'em as distinguished in kinds, by real Essences; which causeth a great confusion and a great incertainty in the usage of Words.

7. Words have a double usage: 1. They help to Register (if we may so say) or retain our proper Thoughts, to which all manner of Words, whatever they be, may commodiously enough serve, provided we hold them constantly applied to the same Ideas. 2. The Words do serve to communicate our Thoughts to others, and for that reason they must be common Signs, and applied on all parts to the same Ideas, by those that discourse.

They have likewise a double usage in the communication they have of our Thoughts. The one is *Civil*, and the other *Philosophical*. The first serveth for the Commerce and ordinary Conversation: The Philosophical usage is to give precise notions of Things, and to expound in general Propositions certain and undoubtful Truths, whereof the Mind may be satisfied in the search of Truth. In this last usage particularly, Words

Words are subject to a great uncertainty, and much obscurity in their Significations.

Words signifying naturally nothing, it's necessary that their signification, that is to say, the precise Idea for which they are employed, be fixed and steadfast; which is difficult: 1. When the Ideas, whereof they are Signs, are extremely complex: 2. When the simple Ideas, whereof these Complex are composed, have no natural connection with one another; so that in Nature there is no fixt measure, nor any model to ratifie and regulate them: 3. When the signification of a Word relates to an Original which existeth, but which is not easie to be known: 4. When the signification of a Word, or the real Essence of a thing, are not exactly the same. The names of the mix'd Moods are subject to Equivocation, for the two first of these Reasons, and the names of Substances, particularly for the two latter. Conformable to these Rules, as well as to Experience, we shall first find that the names of simple Ideas are the least subject to Equivocation, because they are simple, and that it is easie to form them and to retain them; and because they relate to nothing but to the same perception, which things that exist produce in us.

Secondly, We shall find that the names of mix'd Moods are very equivocal, because the complex Ideas, whereof they are the signs, having no fixt and existent models in Nature, upon which we may regulate their Archetypes, are nowhere but in the Minds of Men, and for that reason are uncertain. Moreover these Ideas being often very much compounded, its very difficult for them to agree exactly with one another, though they all are marked by the same name. Neither is it easie for a Man to keep the same precise Idea constantly applied to the same name, when it's very much compounded. Where shall one find a Conjunction of all the Ideas that the word *Glory* signifieth at once? The complex and precise Idea, which the word *Justice* marketh, is seldom fixt, or always the same.

Thirdly, The names of Substances are very equivocal, because their complex Ideas are not arbitrary Compositions, but related models that are existing; nevertheless it is impossible to know after any other manner, even very imperfectly. 1. We have shewn that sometime it was suppos'd that the names of Substances do signifie themselves, in as much as they have certain real Essences. Every thing having a real constitution, by which it is what it is; it hath been usual to call this constitution its Essence, as if it were the Essence of a kind. But whether that be so or not, its certain that it being altogether unknown, it is impossible to know what the signification is of this word in this usage, or what thing it noteth: 2. Sometimes those Ideas, which the names of Substances denote, are formed upon like Qualities, which are observed in Bodies in which they solely do exist. And though that be the proper usage of these

names, it's notwithstanding very easie to make true remarks of their significations in that sense; because the Qualities that we find in Substances, and whereof we form the complex Ideas that we have thereof, being for the most part Powers, or Faculties, they are almost infinite. The one having no more right than the other to be included in our complex Ideas, which are the Copies of these Originals, it's very difficult to mark justly by means of these models, the signification of their names. And therefore the same name of a Substance, seldom denoteth in the Mouth of two Men the same complex Idea.

8. Besides this natural Imperfection of Language, Men do herein commit divers voluntary Abuses that are observed. 1. They make use of Words, to which they apply any clear and determinate Signification. All Sects in Philosophy and in Religion, are very often guilty hereof, there being very few but by an affectation to singularity, or to hide some weak place of Systems, make use of some Terms to which it's visible they have applied no clear and determinate Idea. Besides these Terms that have no signification, and which are proper to each part, there are others whereof we make use in our ordinary Language, though in the Mind there be no precise Idea, to which they are applied. It sufficeth to have learned the Words, that are in use in every one's Country, and that they may be employed in Conversation, though Men take but little pains to apply thereto a clear signification. If it were asked of those who have at every moment in their Mouths the words *Reason* and *Grace*, what they understand thereby? It should often be found that they have in their Mind no distinct Idea, which may answer to these or other like Words.

2. Another Abuse that is committed here, is, That in the same Discourse, one only Word is at one time the signification of one Idea, and at another time that of another. There is nothing more common in Controversies, wherein seldom we miss finding the same word in divers significations; not only in incident matters, but in places that are most essential, and concerning which the Question in dispute is.

3. We may add to that an affected obscurity, suppose in the usage of Words received, or in the invention of some new Terms. There is nothing that hath so much contributed to that as the Method and Instruction of Schools, where all hath been accommodated to Dispute. This Method unavoidably casteth into a multiplication and strange entangling of obscure Terms. This dangerous Abuse of the Language having passed for Subtilty, and having obtained the reputation and recompense due to true Knowledge, hath hindred Men to make true progresses in Sciences, as we all sufficiently do know.

4. The Language is yet abused, in taking Words for things, which particularly hap-

happeneth in relation to the names of Substances: For Men having formed to themselves particular Ideas and without ground, as they have thought it fit, to invent or uphold certain Physical Systems, have accommodated thereto certain Words. After that, these Words becoming familiar to them have, been lookt upon by their Followers, as signifying something real, and as necessary signs of things themselves. Thus *substantial Forms, intentional Kinds*, and a great many such Terms, by a frequent and uncontested usage, have made several People to believe that there were real Beings meant by these Terms. It did not appear credible to them that their Fathers, their Masters, their Divines, and their learned Men, had made use of words which signifie nothing but meer Chimera's, and which have no relation to any real Being in the World. I have already spoken of the abuse that is committed, in supposing that Words do signifie the real Essences of Substances.

5. Another more general abuse of Words, though less considerable, is, to suppose that their signification is so clear and constant, that one cannot be mistaken in the Idea that they signifie. Hence it is that Men find it strange, that they should be obliged to inform themselves of the signification of Words which they make use of, or that it should be asked of them; though it be visible that very often the sense cannot be assuredly understood in which a Word is taken, how they can tell in what precise Idea it hath been used.

6. Figured Terms, and all the sought for Ornaments of Rhetorick, are likewise a true abuse of Language: But with this it is even as it is with the fair Sex. Eloquence is sustained with too powerful Charms, to be endured in speaking against it. In vain should we mark the defects in certain deceiving Arts, by which Men delight to be deceived.

7. The imperfection and abuses of Language being the principal sources of Disputes and Errors, which are come into the World, it would not a little contribute to the Truth and Ease of Men, if they would seriously apply themselves to speak after a more exact and serious manner. I shall shew here for this word, some easie Precautions to those that pretend to Sincerity; for I am not so vain as to imagin I can reform so rooted an Abuse, and where so many would be found in the account. I believe nevertheless that no Body will deny, 1. But that every one ought to take care that he make not use of a Word without a signification; or any sound, without having some Idea in his Mind that he would express thereby: 2. That the Idea that we mark by this sign should be clear and distinct, and that all the simple Ideas whereof it is composed, if it is complex, should be fixt and constant. This is necessary in the Names of all complex Ideas; but we ought to take a particular care in Words that express the

Ideas of Morality, which being composed of divers simple Ideas, are not as they should be, till we have fixed in our Mind the complex Idea, which we would denote by every Word. We ought to endeavour to be in a capacity of an easie Enumeration of all that entreteth into this Idea, and to resolve it into all the simple Ideas which compose it. For want of this it happeneth that our Words become so obscure and equivocal, that neither others nor our selves can tell what we would say. 3. One ought to accommodate his Ideas as much as possible to the common signification that the words have in the ordinary usage. The usage is that which determineth the signification of the Words, and every particular Person ought not to make such change as he pleaseth therein. But because the common usage hath left a great part of Words, not to say the most part, in a very extravagant signification, and Men often are constrained to make use of a common word, in a sense somewhat particular, it's often necessary to mark in what sense we make use of Words, especially when they belong to the principal Subject of the Discourse or of the Question. This Interpretation of our Terms, if we would be correct, ought to be conformable to the different kinds of the Ideas that they signifie. The best and even, in several occasions, the only way of making known the signification of the name of a simple Idea is to present it to the Senses. The only means to mark the sense of the most part of the names of mix'd Moods, at least of the Words that belong to Morality, is *Definition*; and the best means to understand the names of the most part of Bodies, is to shew the Bodies we discourse on, and in the mean while to define the names whereof we make use; because on the one side several of the Qualities, which distinguish them from other Bodies, are not easie to be expressed by words; and on the other, since many other things among them cannot, without much pain and preparations, be discovered by the Senses.

10. I have shewn what the signification is of Words, and what care we ought to take, that we may not suffer our selves to be thereby deceived, that being necessary before we enter into the consideration of our Notions, which maketh the subject of the following Book. Before I finish this, I shall say only one word of the common distinction of Terms, because I believe it may serve for the clearing our Ideas. It is the distinction of the Terms *Abstract* and *Concrete*, upon which we may mark, 1. That two abstract Ideas are never affirmed at once. 2. That simple Ideas and Moods have concrete Names, as well as abstract; but that Substances have but concretes, saving some few abstract Words affected by Scholasticks, which they never could bring into common use, as *Corporeity, Animality, &c.* The first of these two Remarks teacheth us, as it seemeth to me,

that two distinct Ideas are two distinct Essences, which cannot be affirmed both at once. The second includeth a clear Assertion, that Men have no Idea of the real Essences of the kinds of Substances, seeing they have in their Tongues no Terms to express them.

B O O K IV.

We have treated in the two preceeding Books of the Ideas and Words; in this we treat of Knowledge.

1. It's shewn in the first Chapter, That Knowledge is nothing else but the perception of *Agreement* or of *Dis-agreement*, which is between two Ideas. This convenience or dis-convenience may be reduced, for a greater clearness, to these four, 1. *Identity*. 2. *Coexistence*. 3. *Real Existence*. 4. *Relation*.

The first and principal act of our Intellect is to perceive the Ideas it hath, to see what each of them is, and in what they differ from others. Without that the Mind could not either have variety of Thoughts nor Discourse, nor judge nor reason upon what it thinketh. It's by this faculty that the Mind perceiveth what Idea it hath, when it seeth a Violet, and by which it knoweth that Blew is not Yellow. Secondly, our Idea of Substances consists, as I have shewn, in a certain mass of simple Ideas, which is noted by a *Specifick* Name. The most part of our disquisitions touching Substances, tends to know what other Qualities they have, which refer to this; to wit, what other Ideas do coexist, and are found united with other our complex Ideas. Thus to seek, if Gold is *fixed*, is to seek if being able to be in the fire without being consumed, is an Idea that coexisteth in the same subject with the Ideas of yellow Colour, of Weight, of *Malleability* and *Fusibility*, whereof our Idea of Gold is composed. The third sort of *Agreement*, is to know if a real existence agreeth or not to some thing, whereof we have an Idea in our Mind. The last sort of *Agreement* or *Dis-agreement* of the Ideas, consisteth in some other *Relation* which may be between two Ideas. Thus this Enunciation, *Sweetness is not Bitterness*, marketh a dis-convenience of Identity: Thus, *Iron is susceptible of the Impressions of the Loadstone*, signifies an agreeing of coexistence: These words, *God existeth*, include an agreeing of real Existence: This Proposition, *Two Triangles whereof the Base is equal, and which are betwixt two parallel Lines are equal*, marketh a convenience of Relation.

2. According to the different manner wherewith we perceive the convenience or the dis-convenience of our Ideas, the evidence wherewith we know them is different. Sometimes the Mind perceiveth the convenience or dis-convenience of two Ideas immediately. Thus it seeth that Red is not Yellow, that a Circle is not a Triangle, that three is more than two, and is equal to two and one. That is, what may be called *intuitive Knowledge*, or of a simple view. It is upon this simple view that is founded all the

certitude and all the evidences of our Notions; and indeed every one findeth that this evidence is so great, that he cannot imagin nor consequently require a greater one. For no Body can believe himself capable of a greater certitude, than to know that an Idea which he hath in his Mind is such, as he perceiveth it, and that two Ideas, among which he seeth a difference are different, and are not really the same. Therefore in the following degree of our Knowledge, which I call *Demonstration*, this *intuition* or simple view, is necessary in all the connections of middle Ideas, without which we cannot come at any general Knowledge, nor to any certainty. 2. When the Agreement or Dis-agreement of two Ideas cannot immediately be perceived, but the Mind maketh some other Idea to intervene, to shew it, this is that which is called *Demonstration*. Therefore the Mind not being able to joyn three Angles of a Triangle with two strait ones, so that it may perceive immediately their Equality, it maketh use of some other Angles to measure them.

For to produce a Knowledge of this Nature, we must know with a simple view, the Agreement or Dis-agreement of two middle Ideas, whereof we make use in each degree of Deduction; for without that there can be no Demonstration, and one cannot shew the Agreement or Dis-agreement of two Ideas that he considereth. For either the Agreement or Dis-agreement of two Ideas is not evident by it self, that is to say, cannot be perceived immediately, we still need Proofs to shew it. This kind of Knowledge may be called a *reasoned* or *demonstrative Knowledge*, and how certain soever it may be, it's never so clear nor so evident as the Knowledge of a simple view. The reason of it is this, The Memory must intervene, to retain the connection of all the parts of a Demonstration together, and we must be sure we omit none thereof; which in a long Deduction demandeth an extraordinary Attention, if we design to avoid Error. I will not speak in this little Abridgment of what is commonly believed, That Demonstration belongs but to Ideas which regard Quantity.

These are the two sorts of Knowledge that we have of general Truths. As for the Existence of some particular finite Beings, we perceive 'em by our Senses, and we can call this Knowledge, *sensible Knowledge*. Though it hath not all the certitude of the two first degrees of Knowledge, notwithstanding it must be granted that it hath something more than simple probability.

3. From what hath now been said it followeth, 1. That we can have no Knowledge, where we have no Idea. 2. That our Knowledge of a simple view extendeth not it self so far as our Ideas, because we cannot compare the greatest part of them after a manner so immediate, that we may discover the Agreement that we look for. 3. That our *reasoned Knowledge* cannot make us to perceive the Agreement or Dis-agreement

agreement of all the Ideas, where the knowledge of a simple view faileth us, because we cannot find middle Ideas that may unite them after an intuitive manner. 4. That the sensible knowledge not extending it self further than the actual presence of the particular objects that strike our Senses, it has a great deal less extension than the two preceding ones.

What I pretend to conclude from all this, is that our Knowledge is not only infinitely below the Extent of Beings, but that it also faileth us in the greatest part of the disquisitions that we can make upon the Ideas we have. First of all, as to what regards the whole Extent of Beings, if we compare this small Corner of Earth upon which we are confined, with this part of the Universe, whereof we have some knowledge, we shall find that the Earth is but as a Point; but if we carry our thoughts yet further, we shall find that 'tis more than probable, that this part of the Universe whereof we have some knowledge, is in it self, how immense soever it seems, but as a Point in regard to that which is altogether beyond our discoveries. And if we consider the vegetable, the reasonable and corporal Animals (not to speak of the different orders of Minds) and the other things with their different qualities, more proportionable perhaps to others Senses than ours, and whereof we have no Notion; if we make, I say, a little Reflection upon the number, the variety and excellency of Beings, that may exist, and which without doubt do exist in an Extent as immense as is that of the Universe, we shall with reason conclude, that the things whereof we have some Idea, are in a very small number, in comparison to those that we do not at all know. In the second place, if we consider in what a small number, how imperfect and superficial are the Ideas, that we have of the things which are near us, that we can know them better, and which in effect are the best known to us. In fine, if we mark, by how little, we can discover by those Ideas we have, of Agreement or Disagreement, we have cause enough to infer from thence that our Minds are extremely limited, that they are no way proportionable to the whole extent of Beings, and that Men are not capable of knowing all things.

Its true, that in regard of *Identity* and of *diversity* our Knowledge of a simple view is as much extended as our very Ideas: But on the other side, we scarcely have any general knowledge of the coexistence of Ideas, because not being able to discover the causes whereof the second qualities of the substances do depend, nor to see any connection between these causes and our Ideas, there are very few cases in the which we can know the coexistence of any other Idea, with the complex Idea that we have of some sort of substances; and thereby the knowledge we have of Substances is reduced almost to nothing. As for what concerneth other *Relations* of our Ideas, it does not yet

appear how far our Knowledge can reach. I believe nevertheless that if we studied well Morality, which consists in the Relations of Moods, it would be as capable of Demonstration as the Mathematicks, as to the Existence we have our own, a knowledge of simple view, a demonstrative knowledge of the Existence of God, and a sensible knowledge of the Existence of some few other things.

I shall not put in this little Abridgment the particular Examples that I gave to shew the small extent of our Knowledges. What I have said here sufficeth, I think, for to convince us that there is no proportion between what we know, and those things of which we are in an irreparable ignorance.

Besides the Extent of our Knowledge in the Species of things, we may therein consider another sort of Extent in regard of its *Universality*: When our Ideas are abstract the knowledge we have of 'em is general. The abstract Ideas are the Essences of Kinds, what names soever are given them, and are the foundations of the general and eternal Truths.

4. It will perhaps be said that this Knowledge which we make to consist in the consideration of Ideas, may be Chimerical, and leave us in an entire ignorance of what things really are in themselves; seeing we see that Men can, and even often have, Ideas altogether extravagant. To that I answer, that our Knowledge is as real, as our Ideas are conformable to things, and no more. To be able to know what Ideas are conformable to the reality of things, we must consider the different sorts of Ideas whereof I have spoken above.

1. We can not doubt but simple Ideas are conformable to the things (I do not mean a conformity of Resemblance, but the conformity that is between a constant effect and its cause) because the Mind being not able to form any simple Idea, those it hath must be conformable to the Powers of producing them, which are in things; and this conformity is sufficient to give a real knowledge.

2. Nevertheless our Complex Ideas, excepting those of Substances, are conformable to the reality of things; and we can assure our selves, because they are Architypes, which the Mind hath formed, and not Copies by which it pretends to represent something existent out of it self: We have a design in our discourses and in our reasonings, touching this sort of Ideas, to mark any thing that existeth, but only as it is conformable to these Ideas.

3. But our complex Ideas of substances being formed upon design to represent the Architypes existent without us, we cannot be assured that our knowledge touching these Ideas is real, but in as much as it appereth by the real Existence of things themselves, (which the simple Ideas included in a combination, such as is that whereof our complex Ideas are formed) it may coexist together. The reason of this is, that not knowing

knowing the real constitution whereof these qualities depend, we cannot know but by experience what qualities can, or cannot exist together in one same subject. If we gather in a *complex Idea* other qualities than those that can exist together, the knowledge of the substance which this Idea shall represent, shall be only the knowledge of a Chimera, which we shall have formed our selves, and not of any real Being.

5. According to this Description of Knowledge, we may come to discover what Truth is, which is nothing else but the conjunction or the separation of Signs, according as things themselves agree or disagree. By conjunction or separation of the Signs I mean that which is made in affirming or in denying, and that which is called *proposition*. As the Signs, whereof we make use, are of two sorts, *Ideas* and *words*; the Propositions are likewise of two sorts, *Mental* and *Verbal*. Truth is likewise of two kinds, *real* or *purely verbal*. A real Truth is found in a Proposition when it is Affirmative or Negative, according as the Ideas themselves are conformable to their Archetypes. A Verbal Truth is included in a Proposition, when it is Affirmative or Negative, according to the agreement or disagreement of our Ideas, tho' these Ideas have no agreement with their Archetypes.

6. Truth represents it self commonly to our Mind, or in being considered as included in certain Propositions: Its of importance to examin what Propositions are capable to bring into our Mind a certain knowledge of general Truths. 1. In general Propositions, where we suppose that the Terms signify *Kinds* which consist in real Existences, and distinct from *nominals*, we are capable of no certain Knowledge, because not knowing this real Essence, we cannot know what qualities have an agreement or disagreement with this unknown Essence; nor even ever discover that the Beings belong to this *kind*. And this is it which happeneth often in the Propositions which regard Substances, and not in those that concern the other things, because we do not suppose that the other things have a real Essence distinct from the Nominal. 2. In all the general Propositions, where are substituted Terms in place only of the Nominal Essence, or from the abstract Idea, so that the kind is determined by that only, we are capable of Certainty as far as we perceive the agreement or disagreement of these abstract Ideas. But this very little regards Substances, because we cannot discover but in very few re-encounters the necessary coexistence, or the incompatibility of the other Ideas, with those that compose the *complex Idea* which we have of some kind of Substances.

7. There are certain Propositions, which are called *Maxims*, which some do look upon as born with us, and which the most part look upon as the foundation of all Knowledge. But if we consider well what we have said touching the knowledge of simple view, or self-evidence, we shall find

that these Axioms, so much boasted of, are not *innate*, and have no more evidence by themselves, than a thousand other Propositions, whereof some are known before these Axioms, and whereof others are known as readily and as clearly; whence it followeth that they are not *innate*, and that they are not the foundation of all our Knowledge and reasonings, as some believe.

It is allowed that these Maxims are evident in themselves: *All that is is, and 'tis impossible a thing should be, and should not be at the same time.* But if we consider the nature of the Intellect, and of the Ideas it hath, and if we think that the Intellect cannot but know its proper Ideas, and not know that the Ideas that are distinct in it are so, we shall of necessity remark, that these Axioms, that are believed to be the fundamental Principles of Knowledge and Reasoning, are no more evident in themselves than these Propositions, *One is one, Red is Red, and it's impossible that one should be two, and that Red should be Blew.* We also know evidently and even sooner these Propositions, and a thousand such others, than those that are commonly called Maxims. Is there any one that could imagin that a Child knoweth not that a Seed of Herbs against Worms is not Sugar, but by vertue of this Axiom, *It is impossible that the same thing should be and not be at the same time?* Our knowledge of simple view extends to all our Ideas in regard of the Agreement or disagreement of identity, and consequently all the Propositions, which regard this sort of agreement or disagreement, whether they be conceived in more or less general Terms, if the Ideas that they signify are known; these Propositions I say, are equally evident by themselves.

As we know very few things with a knowledge of a simple view, in respect to the Agreement or Disagreement of Coexistence; so we cannot form thereupon but very few general Propositions evident by themselves, and a very small number of *Axioms*.

In the third sort of agreement, to wit in the agreement of *Relation*, Mathematicians have formed divers general Propositions, touching the equality, to which they have given the names of Axioms; tho' these Propositions have no other certainty than that which is found in all the other general Propositions, evident by themselves. Although when one hath rendred to himself these Axioms familiar, Men often make use thereof, to shew the absurdity of false reasonings and of erroneous opinions, in the less general Ideas; notwithstanding the manner, wherewith our Mind has acquired Knowledge, is not by beginning with these general Propositions, and thence drawing Consequences; but on the contrary, by beginning by particular observations, and thence extending by degrees its knowledge to more general *Views*.

8. Besides these Propositions, there are others, whereof several are certain, but it teacheth us no real Truth, because they regard only the signification of Words.

1. When

1. When we affirm some part of a complex Idea of the name of this same Idea; or, which is the same thing, when we affirm a part of a Definition of the name of the thing defined; this Proposition only regardeth the signification of Terms, and such are all the Propositions, in which the most general Terms are affirmed by Terms which are so less; as when we affirm the *Genera* of Species, or of the Individuals.

2. When two abstract Ideas are affirmed by one another, the Proposition includeth no real truth, but only regards the signification of Words. If all these ridiculous Propositions were banished from discourse, the way to come at some knowledge would be much less entangled with disputes than it is.

9. Universal Propositions which include a truth or a certain falshood, concern the Essences only. The knowledge of Existence extendeth not it self beyond particular Beings. It is visible that we have a *knowledge of simple view* of our Existence, and that nothing can be more evident.

10. There is a Demonstration of the Existence of God, that we may find without being obliged to go out of our selves, to seek proofs, 1. Although God hath given us no Idea of himself which is innate, tho he hath not imprinted in our Souls any original Characters, that may make us read his Existence, having given to our Minds the faculties they have, yet he hath not left himself without Testimony, seeing we have Senses, Intellect and Reason, which cannot want Proofs of his Existence whilst we subsist. We cannot justly complain of our ignorance in this regard, seeing he hath furnished us so abundantly with means whereby to know him, as much as it is necessary for the end for which we exist, and for our Felicity, which is the greatest of all our interests. But tho the Existence of God be a truth the most easie to be discovered by Reason, yet his own evidence is equal, if I am not mistaken, to that of *Mathematical Demonstration*; nevertheless it requireth attention, and the Mind must apply it self to draw it from some uncontestable part of our knowledge by a regular deduction. Otherwise we should be in as great an uncertainty and in as great an ignorance in respect to this truth, as in respect to the other Propositions, which may evidently be Demonstrated. To shew that we are capable to know, and to know with certainty that there is a God, and to shew how we come to this knowledge, I believe we only need to reflect upon our selves, and upon the undoubted knowledge we have of our own Existence.

2. I believe it is Uncontestable, that Man knoweth certainly that he Existeth, and that he is something. If there be any that can doubt thereof, I declare it's not to him that I speak, no more than I should be willing to dispute against pure Nought, and to undertake to convince a *Non-Being* to be something.

3. Besides, Man knoweth by a knowledge of simple view that pure Nought can no more produce a real Being, than the same Nought can be equal to two strait Angles. If there be any that know that *Non-Being*, or absence of every Being cannot be equal to two strait Angles, its impossible he should conceive any of *Euclides* Demonstrations. If we know that some real Being Existeth, and that *Non-Being* can produce nothing, its by a Mathematical evidence that there is something from all Eternity, seeing that which is not of all Eternity hath a beginning, and that every thing that has a beginning hath been produced by some other thing.

4. It is by the same evidence that every Being, which draweth its Existence and its beginning from another, deriveth also from another all that it hath and all that belongeth to it. We ought to know that all these Faculties draw their Origine from some place: Therefore the Eternal Source of all the Beings, must also be the Source and Principle of all their Powers or Faculties, so that this Being must be Almighty.

5. Besides, this Man findeth in himself some perception and knowledge. We may therefore yet advance from one degree, and assure our selves, not only that some Being exists, but that there is in the World some intelligent Being.

6. There hath then been a time in which there was no intelligent Being, and in which Knowledge hath begun to exist; or there also hath been an *intelligent being* from all Eternity. If 'tis said, there hath been a time, in which *No Being* had knowledge, and in which the eternal Being was destitute of intelligence; I reply, that it is then impossible that any knowledge should ever have existed. For its as impossible that a thing absolutely destitute of knowledge, and which blindly acteth without any perception, should produce an intelligent Being, as its impossible that a Triangle should make for it self three Angles that should be bigger than two strait ones. It is so contrary to the Idea of a matter without sense, that it should produce to it self sense, perception, and knowledge, as it is contrary to the Idea of a Triangle that it should make to it self Angles which should be bigger than two strait ones.

7. Therefore by the consideration of our selves and of what we infallibly find in our Nature, Reason leadeth us to the knowledge of this certain and evident Truth, *that there is an Eternal Being*, most powerful and most intelligent, what name soever we give it; whether we call it God, or otherwise, there is nothing more evident; and in considering well this Idea, 'twill be easy thence to draw all the Attributes that we ought to acknowledg in this Eternal Being.

It seemeth clear to me, by what I have said, that we have a knowledge more certain of the Existence of a God, than of any thing else whatever, that our Senses have not immediately discovered to us.

believe I may say even that we know more certainly that there is a God, than that we know there is something else without us. When I say that *we know*, I mean that we have in our power this knowledg which cannot fail us, if we apply our selves to it as we do in other disquisitions.

11. We cannot know the Existence of other things but by the Testimony of the Senses. In this our knowledg extends it self not beyond that which we perceive by their means. The Existence of any other thing whatever having no necessary connection with any of the Ideas which are in our Memory, we cannot infer thence the Existence of any particular Idea, and we can have no knowledg thereof but by an actual perception of our Senses.

12. To augment our knowledg, we must regulate our Ideas in the same method whereof we make use in a search of truth. As to the substances, where our Ideas are but imperfect Copies, we can have but a very little general knowledg of 'em, because few of our Abstract Ideas have an Agreement or Disagreement of a Coexistence that may be discovered; and therefore upon this consideration, we must endeavour to augment our knowledges by particular Experiences and Observations. But when we speak of *Moods* and *Relations*, our Ideas being Archetypes, and being the Real as well as the Nominal Essences of *Kinds*, we may acquire a general knowledg by the only consideration of our Abstract Ideas.

And as to these Ideas, our Searches regarding not the Agreement or Disagreement of Coexistence, but respecting other *Relations*, more easy to be discovered than that of Coexistence, we are capable of making further Progresses. To augment this knowledg, we must establish in our Mind clear and constant Ideas, with their Names, or Signs, and after that exactly consider their Connections, their Agreements and their Dependencies. As to know, if we could not find some Method, as profitable in regard to the other Moods, as *Algebra* in regard to the Ideas of quantity, to discover their *Relations*. 'Tis they that cannot be determined aforehand, yet we ought never to despair of it. Notwithstanding I doubt not but Morality may be brought to a much greater degree of Certainty, than it hath been hitherto, if after having applied the Term of Morality to clear and constant Ideas, we examin them freely and without prejudice.

13. Knowledg is not innate, nor presents not it self always to our Intellect. We must often bring in our Searches both Application and Study, and 'tis that which depends upon our Will; but when we have examined some Ideas with their Agreements and Disagreements, by all the Means that we have, and with all the exactness whereof we are capable, it depends not upon our Will to know, or not to know the Truths that concern these Ideas.

14. Our knowledg extending not it

self to every thing that belongs to us, we supply it by what we call *judgment*, by which our Mind concludes that Ideas agree or disagree, to wit that a Proposition is true or false, without having an evidence that may produce a certain knowledg.

15. The foundation upon which we receive these Propositions as true, is what we call *probability*; and the manner wherewith the Mind receives these Propositions is that which is called *Consent*, *Belief* or *Opinion*; that which consisteth to receive an Opinion as true, without having a certain knowledg that it is so effectively. Here are the foundations of probability. 1. The conformity of something with that which we know, or with our Experience. 2. The Testimony of others founded upon what they know, or what they have experienced.

16. In this Chapter we treat of the different degrees of Assurance, or of Doubt, which depend upon these two things, diversified by Circumstances that concur with others, or that counterbalance them; but they are in too great a number for to be noted in particulars in this Extract.

17. Errour is not the failure of knowledg, but a fault of judgment, which causeth Men to give their consent to things that are not true. The causes are, 1. Want of proofs, such as may or may not be had. 2. The little ability Men have to make use thereof. 3. The want of Will to make use thereof. 4. The false rules of probability, which may be reduced to these 4. Doubtless Opinions supposed as Principles; Hypotheses received; unruly Passions, and Authority.

18. Reasoning, by which we know Demonstrations and probabilities hath, as it seems to me, four parts. The first consists in discovery of proofs: The second in ranging them in such order as is necessary to find the truth: The third in clear perception, or an evident connection of Ideas in each part of the Consequence: The fourth, in carrying strait Judgment, and drawing a just conclusion from the whole. It appeareth by this, that *Syllogism* is not the great instrument of Reason; that it serveth but in the third part, and only to shew to others that the connection of two Ideas, or rather of two Words, by the interposition of a third one, is good or bad. But it is not at all subservient to Reason, when it seeks for some new knowledg, or would discover some unknow Truth, and the proofs upon which it is grounded, which is the principal use which we ought to make of Reason, and not to Triumph in Dispute, or to reduce to silence those that would be Litigious.

19. Some Men oppose so often, Faith to Reason, that if we knew not distinctly their limits, we should run a hazard to entangle our selves in our Searches about matters of Religion.

The Subject of reasoning is Propositions, which we may know by the natural use of our Faculties, and which are drawn from Ideas

Ideas that we have by Sensation, by Reflection: The matters of Faith are those which are discovered to us by a Supernatural Revelation. If we carefully consider the distinct Principles of these two things, we shall know in what Faith excludeth Reason, or imposeth Silence to it, and in what we ought to hearken to Reason as a lawful Judge of a matter.

1. A Proposition, which we pretend to have received by an original and immediate Revelation, cannot be admitted as an undoubted matter of Faith, if it be contrary to the clear and evident Principles of our natural Knowledges; because that though God cannot lie, notwithstanding it's impossible that a Man, to whom the Revelation is made, should know it comes from God with more certainty, than he knows the truth of these Principles of Reason.

2. But an original Revelation can impose Silence upon Reason in a Proposition, wherein Reason giveth but a probable assurance; because the assurance that we have that this Revelation comes from God, is clearer than the thing that is most probable.

3. If it cannot be granted that original Revelation may contradict our clear and evident natural Knowledg, it can yet be less granted to what we know by Tradition only, because that although that which God reveals cannot be called in Question, nevertheless he to whom the Revelation hath not been immediately made, but who holds it from the Relation of other Men, can never know that God hath made this Revelation; nor that he understands well the Words in which they are proposed to him, nor even that he ever had read or heard this Proposition, which we suppose to be revealed to another, with as much certainty as he knoweth the truths of Reason which are evident by themselves. It hath been revealed, *That the Trumpet shall sound and the Dead shall rise*; but I see not how those that hold that Revelation only is the object of Faith, can say, that it is a matter of Faith, and not of Reason, to believe that this Proposition is a Revelation, if it be not revealed that such a Proposition advanced by such a Man is a Revelation. The Question recurs, to wit, Whether I understand this Proposition in its true Sense?

20. In fine, conformable to these Principles, I conclude, in dividing the Sciences into three kinds. The first, which I call $\Phi\Upsilon\Xi\text{I}\text{K}\text{H}$, is the knowledg of Things, whether Spiritual or Corporal, or some of their Proprieties, in their true Nature: We propose in this no other end than simple Speculation. The second which I name $\Pi\text{P}\text{A}\text{K}\text{T}\text{I}\text{K}\text{H}$, contains the Rules of all our Operations, comprehends the things that are in our power, and chiefly that which belongs to the conduct of our Manners. This second Science proposeth the action for its end. The third, to which I give the name of $\Sigma\text{H}\text{M}\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{T}\text{I}\text{K}\text{H}$, is the knowledg of

Signs, to wit, of Ideas and Words, as also serving to other sorts of Sciences. It may be, if this last was well considered, it would produce a Logick and Critick different from those we have seen till now.

That Beasts are meer Machines, divided into two Dissertations: At Amsterdam by J. Darmanfon, in his Philosophical Conferences in Twelves, without the name of a Printer, 1684.

IF any thing can mortifie the Mind of Man, it is certainly the Controversie which hath been raised not long since betwixt the *Cartesians* and other Philosophers, touching the Soul of Beasts. All Men believed, without contestation, until the time of Mr. *Descartes*, That Beasts had Knowledg. Philosophers in that had no different Thoughts from the People; they believed, as well as the Vulgar, that there was the utmost evidence for it. They only disputed among themselves, whether the Knowledg of Animals extended it self to Reason or no, and to universal Ideas? Or if it was limited by the perception of sensible Objects? Most of the ancient Philosophers have believed that Beasts reasoned; but among Christian Philosophers, the most common Opinion was the contrary. They were contented almost all to attribute a Sentiment unto them. I say almost all, for there have been always some, who have maintained, that they were not deprived of the faculty of Reasoning. Mr. *De la Chambre*, one of the most illustrious Peripateticks of this Age, hath openly declared for this Party, in which undoubtedly he hath been incomparably more judicious than any other of *Aristotle's* Followers, because perhaps never any Opinion was more unlikely to be maintained than this, That the actions of Beasts issue from a knowing Principle, and nevertheless that Beasts have not the Strength to conclude one thing from another. However it is in this particular Dispute, all Men were united in this fix'd point, and in this Article of Belief, *That Beasts have a Sentiment*. The most Subtle would have engaged, That there would never have been any Man so foolish, as to dare to maintain the contrary.

There hath nevertheless been one in the last Age, who durst assert this Paradox in a place, wherein it would be the least suspected that so new a Doctrine should take Birth. I shall be well understood if I add only, That it was a Spanish Physitian that published this Doctrine, a *Medina del Campo* in 1554. in a Book which had cost him 30 years Labour, and which he Entituled, *Antoniana Margarita*, to honour his Fathers Mothers Name. Who should ever guess that Spain, where the liberty of Opinions is less suffered, than that of the Body is in Turkey, should produce so rash a Philosopher,

as to maintain that Animals feel not? It deserves to be spoken of here and every where for the Rarity of the Subject; and it is just that we should not suppress the Name of this Gallant Man, who hath been the first Author, as we know of, of this unheard Paradox. He was called *Gamefius Pereira*, and lived in the last Age, and not in the twelfth, as a Doctor of Divinity hath affirm'd, who places the quality of *Abbot Gerard* at the head of his Discourse, upon the *Courtiers Philosophy*. This *Gamefius Pereira* was briskly attacked by a Divine of *Salamanca* named *Michael de Palacios*, and answered him as sharply without losing any Argument that he had advanced, *For Beasts being Machines*. But he made no Sect, his Opinion immediately fell. He had not the Honour done him as to fear him, so that he was not much more known to our Age, than if he had never come into the World; and there is a great Likelihood that *Mr. Descartes*, who read but little, never heard talk of him. Yet Men will have that he hath drawn from this Spanish Physician, the Opinion which he had concerning Beasts; for in saying so, People think to take away from him the Glory of the Invention, and that it is still so much gained upon him.

But what is most certain is, That *Gamefius Pereira* having not drawn his Paradox from true Principles, and not having penetrated into its Consequences, could not hinder *Mr. Descartes* from finding it first by a Philosophical Method. It is notwithstanding very probable that he found it without seeking for it; very likely he begun and ended his Meditations, without thinking upon the Soul of Beasts, and without abandoning the Opinion which he had receiv'd thereof in his Infancy; and it was only in considering the sequel of that Principle, concerning the distinction of the *Cognitive Substance* from that of the extended Substance, that he perceived the knowledge of Animals overturned all the oeconomy of his System. It may perhaps be, that he had then need that this Objection should be made him, and that before it did not come into his Mind. It is therefore thro' meer necessity that he maintained that Beasts cannot feel. If he could have defended his Principles without it, he had never concerned himself with an Opinion, which not only had always appeared undoubtful to all the World, but which was also cloathed with almost an invincible Evidence. This Evidence made me say at first, That there is nothing more likely to mortifie the Mind of Man, than the Controversie concerning the Knowledge of Beasts.

For in fine, what can be more mortifying, than to see the State wherein this Controversie is now? On the one side by *Mr. Descartes* an Opinion upheld which never appeared before in the World but once, and which took Birth rather through Capriciousness than Reason; (for, as I have already said, *Gamefius Pereira* knew not very well himself, why he maintained it) which Opi-

nion hath been adopted by *Mr. Descartes*, only because he was constrained to throw himself into this Precipice, to confirm what he had once advanced. In fine, what so readily contradicts the natural light of many Persons, that it is said openly in a thousand Places, it is a shame for *France* and for our Age, to have produced a Philosopher, who hath been able with Success to put off that monstrous Opinion, that Beasts are Machines? What do we see on the other side? An Opinion generally approved of all Men who have been since *Adam*, until these latter years, and which so possesseth our Minds by I know not what Evidence that accompanies it, that Men are not more persuaded, that they enjoy a pleasure in eating, than they are, that Beasts do feel some likewise when they feed. Yet in spite of all these great advantages of the Opinion which the *Cartesians* have been forced to strive against, they boast of having after three or four years Dispute, reduced it into so poor a condition, that it can be no longer preserv'd but by an Appeal to the People, and to what Hunters and Fishermen will say on't. As for Philosophical Reasons, they say it cannot bring any, either for its Defence, or to oppose the contrary. This is very humbling, and what may make us trouble for Opinions, which appear the most certain to us. A time will come, perhaps, that those who will maintain them, shall see themselves more incumbered, than the *Peripateticks* at this day are, to defend the Soul of Beasts.

The *Cartesians* (I am here but a simple Historian of their Thoughts) say that it will appear, that they use no exaggeration, if the Preface be read which hath been put by *Mr. Schuyt*, before his Latin Translation of *Monsieur Descartes*; the Treatise of *F. Pardies* of the Knowledge of Beasts; another Treatise of *Mr. le Grand*, *de carentia Sensus & cognitionis in Brutiis*; and a Book of the Soul of Beasts which was Printed at *Lyons*, in 1676. approved by two Doctors of Divinity, and composed by a Priest of *Ambrum*, named *d' Illy*, who died a little while after. All the World suspected *F. Pardies*, of designing to establish the Opinion of *Descartes*, in only pretending to refute it. And in effect he answers so well himself to his Objections, and those which he leaveth without Answer are so weak, that it is not hard to guess what he intended. And *Mr. d' Illy* having answered the Reasons which this Jesuit had not refuted, it followeth that nothing hath been left undone, that could destroy the Opinion of *Mr. Descartes*. But those who maintain that Beasts have Senses, cannot boast of it, for they do not solidly answer the Objections of the *Cartesians* if we believe the latter. It is a wonderful thing, that the Tenet of the *Automata* should so speedily come to perfection. It must needs have fallen into good Hands, and that 3 or 4 good Wits make more progress in 10 years, than others have done in divers Ages.

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Religion was immediately interested in this cause by the hopes that the *Anti-Cartesians* conceived of ruining thereby the Machins of Mr. *Descartes*; but the advantage cannot be related which hath accrewed from thence to the Sect of this Philosopher. For they think they have shewen that in giving Beasts a Soul capable of knowledg, all the natural proofs of the Immortality of the Soul are ruined. They have shewen that their opinion had no other obstinate Enemies than the Impious, and Epicureans, and that no greater diskindness could be done to those Philosophers, than to disarm them of all the false reasons, which they borrow from the Soul of Beasts, to conclude that there is betwixt them and us, the difference only of the greatest to the least. It is a certain thing that there are no People who affect more than the Impious do, to make Beasts approach near to the perfection of Man. Thus Mr. *Descartes* hath cunningly Engaged Religion in his interest. But they are not satisfied with this reason. They have exalted their Search unto the nature of God, for invincible arguments against the knowledg of Beasts, and it must be confessed that they have found pretty good ones. The Author of the Disquisition of Truth hath spread the Draught thereof in some places of his Works. *F. Poisson* of the Oratory hath thoroughly treated of that which is founded upon the Principle of St. *Augustin*, that God being just, misery is a necessary proof of Sin; whence it followeth, that Beasts having not Sinned, are not subject to misery, but they would be subject thereunto, if they had a Feeling, therefore they have no Sense.

The Book of *Darmanfon*, which occasioned our making these general Remarks, chiefly endeavours to destroy the knowledg of Beasts, by Reasons borrowed from Divinity. For this effect he sheweth in his first discourse, that if Beasts are not *Automata*, it followeth first, that God is not God; secondly, that our Soul is not Immortal. He hath the equity of remarking that these Consequences ought not to be imputed to those who hold the Doctrin from whence they arose. It is another thing to make a certain Judgment and to admit of all the Consequences, which may be thence deduced in good Philosophy.

For to prove the First of these, observe, that if Beasts have such a Soul as is imagined, it followeth, First, that God loveth not himself; Secondly, that he is neither constant nor wise; Thirdly, he is cruel and unjust.

He proves the first of these three things by some Principles which *F. Malebranch* hath exposed in his Treatise of Nature and Grace, and elsewhere; for Example, that God would have never Determined to produce any thing without himself, if his Eternal Wisdom, and his Word had not rendered Creatures by his Oblation, worthy of the Infinite Action of God; whence it results, that God refers to his Glory, all that he doth. But he would not do it, if he created Souls capable of knowledg, and

love, without obliging them to love him and to know him; therefore, &c.

This Reason will appear stronger if we consider, that in the common Opinion the capacity which Beasts have of knowing Things, and to Love them, is terminated solely in the Body; whence it followeth, that God hath created them but to enjoy the Bodies; yet according to the Principles of St. *Augustin*, Sin is nothing else but *aversio a Deo & Conversio ad Creaturam*, or else *uti fruendis & frui utendis*, to wit, to swerve from God to turn towards Creatures, to stop at the Creature as our utmost end, and to make use of God himself, as a means, whereby we may enjoy Creatures when as all thing ought to serve us only as a help to our enjoyment of God; therefore Beasts have been created in the State of Sin, and Consequently God would have dispensed with the Law of order, which is notwithstanding the Sovereign and Indispensable Law of God. The Author sheweth how dangerous it is to let the Impious believe that God can Create Souls in disorder, to wit, without any Obligation of loving him, because if that was once supposed, it would be no more possible to prove unto them, that our Soul is in a disorder. It is certain that the Principles of St. *Augustin* are incompatible with the ordinary Doctrin, concerning the Soul of Beasts, as *Ambros Victor* hath fully proved.

As to the two other things, the Author proves 'em in shewing that the Soul of Beasts perishing when they dye, God destroys his proper work, which is a mark of inconstancy according to this Author. Moreover, as the Soul of the Beasts is more perfect than the Body, and that the Body never ceaseth to exist, tho the Soul is destroyed, it followeth that God preserves the Substances less perfect, whilst he Annihilates the most perfect, which is not like a wise Agent, no more than to unite two Substances to produce but the same effects, which one of them could do without the help of the other. But he pretends that the Machin of the Animals alone sufficient to produce what is necessary to their beings, therefore it would be a Superfluity unworthy a wise Agent, to joyn a Soul to this Machin. It will easily be guessed in what manner he proves that God would be cruel and unjust if Beasts had a Soul, for we may perceive that it can be only by the Reason which we have heretofore mentioned; to wit, that this Soul never having offended God, would notwithstanding be subject to all manner of miseries, and that without ever expecting a recompence for the Evils, which they should have suffered. For again, could one conceive, that God imprints sentiments of grief in an innocent Creature, provided it was with a design to make it deserve Eternal Felicity, by it's acquiescing in the pain. To this the Author adds this consideration, that the Soul of Beasts being innocent, would nevertheless be submitted to all the unmeasured desires of

Man, which is a disorder contrary to natural Light. Which will be easily comprehended if we imagine two different Kinds of Men, whereof the one, to wit the Posterity of *Adam*, should have reserved his Innocence, and the other become criminal. If the Posterity of *Adam* being innocent, was submitted to the desires of these Criminal Men, so that they should treat us as we treat Beasts, that they should make us tear one another for their pleasure, that they should kill us to feed their Bodies, that they should seek into our Entrails during our Life, to satisfy their curiosity, and all this in Vertue of the Empire which they should receive from God over us; who is it that does not herein easily perceive a disorder which offends all the Principles of sound Sense? We must then conclude (say the *Cartesians*) that if Beasts had a Soul, God would not have given to sinful Man the Empire which he hath over them. Let it be denied as much as they will with a Physician of *Paris*, named *Lami*, a provoked Epicurean, That Man hath over Beasts any other Empire, but that which Industry or strength procures unto him, it will be still true, and this Physician hath not the confidence to deny it, that God hath suffered Man after the Flood to kill Beasts to feed upon them. Which is to grant him an Empire, great enough, to preserve all the force of the Objection of the *Cartesians*.

As to what concerns the second Consequence, to wit, that if Beasts have a Soul, the Immortality of ours can no more be proved; the Author clears it very pertinently. He expounds the Equivocation of the Word Immortality, and sheweth that in a certain Sense, Bodies partake thereof; but that there is another signification according to which Immortality belongs but to the Soul. It were to be wished that this Author should refute those who give an Immortal Soul to Animals; for it is unto this that some of those are now reduced who embrace not the Hypothesis of Mr. *Descartes*, being Combated by the purest Ideas of Divinity, and forced in their Retrenchments, they say that the Souls of Beasts perish not. As that enervates the greatest part of the Reasons of this Author, his interest is to refute this new Hypothesis. The *Cartesians* would willingly have Men to examin if it be just to make so much ado against their Doctrine concerning the Soul of Beasts, seeing they maintain it by Reasons, which reduce their Adversaries to the greatest Extremities; the Publick may judge whether they have Reason or not. This is what concerns the first Conference.

The second contains the Mechanick Explication of several actions of Animals. *Descartes*, *de la Forge*, *de Cordemoy*, *d' Illy* and *Rohault* in their Discourses, have spoken of the same thing much finer; therefore I shall omit it.

If there is a second Edition made of these Conferences, it will be a great deal

better to correct the Trials. 'Tis advice which the Dutch Stationers have great need of.

A Collection of some curious Pieces concerning the Philosophy of Mr. Descartes in 12. At Amsterdam, Sold by Henry Desbordes, 1684.

THIS Collection contains six Pieces. The first is an Extract of the Acts of an Assembly of the Fathers of the Oratory, which was held at *Paris* in the Month of September, 1680. This Assembly willing to give us an undoubted proof of their Submission to the King, caused a Writing to be presented unto him, by which they engaged to Teach nothing which should smell of *Jansenism*, or *Cartesianism*. They observe in this Writing after what manner they think, Grace should be taught in *Seminaries*, *Colledges*, and in other Houses of the Congregation. And as they would have it on the one Hand permitted to every one to Teach Predestination, and Efficacious Grace by it self, they desire on the other, that Men have a particular care to shew that the Efficacy of Grace leaves Man in his Power of Acting, or not Acting, and that in every state there are Graces truly sufficient. As for the Professors of Philosophy, the same Writing dictates unto them certain things which they ought, or ought not to teach. They require that in Philick Men take great heed not to swerve from the Principles of *Aristotle*, commonly received in Colledges, and that they teach that the Essence of the Matter consists not in the extent; That there is a substantial Form really distinct from the Matter in each natural Body; That there are absolute Accidents; That a Vacuum is not impossible, &c. This is what was understood by this Concordat of the Jesuits and the Fathers of the Oratory, of which there hath been so much talk, and whereof there were no more Printed Copies in France.

The second Piece contains remarks upon this Concordat. The Author pretends that the Fathers of the Oratory have done great wrong to the Doctrine of *St. Augustin*, in that which they had given for a Model to their Professors, in the preceeding Assemblies. He maintains that they have been taken for Fools, and that they have not seen the Artifice of some Clauses inserted in their Writings. He sheweth also it is dangerous to Captivate the Mind of Man, in regard to natural Truths, and to give an occasion to think that the Catholick Church, and *Aristotle* are really tied together, that the one cannot be overthrown without shaking the other.

The third Piece is Entituled, *An Explanation of the Book of Mr. de la Ville*. Mr. *Bernier* is the Author thereof. Mr. *de la Ville* pretends that all new Philosophers, whether

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Cartesians or *Gassendists*, ruin the Mystery of Transubstantiation, by maintaining that the Essence of Matter consists in the Extent. As his Book dedicated to the Clergy of France made a noise, and injured the *Cartesians*. Mr. Bernier who is known to be a great follower of *Gassendus* was afraid himself, and Composed the Explanation whereof we speak, in which he endeavours to reconcile the Principles of his Philosophy with the Decisions of the Church. He pretends that Real-presence may be more commodiously expounded by the Hypothesis of the new Philosophers, than by the Principles of Schools, and assures us that he hath made the experience thereof in the Indies, For, saith he, when I saw some of those new Christians in trouble about the mystery of the Eucharist, as not being able to conceive that upon the Altar where there seemed to be Bread with all its Extent, and being no Bread, that the same Body of Jesus Christ, which had been stretched upon the Cross, was upon the Altar, and his not appearing to be there; Do you think, that I stood to tell them all that in all Bodies there are small Entities vulgarly called Accidents, and that amongst these Entities there is principally one called Quantity which extends the Body, without being always extended it self of the Body, or the Essence of the Body, or the Moods of the Body, and that God in the Eucharist depriving the Body of Jesus Christ of this Entity, made it to stay without Extension? Do you think, I say, that I went to tell them all this fine Discourse? Truly I was far from it: I should have embraced them again; and even as they have a very subtil Wit, & more fit for Sciences than we, when they are minded to apply themselves therunto, it may be I should have given them a distast. I was satisfied to tell them simply and in three Words, That God who had made that World of nothing, could as well make that a Body should appear where there was none, and that there should appear no Body, where there was one. He adds, that these good People went away with this more contented, and more submissive, than if the Thing had been expounded to them after the ordinary manner. He is not only contented to defend himself, he besides attacks the *Cartesians*, upon the infinity of the World, the Soul of Beasts, the cause of Motion, and Free-Will, &c.

The fourth Piece is the Work of a *Cartesian* against the same Mr. de la Ville, and in favour of the excellent Philosopher who hath made the *Disquisition of Truth*. Mr. de la Ville had witnessed some particular Spleen against him, and had by the by attackt his Exposition of Original Sin. He is answered, and accused of relating the passage falsely. After that he is told, that the Counsels have not decided all the particular Tenets; that the Philosophers of Schools have advanced to expound the Mysteries of the Eucharist, and that one may be a very good Catholick without adopting all these Tenets: That also it is not apparent that the Bishop of Condom spoke thereof in exposing the Doctrin of the Church. It is maintain-

ed against him that these Tenets were unknown to the Ancient Fathers, and consequently that Tradition and Reason are for those who are called *Cartesians*. There is added a Memorial to expound the possibility of Transubstantiation. It deserves to be read, for it is a different manner of explication to all those which have been seen hitherto.

After these four Pieces in French, comes a Dissertation in Latin Composed by a Protestant against the same Mr. de la Ville, The Protestant is so wise as to intrude into the dispute which the Catholicks have amongst themselves upon the Tenet of the Real presence. He lets them go on, he supposeth that his mediation would displease both of 'em, and that it would be thought he rather endeavoured to put the evil forward, than allay it. He is content to examine that place of the Book of Mr. de la Ville where this Author endeavours to prove by natural Reasons, that the Extent is not of the Essence of the Body; and because Mr. de la Ville to bring this about only weakeneth as much as he can the Reasons by which *Cherselier*, *Rohault*, and the Author of the *Disquisition of the Truth* have maintained that the Extent is the Essence of the Matter: The Protestant is contented to Reestablish the Reasons of these Gentlemen in all their strength, in ruining all the Exceptions, and all the subtility of Mr. de la Ville. He applieth himself chiefly to shew that the penetration of Matter is impossible. The Printer hath added to this Dissertation some *Theses* of Philosophy, which come from the same Hand, and where it is maintained amongst other things, that Place, Motion and Time have not as yet been defined but after an unexplicable manner. It is also remarked that the Reflection of Bodies must needs proceed from their Elastick Vertue, being Motion is Divisible to Infinity, and that by Reason of this Divisibility any fixt Body cannot hinder that which is in Motion to continue in its Motion in a right Line. Mr. *Descartes* had not taken care of this.

Lastly, at the end of this Collection are the Meditations upon Metaphysicks, which appeared in 1678. Under the name of *William Wanduis*. In this is the quintessence of the *Cartesian* Metaphysicks, and all the best things which are in the Meditations of Mr. *Descartes*: It even appears to be much better digested in it, more short, and pertinent than in that of Mr. *Descartes*, and that he is surpassed in it. The French Author of the Learned *Mercury* of the Month of February speaks of these Meditations of *William Wanduis*, and refutes some places thereof; but his Remarks tho good in his System, have no very great strength, when they are used against the Principles of the Author of the Meditations.

Of the Agreement of Specifick Remedies with the Corpuscular Philosophy: To which is added, A Dissertation about the various usefulness of Simple Medicaments: By Robert Boyle, Esq; Fellow of the Royal Society.

WHEN the Ancient Philosophers were asked the Reason of any Natural Effect, their Custom was, always to have recourse to certain occult Qualities, whereof they had no Idea at all. It was but in this latter Age, that People began to Discourse according to the Rules of Geometry, and to explain by Properties; by which we clearly conceive the different Effects of Bodies, the most universal Properties of Body and Extension, Figure and Motion. And whereas Bodies do not always act by their whole Bulk, but sometimes by their insensible Particles, it is necessary to speak of the Figure and Motion of these Particles. There have been an infinite number of Conjectures made upon these little Bodies, and some have made it their endeavour to draw hence Consequences, not only for Natural and Experimental Philosophy, but also for Medicine. As for Example, when some were satisfied that the mass of Blood was in a disposition that disagreed with its Nature, they thought that Particle of a certain Shape and Figure should be made use of, to bring this Blood back to its due and natural Temper. And there were some that believ'd that universal Remedies might be found out which would produce this Effect, let the Distemper be what it would, and so have insensibly fallen into an Opinion, That what is said commonly of Specificks, is but meer Fancy, and an effect of our own Brain.

1. Mr. Boyle intends to shew in the first of these two short Dissertations, That the common Opinion concerning Specificks, is not at all incompatible or inconsistent with the Modern Philosopher's Thoughts of the Operation of the insensible Particles of Bodies. To avoid Obscurity and Equivocation, Mr. Boyle takes notice from the very beginning, That three kind of Remedies may be termed Specificks. 1. Such as may serve for the Cure of some Member of the Body. 2. Such as purge out some particular Humour, as it is believed. 3. Such as ease or cure certain Distempers, tho' we do not know how they operate. It's in this last Sense that the Author takes this way of Speaking.

Then he goes on, and proves that there are Specificks, against those which deny that there are any; after which, he makes it his Business to shew, That this agrees very well with those that give Mechanick and Sensible Reasons of the Effects of insensible Particles.

Here are his chief Reasons to prove that the first are mistaken: 1. Because *Gallen*

and all the ancient Physicians, and an infinite number of the Modern, have constantly assured it. And tho' in Matters of Philosophy, Authority ought not to be made use of, yet great Prejudices are derived hence in favour of Specificks, because they are things whereof the fore-mentioned might have had many Experiences. Besides this, there is no more reason to deny that there are Specifick Remedies, than there is to deny that there are Poysons that cause certain Diseases and Symptoms: These Poysons act in such small quantities, that their Effect cannot be attributed to any sensible cause, much less to the first, second or third Qualities, speaking like a Physician, which they themselves cannot explain clearly. It's well known, what terrible Symptoms the biting of a Viper causes, tho' perhaps a Pin's-head is a hundred times bigger than the quantity of Venom that it casts in the Wound. And Mr. Boyle relates as strange an Example, which he says he has learned of an Occulist: It is of a Man into whose Eye a Spider let fall a small drop of Liquor, which without causing any sensible Pain, took away his Sight immediately.

If there are Poysons which produce in so short a time certain Effects, and whereof we cannot understand the Cause, it is not improbable but there may be Remedies that may work after the same manner, and it is what Experience shews clearly. The biting of a Scorpion is quickly cured, in putting some of the Oyl of Scorpion, or bruising the Body of the Scorpion on the Wound. There are Serpents in *America* which make a noise with their Tayl, and for that reason are called *Rattle Snakes*; their biting is very dangerous, but is happily cured by an Herb, which is for that reason called *Serpentaria* in that Country. Moreover the *Kinkina* is a Specifick against Agues, and especially against the Quartan. It's true, they say, that Specificks which are taken in small quantities, will lose their force by the digestion of the Stomach; and that if any Particle has any Vertue left, that this Vertue is so little, that it is quite insignificant; but there is no necessity of a great deal of Matter to act with the greatest Violence. It's true that the Smell of Civet or Musk produces strange Symptoms in Hysterical Fits, which are immediately cured by other Smells, as of that of *Sal Armoniac*, &c. and yet the Particles that cause the Smell and ascend to the Nostrils, are not perhaps the hundredth nor the thousandth part of a Grain.

The *Crocus Metallorum* makes a great quantity of Emetick Wine without the least diminution of its Weight: Quick-Silver communicates to Water by infusion, a Vertue against Worms, without changing its Taste or Colour, and without losing or diminishing its own Weight.

Mr. Boyle applies himself after this to prove, That the Opinion of those that are for Specifick Remedies, does agree well enough with the System of insensible Par-

Particles, in giving a Sensible and Mechanical Explication of the manner that Specificks do Work.

First of all he supposes a Principle, which he has proved in another Work, and which is of the greatest Importance that can be, both in Natural Philosophy and Physick, which is, That the Body of a living Man is not to be looked upon as a simple Structure, consisting of a lump of Flesh, Blood, Bones, Fat, Nerves, Veins and Arteries; but as an admirable Machine, wherein the solid Liquid and spirituous Bodies are disposed, with so much Art for the uses they are destined to, that the Effect of any Remedy upon Man's Body is not so much to be judged of, in relation to the intrinsic Vertue of the Remedy it self, as to what comes of the mutual action of the parts of this living Machine in one another, and of their position, if one may properly speak so, when they are once put in Motion.

This being so, one may perceive, that according to Mr. Boyle, Specificks work sometimes in disposing the Matter which causes the Distemper, so that this Matter may be divided with the proper Excrements, or be vented by insensible Transpiration: As for Example, The Blood impregnated with certain Particles may become a proper *Menstruum* to dissolve the morbidick Matter, as Water impregnated with *Sal Armoniac* is proper to dissolve Brass and Iron; and all such *Menstruums* act by their Figure, Bigness or Solidity, or by some other such like sensible Property, which is manifestly included in our Notion of a Body, and not by certain sensible Qualities of their Humidity and Acidity. An infinite number of Experiences persuade us that this is so; for whereas cold Water dissolves the White of an Egg, which the Spirit of Vinegar, of Salt, or the Oyl of Vitreal coagulates; the Spirit of Urine dissolves in a trice the filings of Brass, which the Spirit of Vinegar does but slowly; and on the contrary, the Spirit of Vinegar dissolves Crabs Eyes in a moment, upon which the Spirit of Piss had no Effect at all: Quick-Silver, which is insipid, dissolves Gold, which *Aqua fortis* leaves entire; and on the contrary, Quick-Silver cannot dissolve Iron, which *Aqua fortis* does easily. Common Oyl, that cannot dissolve a very Egg-Shell, dissolves Brimstone, which is more than *Aqua fortis* can do. If there was nothing but Humidity and Acidity required for the dissolution of Bodies, *Aqua fortis* and *Aqua regalis* would be universal Dissolvers, whose Force few Bodies could resist. They would dissolve all such as are not extraordinary Solid. Whereas the quite contrary happens, because Dissolvers act by the figure of their Particles, it is not always proper to disunite the Particles of all sorts of Bodies.

Mr. Boyle concludes, That since Specificks may work in the same manner in our Bodies, that it follows, That the Opinion of those who admit them, is not at all contrary to our Modern Philosophy. Nor does he only

place among Specificks such as are taken inwardly, but also external Medicines, which are applied to the Arms, or hung about the Neck, as Camphyre, Amber-greece, &c. for these Bodies work by the little Particles that disengage themselves from them, and enter our Bodies by the Pores.

2. Specificks may act in mortifying Humours that are too acid, or that are hurtful by some other Excess; and they mortify by the different Figures of their Particles as *Alcalis* mortifies Acids; or in covering the mortified Parts with a kind of cover. It's thus that *Cinnaber* dulls the Spirit of Vinegar, and that quick Lime destroys the acidity of *Aqua fortis*, and Calamine that of the Spirit of Nitre and Salt; the Particles of these Acids engaging themselves in those that mortify them.

3. They sometimes precipitate a peccant Matter, which may happen otherwise than by the combat of Acids and *Alcalies*, as when after the dissolution of Silver by *Aqua fortis* the Silver falls to the bottom, when a piece of Brass is dipped in the dissolution; and it is so that Mr. Boyle sweetens a very stinking Water, and makes it very clear, by means of a Body which he does not name, that only precipitates a certain kind of Mud, which being taken away, leaves the Water without the least ill Smell; and what is very remarkable, is, That this precipitant is neither Bitter nor Acid, nor Urinous.

4. They may straiten the Heart or part affected, in joyning themselves to them, and in lancing the morbidick Matter, and casting it out of the Body, or in strengthening the Fibres of the distempered Part, or dilating the Pores, or irritating the infirm part, as *Cantharides* do the Bladder, tho' it does not irritate other parts that are quite as tender. And the Example of *Osteocolla* is mentioned as an experienced Specifick Remedy, to engender a thick Skin over broken Bones.

5. Sometimes they correct the Disorders of the Blood, as when they quicken its motion with Cordials, or correct its bad consistency in thickning or attenuating it according as the Sick need it.

6. They may unite to this peccant Matter, and alter its Nature so much, that it will not have the same sensible Qualities, and make it cease to be hurtful, and dispose it to that, so as it might be easily carryed off; as when the Spirit of Wine and *Aqua fortis* are mix'd together, of these two violent Liquors is made a third, which is Sweet.

It is thus that Mr. Boyle reconciles the ancient Opinion concerning Specifick Remedies, with the Mechanical Explications that our Modern Philosophers will have; and the Effects of Nature. He cites all along a great number of Experiences, which could not be mentioned here, without transcribing almost a whole Dissertation, wherein all is useful, and where the abundance of the Matter answers very well the Solidness of the Discourse.

The second Dissertation of the *Benefit of simple Remedies*, is, an Advice to Physicians; wherein the Author exhorts them not to use other but simple Remedies, or at least very few Compounds; and to observe this Method as much as they can possibly. These are his Reasons for it.

In the first place it is easier to guess what Effect a simple Remedy will produce, than a compounded one; for Compositions change so much the Nature of Medicines, that it is not easie to foresee the Effect. A Glass of *Antimony* dissolved in the Spirit of Vinegar, does not Purge or cause Vomiting; but very seldom unprepared *Antimony*, which some take without either being Purged or Vomited by it, if it be mix'd either with *Salt-Petre* or *Tartar*, it becomes a violent Purgative and causes great Vomiting; and mixed with *Tartar* becomes Diaphoretick and sometimes Diuretick.

In the second place simple Remedies are the surest; but what made them lose part of their Reputation and their Use, is, That those who have writ of them, applied themselves wholly to speak of their Vertues and good Qualities, without mentioning in the least the Evil they do on certain Occasions, which makes People not to be able to foresee always their Effect when mixed with other Ingredients. Mr. Boyle was acquainted with a Person of Quality, whom Hony disordered almost as much as Poyson would have done: Worm-wood which is very wholsom for a great many, is found by Experience, to annoy the Sight of others; and there are an infinite of such simple Remedies, which are not always wholsom.

In the third place one may take a greater Dose of a simple Remedy; when it is taken alone, it does not cause so much distast nor inconveniency to the Stomach. *Wheat*, *Rye*, *Barley* and *Oats*, are all nourishing, but if there were Bread made of these four Grains for a Sick Man, it would not be so good as Bread made of Wheat only. If one had a mind to make Strong Waters, that should recover People from Sounding Fits in small quantity, he would not mix the Spirit of Wine with new Wine, or such as did not purifie it self by Working, nor would he mix it with strong Beer. It is affirmed that *Gum Arabick* is very excellent against the Heat of Urine; but if it be mixed in a little Quantity among other Ingredients, it will do nothing; but if it be given alone, and to the Weight of a Drachm, it will produce great Effects. The Juice of *Wild Thyme* or *Mother Thyme*, is admirable for Children's Coughs; and the Infusion of the Herb called, *Paronychia foliis rutaceis*, or *Whitlow Grass*, dissipates the Swelling of the King's Evil.

In the fourth place all other things being equal, 'tis easier to find simple Remedies than such as are made of many Ingredients. Mr. Boyle shews some of these Remedies that are easie to be had, and serve to cure very desperate Distempers. *Linseed Oyl* is

excellent to ripen pluritick Imposthumes; that of *Turpentine* to stop the Blood in Wounds, and conduceth infinitely to their Cure, and cures Gangreens; *Oyl of Nuts* is good against the Stone, as *Spanish Soap* is against the Jaundise.

In fine, one may draw from the use of simple Remedies, a more perfect Knowledge of the true Effects, than of such Remedies as are used now. It is very hard to know the Vertue of each Drug, when there are many mix'd together; since it is not easie to know it, when each Ingredient is examined by it self. The Soyl, the Clymate, the Seasons, and many other Circumstances, cause a very great change. The Author has experienced that some Seeds which are used in Physick, yield an acid Spirit when distill'd at one time of the year, and an Urinous when distill'd at another time.

Mr. Boyle pretends that the most part of these Arguments used in favour of simple Remedies, which are now mentioned, ought to be applied to Chimick Preparations, which tho' simple enough, produce admirable Effects. What is particular in these Remedies, is, That the change of Operation may supply the place of Composition. According to the different preparations of *Antimony*, it is Vomitive, Purgative, Diaphoretick and Diuretick, &c. and if one did mix two or three such like Things, and that it were done dexterously, one might make far better Remedies than are compos'd with much Ostentation, and with a great number of Drugs. The Spirit of Vinegar corrects the Emetick and purging Vertue of the Glass of *Antimony*, much better than all the Cordials, Elixirs, and other difficult preparations. Quick-Silver makes such a considerable change in the Corrosive Sublimate, that of a most violent Poyson, it becomes a very good Remedy, and among other Vertues may be of great help in the Cure of Dysenteries.

Some object against this Opinion of Mr. Boyle, that simple Remedies cannot prevail against Distempers that proceed from the concurrence of divers Causes, which produce many and differing Symptoms. But it is answered first to this, That it is not designed to throw away all manner of compound Medicaments: And secondly, That simple Remedies do not fail in the Cure of Diseases that proceed from different Causes, as is seen by the *Kinkina* which cures *tertian* and *quartan Agues*; and that the cause of the Distemper being taken away, the different Symptoms cease; as the different Symptoms of the Rickets cease, the cause being taken away by a Remedy drawn from *Vitriol*, which Mr. Boyle calls *Ens Veneris*. 3. That Nature it self has formed the Bodies which we call Simple, of divers parts, endowed with different Qualities whereof some are Refreshing, others Hot, some Sweet, others Sour, as in *Rhubarb*, there are parts that purge, and others that bind. In the same *Marcarito* or Excrement of Metal, are found an acid Salt, two sorts of

of Sulphurous Earth, some Brass and some Iron, which are all composed of different parts. 4. The Dissolutions of Chymistry shew that the Bodies that seem to the Eye the most Homogenous and all of the same nature are extremely composed; and this is what may be proved with an Infinite number of Experiences. And its perhaps for this Reason that Remedies thought by some to be the most simple, are often proper for several Distempers. Mr. Boyle brings for example Mineral Waters, Bolearmeniack, &c.

By this extract may be seen that Mr. Boyle's two Treatises concerning Specifick and simple Remedies, may be very useful to all sorts of People: But it would have been received better beyond Seas, If the Latin Interpreter had taken more pains to express the Original better; for there are not only Barbarisms in the Translation, but also Words taken in a Sense far from their own signification. The Author says, that Limon-luyce hinders the cutting of a Knife; but the Translator tells us, that a *File* is very contrary or injurious to the Edge of a Knife. *Lima cultri aciei contraria est*, p. 14. *Elkium* is according to him what others call *Alce*, a kind of little Coal. p. 95. *Morbus comitialis* and *Morbus regius*, the Falling-sickness and the Yellow-Jandies, are but one and the same thing in his Dictionary. 121. and p. 101. he calls Cornelian *Lapis Cornelianus*.

Reflections upon Antient and Modern Philosophy, and the use that may be made thereof: Translated out of French. To be Sold at the New Exchange London.

THE Inclination Princes had to make great Collections of Books, made them without Distinction give great reward to all who brought them in the Books of Aristotle, as Galen tells us: On that account such was the Industry of Book-sellers that Quarto Volumes of *Analyticks* bearing the name of Aristotle, were Collected, though he never Composed but 4. which confusion was the Cause the Interpreters of that Philosopher were so puzzled about the true Distinction of his Books.

The antient Philosophy is more founded on Authority, and the modern on Experience; the antient is simple and natural, the modern artificial and elaborate; the former is more modest and grave, the latter more imperious and pedantic: The antient is peaceable and calm; for it was so far from Disputing, that it would have the Minds of Youth prepared by the Mathematics, that they might be accustomed to submit to Demonstration without Hesitation; the modern is of a strain of Disputing every thing, of training up Youth to noise and the tumult of the Schools. The antient enquires into Truth only out of a sincere desire to find it, the modern takes pleasure to dis-

pute it, even when it is discovered: The one advances more securely in its Method, because it hath always the Metaphysics for a Guide; the other is unsure in its Steps when 'tis once deprived of that Conduct. *Constancy, Fidelity, sound Judgment, and Steadfastness*, were that which Men called Philosophy in the Days of Plato; and the dislike of Business, Peevishness, and the renouncing of Pleasures, when the use of them is lost through the Conquest of the Passions. I know not what Authority that is which is derived from the Gray Beard, counterfeit Audacity, flegmatic Sullenness, moderation, and all that Wisdom which springs from the weakness of Age and Constitution, which is the Philosophy of a great many now-a-days: The antient is universally more learned, it aims at all: Tho the modern confines it self to the sole consideration of Nature resting satisfied to be a mere Naturalist. In fine, the antient is more addicted to Study, more laborious and indefatigable in what it undertakes; for the primitive Philosophers spent their lives in Study: The modern is less constant in its Application, more superficial in its Pains, and more precipitate in its Studies, and the Precipitation accustoms it self by little and little to ground too easily Reasonings not very exact, upon uncertain Rumours, Testimonies of little credit, and Experiments not well agreed upon. It pronounces boldly upon Doubts and uncertainties, to satisfy in some manner the eagerness, that it sometimes hath to vent its imaginations, and to give Vogue to Novelty: So that to make a decision between both, I am of the Opinion of an intelligent Philosopher of these last Ages, who, all things being well considered, was resolved to stick to the Antients, and leave the Moderns to themselves: For the plain common Sense of the Primitive Philosophers, is preferable to all the Art and Quaintness of the New. Tho from what part soever Truth comes, it ought to be esteemed. Then let us not distinguish Antient Reason from New, for on what side so'ere we find it, and what colour so'ere we give it, 'tis still the same. For in thinking nothing Truth but what is Truth, and nothing probable but what is so, saith Epicurus in Cicero, consists all the prudence of the wise Man.

Through their various Opinions Disputation became the fruits of Philosophy, and 'twas more made use of to try the Wit than to Cure the Mind.

It is greatness of Soul, to speak as one thinks, and think as one speaks.

Logic may be said to be the first Ray of evidence, and the first Draught of Method; that is displayed on Sciences: Because its business is to form the Judgment, which is the usual Instrument the Mind employs in Reasoning truly, and in discerning Truth and Falshood exactly; by distinguishing what is simple from what is compound, and what is contingent from what is necessary. And since this Art is the Source from whence flows Certainty, there is little security in all

the Reasonings of Men without its assistance.

Alcuinus who explains exactly enough the Dialectick of *Plato*, says, that that Philosopher made use of Division, Definition, and Induction, to come back to the Fountain-head of first Truth, from whence he drew his Principles, to the end he might think and speak wisely of every thing; and that was his most usal Method. Division was as a Ladder, whereby to ascend from sensible things to things intellectual. Definition was a way to lead from things demonstrated, to those that were not: and Induction the means to find the Truth by the Principles of Suppositions. For by Division he came to Definition, and by Definition to Induction and Demonstration.

The Two Rules which *Aristotle* Establisheth for the perfect composition of a Syllogism, are, That there ought to be nothing false in the Matter, or faulty in the Form.

The Principles of *Epicurus's* Doctrine are, 1. That Sense cannot be deceived; because the Impression that it receives from the Object is always true, being wrought by a sensible Species: but that the Reasoning which the Soul makes upon that Impression may be false. 2. That the Opinion which is drawn from sensation may be true or false. That it is true, when the judgment of the Senses is made in form, without Let, and with such Evidence as Reason cannot resist; and that it may be false when it wants that Evidence. These are the Principal Maxims of the Logick of *Epicurus*; upon which he grounds the different reasonings of the Soul that are made in the Mind, according to the Sympathy that there is between the Spirit and the Senses.

I hold with *Plato*, who saith in his *Phaedrus*, That the end of Moral Philosophy is to purifie the Mind from the Errors of Imagination, by the Reflections that Philosophy suggests to one. The two most Essential Points in it, are the End and the Means to attain it.

Not to receive for Truth, what is but probable is a necessary Caution, to make one walk discreetly, in so obscure a Path as is that of natural Philosophy, the Ways whereof are uncertain.

Descartes's first Principle is, *I think therefore I am*, which he proposes as the first evident and sensible Truth; but narrowly examined hath in it somewhat defective: For the Proposition, *I think*, being to be reduced to that, *I am thinking*; that is to say, *I am*, therefore *I am*, makes frivolous Sense. *Descartes's* Natural Philosophy is one of the most learned and accomplished Pieces of Modern Physics; in it there are Curious Idea's, and quaint Imaginations; and if minded well, there is to be found in it a more regular Doctrine, than in *Galileus* or the *English*; and even more Novelty and Invention than is *Gassendus* himself. It is a Work whereof the order is not excogitated: His Method is altogether Geometrical, which leads from Principles to Principles, and from Propositions to Propositions. However

this is a fault in him, that he settles for the Principle of a natural Body, Motion, Figure and Extension, which are much the same with the Principles of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*. Father *Mersenne*, who was resident at *Paris*, having one day given out in an Assemoey of the learned, that Monsieur *Descartes*, who had gain'd reputation by his Geometry, was projecting of Natural Philosophy, wherein he admitted Vacuity: That Project was hissed at by *Robertual* and some others, who from thence forward thought it would prove no great Atchievement. Father *Mersenne* wrote to him that Vacuity was not *à-la-Mode* at *Paris*; which obliged *Descartes* to devise measures to keep in good Terms with the new Naturalists, whose Suffrage he courted, and to admit the Plenitude of *Leucippus*: So through Policy the exclusion of Vacuity became one of his Principles. This made *Gassendus* start new difficulties to him; shewing that if there were no Vacuity, Motion, which was one of his Principles, would be impossible; because nothing moves if there be no Void for it. *Descartes*, to save that Inconvenience, invented his *thin subtile matter*, whereof he made a kind of Engine which he apply'd to many things; and thereby he reconciled the Opinion of Plenitude and Vacuity, according as he stood in need of either. But as Plenitude, and that thin subtile Matter got place in the System of *Descartes*, nearly out of complaisance to the relish of the Age, and as an after-game; so his Philosophy seemed weak in respect to Motion, which is one of his Principles. For that Philosopher taught that all Motion was created with the World, that there was no new Motion produced, and that it did no more than shift from one Body to another; that the thin subtile Matter by its impulse, caused all the gravity or levity of Bodies; that the alteration of heavy Bodies towards the Center, proceeded from the same impulse; that Heat was nothing but the agitation of the particles of the Air put in Motion by the subtile Matter, which in his Doctrine was a Kind of a Spring fit for all things. That the Vegetation of Plants, and Generation of Animals is performed only by a fortuitous Motion of his little Bodies, as a Palace might be erected by a heap of Stones moved by Chance; that there is no sensation in Animals; That these Demonstrations of joy, Sadness, Amity, and Aversion, and the impressions of pain and pleasure, that appear in them, are but the effects of a kind of Spring and Engine, that plays according as the Matter is disposed; that Heat is not in the Fire, Hardness in the Marble, Humidity in the Water; That these things are only in the Soul, which finds Fire hot, Marble hard, and Water humid, by its thought, and not at all by these qualities which are but Chimera's. In fine, *Descartes*, who would have us begin, by doubting of every thing, to lay aside all our Notices, strip our selves of our Sentiments, Custom, Education, Opinion, of our very Senses, and all other Impressions, that we may but learn some small inconsiderable matter, demands more than he promises. And when, to give the Reason of

of things, he says, they happen by a certain Figure, Motion, or Extension, he hath said all; for he dives into nothing; for all he pretends to be so great a *Democritist*, he understands not the true Doctrin of *Democritus*, His System of the Loadstone with these little hooked Bodies, these hollowed Spiral parts, is without Foundation. His Opinion of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, by the Impression and Atmosphere of the Moon, is found false by experience; for the parts of Water that are under the Moon, swell instead of sinking, as he saith. The Explication which he gives to all the Motions of the Soul in its passions by the Conjunction of Nerves and Fibres (which are inserted in the *Glandula Pinealis*) is a Dream; for there are no Nerves which terminate at that Glandule. He says nothing rational concerning Sounds. In short, he may be said to be like those *Pithagoreans*, of whom *Aristotle* speaks, who did not so much endeavour to give a Reason of the things they explain'd, as to reduce every thing to their own Principle and System.

The natural Philosophy of the *Chymists* with their three Principles, *Salt*, *Sulphur*, and *Mercury*, hath no solidity: They are narrow Spirited Philosophers, who being unable to comprehend Universal Philosophy, have stinted themselves to limited Subjects, and their own *Genius*. They may be reduced to three orders. The first, such as pretend to the knowledg of Nature in general. The second, those who prepare Remedies. The third, those who apply themselves to the finding out of the Art of changing Metals, by giving them Figures, new Colours, or new Consistence: The first and second may be rational, as *Albertus Magnus*, *Vanhelmont*, and the Distillers are. The third are extravagant; for to pretend to make new Creatures, is to invade the Right of the Creator. And as for the *Cabalists* and *Judicial Astrologers*, there is nothing more frivolous than their natural Philosophy.

Unhappy are the Philosophers of that *Genius* who subtilize on the knowledg of the Creature, and stick at the belief of the Creator. That was not the Character of the Ancient Philosophers, who had not only higher Thoughts than we, but raised themselves above themselves, that they might acknowledg a Sovereign Reason, which they made the rule of all their Reasonings, and to which they submitted their Minds.

The end of Metaphysicks is the finding out of pure and abstracted Verity: Thereby it perceives things in their Original; that it may fully know them it enters into the Retail of all particular Species, which it reduces to their Principles; and that Retail is almost infinite: This is the Reason that without it all the Knowledges of Men are but Superficial and Imperfect, because there is not almost any true Demonstration without its Principles.

It is not that one must needs be a Philosopher to be a Christian; nor that the Wisdom of the World is a Rule to the Wisdom of

Heaven; but that this Reason of Man being submitted to Faith, Faith how Divine soever it be, condescends to make use of humane Reasoning, to bring Reason to its obedience. Wherefore, that we may not mistake our selves, let us begin to study what is to be believed, before we set our selves on Reasoning.

Let us regulate the use of our Faith, that we may regulate the use of our Reason: Let us be *Christians* before we be *Philosophers*: Let our first Wisdom and our chief Philosophy be our Religion: Men learn to Reason by Philosophy; but they learn to submit their Minds to Reason and eternal Verity, by *Christianity*. Religion is then the first Principle, according to which human Wisdom is to take its Measures: So that all the different Methods of Ancient or Modern Philosophy, all the new Systems of Natural, and all the new Maxims of Moral Philosophy, may be good, if they be not contrary to it. For the Gospel ought to be the Rule of our Sentiments. And what's not conform to that Rule, leads to Disorder.

Cicero's Offices, with Notes of Mr. Grævius. At Amsterdam. Sold by P. and J. Blaeuw. 1688. in Octavo.

MR. Grævius Professor at *Utrecht* and the Author of this Commentary, is so famous amongst the Learned, that our Praises would add nothing to the Opinion that the Publick have conceiv'd of his desert: His Works and the Liberalities of the King which came to seek for him into the end of these Provinces, bear an Illustrious Testimony of his Capacity. He doth therefore continue here to give us his Corrections and his Notes upon all the Works of *Cicero*; and truly he could not make a better use of his Ability in these Sorts of matters, than in exercising it upon the *Offices* which are so fit to qualifie the Mind and Heart for the reception of Vertue. As his Works will be put in the Rank of the *Dauphin's Commentaries*, so it is dedicated to the *Dauphin*; and in his Epistle he assures him, that how famous soever his Ancestors have been, the Beauty of his Nature, and the Extraordinary Education he hath got, do promise to the Universe, that he will add a new Luster to the Glory of his Predecessours. He represents to him, that the true Happiness and most solid Glory of Kings consist in rendering their People happy; and that under him is expected a Reign as that of *Titus*, who was the love and delight of a Mankind.

The Author admonisheth us in this short Preface that he hath joined to the *Offices* of *Cicero*, *Lælius*, *Cato*, the *Paradoxes* and the *Dream of Scipio*. His first care was to reestablish the purity of the Text, and then to Illustrate it every where, by what Ancient and Modern Philoso-

phers have Writ most fine upon this part of Philosophy. For this purpose he made use of the Edition of *Lange*, which is the most correct; and he also hath consulted several Manuscripts, whereof he gives here the detail. He by the bye inveigheth against those who despise the pains that is taken in correcting ancient Authors, and against those that entirely destroy the sense of them by too bold Corrections. These are two Extremities that must equally be avoided. We owe respect enough to the Ancients for not to pull asunder their Thoughts and Sentiments, and not to substitute our Suspicions and Conjectures. But there is Superstition scrupulously to keep all their Words, or to spend our selves in finding a fine Sense in their most obscure Expressions. Notwithstanding it hath been seen that Expositors were more proud for re-establishing one Word in the Text of an Ancient Author, after having sweated much upon a Manuscript, than if they had discovered some secret of Nature, or put forth some fine Precept of Morality.

Mr. *Gravius*, who perceived the Study of Scholiasts to be commonly dry and barren, has intermixed with his Notes, very fine Lessons for the Conduct of Life; and to render the Matter more airy, he adds some Tracts of Literature. For Example, *Cicero* saith, That Anger ought to have no share in the correction of Superiors: Upon this the Author tells us this fine saying of *Plato* to his Man, *I would beat you if I were not in Anger*. He teacheth us that we must look upon Person's Faults with much Indulgence, and hate the Crime, without hating him that commits it: Upon these Words, *Quæ Natura occultavit eadem omnes qui sana mente sunt, remouent ab Oculis*: He tells us, Modesty is given to Man to preserve his Honour and Reputation, because it includes a secret fear of Contempt and Infamy. And this fear is very often a stronger Bar than love to Vertue. Such is he, who feareth not the Reproaches of his own Heart, yet dreads the Judgments of the Publick; Shame perplexeth and presseth him, and this Maxim is as true as it is Ingenuous, That Vertue would not go far, if Vanity did not keep her Company. He adds very curious things upon Nakedness, which offends Decency only by Custom, and that Idea that Men have of this State. In fine, the Reader is not wearied by perpetual Corrections, and a certain variety is found here which occurs very seldom in these sorts of Works.

The History of PHILOSOPHY, containing the Lives, Opinions, Actions and Discourses of the Philosophers of every Sect: By Tho. Stanley, Esq; The second Edition, at London, 1687.

THERE are many among the Ancients who have Writ upon the Lives of Philosophers, and we have explain'd their

Sentiments; but there are very few whose Writings are come to our Hands, besides the Titles of Works which have been published upon this Subject, by *Actius*, *Anaxilides*, *Antigonus*, *Antisthenes*, *Aristocles*, *Aristoxenes*, *Callimachus*, *Clitomachus*, *Diocles*, *Heraclides*, *Hermippus*, *Idomeneus*, *Nicandre*, *Panatius*, *Paphiras*, *Sotion* and *Theodorus*. There remains only three entire Works on the History of Philosophy, viz. *Diogenes Laertes*, upon the Old, *Eunapius* upon the New, and an alphabetical Abridgment of *Hesychius de Milet* upon both together. 'Tis an hard Task to form a compleat History out of these three Authors, who have not spoken of all the Celebrated Philosophers of Greece, and who have not mentioned every thing that might be said even of those Lives which themselves have chosen to write upon; nor have they once mentioned the Eastern Philosophy, to which the Greeks have, according to their own Confession, been indebted for all their Knowledge.

Mr. *Stanley*, Nephew of the famous *Marshall*, Author of the *Egyptiac Canon*, has undertaken to supply the defect as far as is possible, by collecting out of ancient Writings all that he could find touching the Lives and Opinions of the ancient Philosophers, and joyning 'em to the Collections of those three Authors we have already mentioned: Our Author treats of the Philosophy of the *Caldeans*, *Persians* and *Sabeans*; the History of Egypt is only wanting to compleat the Eastern Philosophy; but he would not meddle with that, since his Uncle (whom we have spoke of) has largely handled it in his *Egyptiac Canon*.

This Work is divided into 14 Parts, in every one of which our Author treats of some Sect, whereof he makes an History, and explains their Opinions. The 1. treats of the *Seven Sages*, of *Sofiasdes* who collected their Precepts, and of *Anacharsis*. The 2. treats of the *Ionick* Sect, whereof *Anaximandre* was the Chief. The 3. of *Socrates*, and his Followers. The 4. of the *Cyreneick*, *Megarick*, *Elian* and *Eretrian* Sects, which had but few Followers. The 5. of the Ancient and New *Academy*. The 6. of the *Peripateticks*. The 7. of the *Cinics*, of which he relates Nine, whereof *Antisthenes* was the first. The 8. of *Zenon* and other *Stoics*. The 9. of the *Italic* Sect, to which *Pythagoras* gave place. The 10. of *Heraclitus* the *Ephesian* Philosopher, whose Writings were so obscure that he had no Followers. The 11. of *Zenophares*, *Parmenides*, *Melisses*, *Zenon of Elea*, *Democrites*, *Putagores*, and of *Anarchus*. The 12. of *Sceptic* Philosophers. The 13. of the *Epicureans*. The 14. and 15. following, of the *Caldean*, *Persian* and *Sabeian* Philosophy, which we shall be more large on; but to be more particular in these we have named, especially the 12 Sects, of which we shall begin with the *Ionick*, whereof *Thales* his Scholar *Anaximenes* was the Chief.

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Therefore we shall speak in the first place of *Thales*, who first deserved the Name of *Wise in Greece*. Cities had as honourable a Quarrel for him, as that which fell out about *Homer*; for they disputed of the Honour of having given birth to him. *Herodotus* saith that he was a *Phoenician*, but *Plutarch* wou'd have it that not one of the seven *Wise Men* should be born in *Greece*; and the most common Opinion is, that he was of *Miles*. He would never Marry, because without it Life is divided by a sufficient number of Cares, without entring into a Bond which draweth so many Sorrows after it. His Principle was, *That Water is a Matter whose first Cause formed all Things*; and he figured to himself this great Universe as a floating Vessel upon the Extent of Waters. He believed there was a God who had given Motion to every thing in Nature, and who animated the whole *Machine*. According to him there were two sorts of Souls, and his Sentiments thereupon were so obscure, that he gave a Soul to Amber and the Loadstone. To him it is that the Glory of the first Elements of Geometry is due, and the Invention of measuring the Pyramids of *Egypt* by their Shadow. He it was that made the division of the five *Zones*, and that first gave natural Reasons for the Eclipses which so lone a time passed for fatal Signs of the Anger of Heaven. They also add, That he foretold that which ended the War betwixt the *Lydians* and *Medians*: For these People frightened at this Accident, believed that the Sun would no more give Light to their Battles, and lay'd down their Arms. He found out very fine Sciences for the *Phoenicians*, and among others, the *Art of Writing*, which is pretended to be an Invention of this People, as *Mr. Brebauf* hath so pompously expressed in his Translation of *Lucan*. He was one day asked, What Recompense he would have for his rare Discoveries? And he declared, with the Gravity of *Wise Men*, That he expected but that of taking share of it with the Publick. Another asked him, What was most strong in Nature? He answered, *Necessity*: 'Tis a hard Law more powerful than Reason, which draggeth with Violence and Rapidity. He lived in the 35 Olympiad, which answers, as I take it, to the year of the World 3310.

I. *Anaxander*, who began the Stoic Sect, was Disciple to *Thales*; tho' he admitted not of the Principles of his Master, he never cleared well his Sentiments. They pretend that he discovered the obliquity of the *Zodiack*, *Mr. De Saumaise* contends with him about *Clocks*, and maintains that Hours were not in use till a long time after.

II. *Socrates* was the Head of the second Sect, and the first that cultivated Morality, that part of Philosophy, so necessary for the ruling our Manners. He was the Son of a Statuary of *Athens*; but he raised himself above his Birth by the Beauty of his *Genius*. He had an Opinion of God very pure, and withstood with all his Might the Plurality of Gods. It was in effect the

principal Accusation that his Enemies formed against him, and we may say that he was one of the first Martyrs for the *Unity of God*: Wherefore some Fathers of the Church have believed that he is saved. And learned *Erasmus* saith very pleasantly, That at every time he read the fine end of this Philosopher, he was ready to cry out, *St. Socrates pray to God for us*. So he dyed with a Tranquility which marked the Calmness of his Soul, and the Empire of his Reason over his Passions. Notwithstanding some have said, That he being by Honour engaged not to fear Death, he out-braved it valiantly, that the Emotion he inwardly felt might not outwardly appear: He was very much laughed at by *Aristophanes* upon the Theatre of *Athens*, and he dyed in the 88 Olympiad, to wit, in the year of the World, 3522.

III. *Aristippus* was the Head of that which is called *Cyrenaick*, and Disciple to *Socrates*. He would have the Sovereign Good to consist in Pleasure, and he led his Life upon these Sentiments, for he passed it in Delights and Pastimes. He fell in Love with that famous *Lais*, who would sell so dear one Nights Lodging to *Demosthenes*. So being one day Imbarqued to go to see her, and seeing the Ship terribly tossed by foul Weather, he gave up himself to Lamentations and Complaints: As an Amorous Design conducted him, perhaps he would have greived less to dye at his Return. Howbeit the Pilot less frightened, began to make him Remonstrances, and to propose himself as an Example of Firmness, which made this Philosopher ashamed. But *Aristippus* scornfully answered him, *Thou hazardest but a vile and mercenary Soul, but I hazard a Soul of the first Degree, and a Life accompanied with Prosperities*. He acknowledged but two Passions as two great Springs which give Motion to all the rest, *Grief* and *Pleasure*; and these two Passions are diversified in all Men according to their Temperaments. He would reject the Tranquility of the Soul so much boasted of by other Philosophers, as an Imaginary good: 'Twas according to him a tedious Indolence. Doth it not seem that he had Reason? For what is there more Languishing, than to wish for nothing and even to fear nothing? The Passions do spread a certain Fire over all the Actions, which render them more lively and more acceptable. In a word, nothing was so offensive to the Gust of this Philosopher, than that austere Vertue which makes the Sovereign Good to consist in the privation of Evil, and in a certain Firmness which deserveth but the Name of Insensibility.

IV. *Plato* was the Head of the Academists, who have drawn their Name from the place he first established his School. Some relate, That his Mother conceived him by strength of Imagination, because she had looked on a Statue of *Apollo* with too much Curiosity: Others have said, That as Women often had the Art to make their Husbands believe that

that Gods were willing to accompany with Mortals, the Mother of *Plato* failed not to make her self Honour by a Visit from *Apollo* in her Husbands Mind: That is to say, he was a Young Man as handsom as *Apollo*. Howbeit, it's most certain he was of a most illustrious Birth, and as he had not much hardship of Fortune, his Heart was thereby the more peaceable and his Conduct the more vertuous. After having sometime heard *Socrates*, he travailed every where to hear the most famous Orators. It's presum'd that he had much Light out of the Books of *Moses*; therefore he was named the *Athenian Moses*, and that he was the Inventor of the *Dialogue*. But Mr. *Stanley* maintains that he only refined it, because it was then very dry and insipid; he conceived the Earth to be of a round Figure; he found out that it was necessary there should be *Antipodes*, and invented the Name of it. He distinguished the Elements, which *Thales* had confounded, and was the first that made use of the Term *Providence*. He said that God was an Eternal Principle, ineffable, and the immoveable source of Truth. And that which caused this great Veneration which Men had for him in the first Ages of Christianity, is, That he attributed to God a Son, whose Power reached over all Creatures. He added, That God had formed the World of a Matter before confused, but Eternal, and settled this fine order in the Elements. Yet he gave the World a Soul which from the Centre reaches unto Extremities. Finally he held, That as Man was the Master-piece of the Works of God, so he had taken a particular care to form him. He furnished him with the five Senses, to procure him Pleasures and to defend him from exterior Bodies; and hath placed the Soul in the Brains as upon the Throne, to rule over the Senses and Passions. He was persuaded that the Soul was Immortal, Free, Independent, and yet submitted to the necessity of Fate, which the Pagans would not exempt *Jupiter* himself from. He is upbraided with his Amours, and an Epigram so much talked of for a young Man he loved. It was Homicide, in his Opinion, to embrace an old Woman, because she was but as a Ground that was barren, and could make no Return. Yet they say, that he becoming amorous of an old Woman, pushed Gallantry so far, as to tell her, That Love, as in an Ambuscade, had hid it self under her Wrinkles. Mr. *Sarazin* said more justly, That old Women were the Graves of Love. The Genius of *Plato* was clear and polite: He surpriseth the Mind by an Eloquent Stile and an Abounding Imagination, to which he gave himself sometimes too much.

V. Neither the Birth nor the Education of *Aristotle*, the Head of the Peripaticks, were altogether so happy as those of *Plato* his Master. Mr. *Stanley* notwithstanding justifies his Memory from the Reproaches that were cast on him, of having been reduced to sell Medicines, and of following the Trade of an Empyrick in the City of *Athens*.

He is also charged with having a Hand in the Conspiracy of *Antipater* against *Alexander* the Great; and of having so much Love for *Pythias* his Wife, that he made Sacrifices to her as to the Goddess *Ceres*. If our Author may be believed, they are all Calumnies, wherewith any great Man might be blackned. He denies not but that he was eager and enterprizing, so as to raise a great Party against *Plato*; and he relates, as a piece of History very suspicious, that he cried out dying, *Cause of Causes have pity on me*. He it was that perfected Logick, and formed Syllogisms, in including an Argument in proper Terms. But Modern Philosophy is so like it, that 'tis not necessary to expound his Tenets and Opinions. All the World knoweth how different the Fortune of this Philosopher was. His Adventures have been so various, that it's a hard thing to comprehend that so different Judgments have been given on the same Men. He saw himself, in a manner, raised unto the Clouds, and afterwards precipitated into the lowest Stations. According to the Relation of *Baronius*, the *Aetians* were excommunicated for having made their Disciples to read him. Yet he is come into so high a degree of respect with Men, that Doctor *Ramus* was banish'd by the King's Declaration, for having written against him. *Boileau* jeers at the Understanding of our Age, in which a thousand People think that without *Aristotle*, Reason can do nothing, and good Sense is Madness.

VI. *Aristhenes* was another of *Socrates*'s Branches, and one of his most able Disciples; he was the Head of the Sect of the *Cynicks*, which *Diogenes* his Disciple hath rendred so famous. The Origin of the Name of *Cynick* does not a little perplex Men: Mr. *Stanley* thinks it comes from *κυν*, because of the place where *Antisthenes* held his School, and where a Dog had brought a piece of Victim that was Sacrificed. Others have believed, That it came from the hot and biting Humour of these Philosophers, because commonly Satyricks are compared to Dogs that bark at all the World. *Diogenes* was named the Prince of this Sect, and made so much noise by the singularity of his Maxims, that *Alexander* had the curiosity of seeing him. Yet how great Glory soever Antiquity would have for this Philosopher, he can be scarcely admired seriously. The common Abode he made in a Tub, and the Lanthorn he carried at Noon-day to look for a Man of Worth, have something so conceited, that a very high Idea cannot be conceived of his Sentiments. Riches and Grandeurs are often despised by Vain Glory, for the consolation of not possessing them. So they relate that *Diogenes* going to dine at *Plato*'s, said, in treading upon his Tapestries, *I trample upon the Pride of Plato*: To which *Plato* answered, *Yes, with a greater*. He had a pleasant Maxim, That every thing that is good is necessary to Man, and may be done every where. Upon this Account, a

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Woman instructed at his School regaled a crowd of Spectatours with an Adventure like unto that of *Dido* and *Aeneas* in the Grott whereinto *Virgil* had care to conduct them, and where it's said was a kind of *Hymeneus*.

VII. *Zeno* was the head of the *Stoicks*, and taught in the Porch of *Athens*. This Philosophy hath formed great Men, and hath charmed many by the Haughtiness and Pride of its Sentences. It pretended to render its Proselytes happy in the midst of Torments, and unshaken against all the Darts of Fortune. *Zeno* did establish a God, whose Vertues are all expressed differently according to the different Idea of People. He was Neptune at Sea, Mars in Battles, and Vulcan in the Fire. In his Opinion Vertue was the Supreme Good, because it hath goods more lasting, and that 'tis it only that renders Men Immortal. He held that the Machin of the World will be one day destroyed, and that it will perish by Flames. The proud Empire he gave Man over himself and Reason, was the Source of this dangerous Maxim, that Men may kill themselves. We must notwithstanding confess that in this was some I know not what grandeur of the Soul, capable of dazling those who seek but the brightness of Pagan Vertues. Must not one have an undaunted Courage to insult Death, this frightfull image that terrifieth the most resolute? After what way did *Zeno* instruct his followers for Glory and Vertue? He would have 'em wrestle against Evils, and to harden themselves under Stripes to become Invincible: As Prosperities were only proper for low Souls, so it belongs only to great Souls to trample under Foot all Calamities and Disgraces. He dyed in the 129. Olympiad, about the Year of the World, 3690.

VIII. *Pythagoras* was the head of the *Pythagoreans* or the *Stolian Sect*. It's believed he was of *Samos* and a Jew by birth. He lived a long time with the *Egyptians* to be instructed in their Mysteries. Mr. Stanley relates that he was made Prisoner there by *Cambyjes*, who sent him into *Babylon*, where he had a great commerce with the *Magi* and *Chaldeans*, and even with the Prophet *Ezekiel*. He was of all Men the best shaped and drew the Veneration of all People by his fair appearance. He of all Philosophers had the greatest number of Disciples. His Principal Opinion was the *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration of Souls. As he believed the Soul Immortal, he could not conceive it could subsist separate from the Body. Therefore he thought expedient to make the Souls of Men to return into Beasts, and them of Beasts into Men, tho these Revolutions had no certain order. We know the Ridiculous History that he told of himself, that he had been *Euphorbes* at the War of *Troy*. He particularly applyed himself to the study of Mathematicks, as a Science fit to give extent to the Mind. He tried his Disciples by a Rigorous Silence of two years, to make 'em more grave and retentive.

Temperance was the Vertue he recommended with most care, because it is necessary to tame the Body. Therefore he used to get a Table full of Dainties for his Disciples, and making them to sit down, they should rise from it without touching any thing, to exercise their Vertue by so strong a temptation. He lived in the time that *Brutus* delivered *Rome* from the Tyranny of it's Kings in the Year of the World 3440.

IX. *Heracitus* had so fine Temper that he had all his Learning of himself without the help of any Instruction. But he conceived so high an Opinion of himself, that he had nothing but contempt for the rest of Men. His Humour being accompanied with Pride and Disfast, gave him so much hatred for all Mankind, that he retired all alone unto a Mountain to be free from the commerce of any. Therefore he was called the Dark Philosopher. *Darius Hydaspis* writ to him to come to Court; but he answered him after an abrupt and saucy manner. Such a Temper as is troublesome to other Men must be afflicting to it self; a sad Delicateness suffers every where. It is better to have a tractable Vertue, and let things go as they will; than on purpose to quarrel with all Mankind.

X. *Democritus* was the Head of the *Eleatic Sect*. He had a Countenance always smiling, and made the Sovereign Good consist in a Position of Mind that was always at rest. It hath been said, that he looked on the World with a Jearing Laughter, which made his Wisdom to be doubted of, and caused his Fellow-Citizens the *Abderites* to send for *Hypocrates* to cure him. But having shewn his *Diacosmus*, the finest of his Works, the Opinion that they had of his Folly was turned into Admiration. The cause of his immoderat Laughters was the vanity of this World, and the pains that Men take to run after perishable things. It was he that invented Atoms, adding that they wandred in a Vacuum, and were afterwards entangled with one another, whence the Universe was composed. So that Atoms and a Vacuum were the beginning of all things.

XI. *Pyrrhon*, chief of the *Pyrrhonians* or *Scepticks*, pretended that Man only judged of all things by the appearance of Truth and Falshood. Upon that he established a suspension of Mind that hindered himself from determining. It seems that all his Subtlety consisted in finding out pretty Reasons of doubting: But there was danger that this uncertainty should extend it self to things which are not permitted to be Questioned, as the Power of the Laws. He lived in the time of *Epicurus* in the 120. Olympiad, to wit the year of the World 3650.

XII. *Epicurus*, an *Athenian*, head of the Sect which bore his name, hath composed more Books than the other Philosophers. He made the supreme Good to consist in the Pleasure accompanied with Vertue. His Opinion is ill interpreted, and his Disciples have abused it, which hath made this Philosophy

fophy to be discried as a Source of Debauch and Impurities. But, saith Mr. Stanley, the weakness of his Complexion, and his extreme Sobriety, drive away altogether such unjust Suspicions. The Altars that were builded to him after his Death do not agree with the Repute of *Voluptuous*. It's true he attributed much to the Empire of Sense, and maintained that when the Sense judged of simple Objects we ought not to doubt of their fidelity. But he would not have Reason to be subject to their Will. He used to moderate the severity of Wisdom by honest Recreations, to render it amiable, and would not have Vertue to be painted with an Austere Face and with a Forehead always wrinkled. In short, the Soul is so engaged in Sense and Matter, that this Philosophy is too fine, which in a manner, unmans a Man, and deprives him of all his Senses. This hath made his followers nothing but *Idea*; for they often perceive that they have a Body as other Men have, which troubleth and hindreth them so much the more as they have a desire of giving all to the Mind. It must therefore be allowed that Wisdom it self may sometimes Laugh without offence. Every one knoweth that he admitted for Principle a *Vacuum* and *Atoms*. The *Vacuum*, because if all was full, there would have been no Motion. The *Atoms*, because according to him, *nothing is made of nothing*. He maintained that the World cannot be eternal, because it bears sensible Marks of Novelty: We know, for Example, the birth and progress of Arts and Sciences. He pretended that Providence medled with nothing, but leaves all things to Chance.

The Ancients agreed not amongst themselves about the time in which *Zoroaster* lived, and our Author relates all along and at the same time refutes their Sentiments: After all he subscribes to the Opinion of those which place it 600. Years before the Expedition of *Zerxes* against the *Greeks*, which goes back to the Year 3634 from the *Julian* Period, that is to say, about the times of *Samuel*.

Very little as yet is known concerning the Life of *Zoroaster*. *Plato* calls him the Son of *Oromazes*, but this is the Name which *Zoroaster* of *Persia*, gave to the Divinity, (whose Son tis said he was.) for the Veneration he had for him. *Plin.* lib. 36. c. 1. says, that he laughed the same day he was born, and that his Brain beat with such Violence that it lift up the Hands of such as toucht it; a presage of Learning which one day he was to be Master of. He liv'd 20 Years in a Desert without growing aged; for having wish't to dye by Thunder, Heaven heard his Prayer: But before that, he advertiz'd the *Syrians* to keep his Ashes very carefully, assuring them, that their Empire should continue so long as they regarded that Injunction. *Suidas* attributes this Advertisement to *Zoroaster* of the *Chaldeans*, and *Cedrenus* to him of the *Persians*. He composed two Millions of Verses, which were delivered in Greek, and upon which *Hermippus* made

a Commentary. But some say, that the Oracles upon which *Syrianus* wrote 12 Books, made some of these Verses. There are some other Books attributed to him, which are evidently supposititious.

Africanus says that 'twas *Belus* who invented Astronomy, and that this Prince lived in the times of *Deborah*; according to this Author, *Belus* began his Reign *Anno Mundi* 2682. There were yet some other *Magi* of the *Chaldeans* who were sufficiently celebrated amongst the *Greeks*, but the Names of 'em are only remaining.

He who first brought the Sciences of the *Chaldees* into *Greece*, was *Berosé*, a Priest of *Belus*; he taught 'em Astronomy and Philosophy in the Isle of *Co*, and composed three Books, in which he finisht the History of the *Medes*. *Josephus* preserved some of his Fragments in his Books against *Appion*; they were dedicated to *Antiochus* under the name of *GOD KING OF ASSYRIA*, under whom he liv'd, as Mr. *Vossius* believes; tho other Authors say that he lived under *Antiochus Soter*. We ought yet to take care, that we confound not this *Berosé* with that of *Annius of Viterbe*, which every Body knows to be fictitious and full of ridiculous Fables.

Justin Martyr assures us, that the *Babylonian Sybil*, who gave her Oracles at *Cames*, was his Daughter; if it is true, then there was another Sybil besides that which lived in the times of *Tarquin the Old*, who lived two hundred and fifty Years before *Berosé*. *Onuphrius* proves that there had been many Sybils.

Altho the name of *Chaldeans* properly belonged to a whole Nation, yet it was given in particular to certain Philosophers who liv'd retir'd in separate places, and were exempt from Imposts and publick Charges: They were particular Families which communicated their Knowledge to their Children, after such a manner, that it spread not to other Families, but only passed from *Father to Son*. They might thus perfect their Sciences better than by admitting Strangers in their Schools; and 'tis said that this practice is now used amongst the *Chinese* in respect of their Trades.

The *Greeks*, who have spoken thereof, as *Strabo*, distinguish the different Sects of the *Chaldeans* according to the places where they lived. There was of 'em at *Hipparena*, *Orchoe*, *Babylon* and *Borsippa*, Cities of *Mesopotamia* and *Chaldea*. They were not all of the same Opinion, if we may believe *Strabo* and *Lucretius*, who says (*lib. 5.*) that in case there was no fault of the Copiest in this Work, the *Babylonians* refuted the Doctrin of the *Chaldeans* touching Astrology

Ut Babylonica Caldeam Doctrina refutans Astrologorum Artem contra convincere tendit.

The *Babylonians* gave diverse Names to these Sects, and some of 'em may be seen in the Prophet *Daniel*, but the signification thereof

thereof is very uncertain: Our Author tells us the Conjectures of the *Rabbins* upon these Names.

2. He divides their whole Doctrin into four parts: The first thereof contains their Speculative Divinity, and their *Phisicks*. There was a study, as Mr. Stanley believes, appropriated to those which were called *Char-tummim* חַרְטֻמִּים. The second includes their Astrology and art of Divination, in which those were employed who were called *Chaf-dim* חַפְדִּים. And *Mechasaphim* מַכְסַפִּים. The third treats of *Theurgie*, or Natural Magic. And the fourth of Divine Worship, which was the study of the *Asaphim* אַסַפִּים.

Pfellus tells us, that *Zoroaster* divided all *Beings* into three Orders. There is one, saith he, which is Eternal without beginning or end. Some have had a beginning, which will never end; But others shall have an end as they have a beginning. Divinity hath for its object the two first Orders; And Natural Philosophy the last.

The *Chaldeans* affirm'd but one only Principle of all things, full of Goodness, and Wisdom. To represent its perfections they gave it the Name of *Fire* and of *Light*, which is the Reason that in those Oracles that yet remain amongst us, we often find God spoken of in these *Synonymous* terms, *The Light, the Rays, the Brightness of the Father, Paternal Fire, the only Fire, the first and suprem of all Fires*. When any one demanded of 'em after what manner they apprehended the Divinity, He Answered, *that his Body resembled Fire, and his Soul the Truth*. From whence it may be, they understood that God was Goodness it self, or the *Chaldean* word which they Translate for *Truth*, signifies *Goodness*: and that it appeared adorned with *Fire*. The *Hebrews* speak after the same manner, when they say God is a *Consuming Fire*, that he is full of Goodness and *Truth*, as is plain by many places of Scripture. It seems its for that Reason the Ancient *Persians* ador'd him under the form of a *Fire*, without erecting any Statue to him, as will evidently appear by what follows.

Besides the Unity of the first *Fire*, they acknowledg'd a kind of Trinity; and were us'd to say, that there was a Triple Trinity, each whereof had a *Father*, a *Power*, and a *Spirit*. They call'd the first kind of *Beings* *Intelligibles*. "They said we must not strive to apprehend this Chief *Intelligible*. But yet we may entertain the desire of so vast a Spirit as would measure every thing besides it.

The second Order of things which have no end was the *Beings* which were called *Intelligibles* and *Intelligents*, which were yet subdivided into three Species. I. the *Synques*. II. The *Synques*. III. The *Teletarques*. The Oracles which remain amongst us call these *Synques*, *Ideas*; and say, that they were the *Intelligible Models* upon which the World was made by other *Idea's*, which were call'd the *second Ideas*, as also the first, *Original Ideas*. The *Synques*, which the Oracles

called *Anoques*, are also of three orders, according to the three Worlds which they Govern; the *Empirean*, which Govern the *Empirean World*; the *Ethereal*, which Rule the *Ethereal World*, and the *Material* which animate the *Material World*. A little after we shall explain the Nature of these Worlds. 3. The third Degree contains *intelligent things*, which were also call'd *Cosmogones*, Governors of the World. There were divers Ranks of 'em, according to the *Chaldeans*. The first *Supreme*; *Hecate*, the second *supreme*: The three *Amilites*, that is to say, *which cannot be softened*, and the last called *Hygezoces*, that is to say, *Girt underneath*, which the Oracles call'd *Flower of Fire*: These are in the *Material World* to preserve it and give it those regular Motions which it hath. Under these *Cosmogones* are other *Intelligent Beings*, which the *Chaldees* call *Fountains* or *Sources*. In the Number of which they agree not. Under these *Fountains* are the *Hyperarques*, or *Principalities*. They call some of these *Spiritual Beings* the *Fountains* or *Architypes* of *Souls* and *Virtues*.

After the *Hyperarques* are the *Gods* without *Zone*, and the *Gods* ty'd to a *Zone*, both of 'em are in the *Material World*; but the first have an equal Power above all *Zones*; whereas the last, are confin'd in a certain Extension in which they Circulate with Matter.

The *Chaldees* place next, the *Angels* and *immaterial Demons*. They believe that of these there are both good and bad; they say that the good are *Light*, and the bad *Darkness*.

In fine, this last Range of *Beings* contains *Souls*: There are of three sorts in this Divinity, the *Celestial Intelligences*, which are never united to Matter; others which are united to Matter, and which are independent, being *Indivisible* and *Immortal*, capable to will and determine of themselves. And lastly, others, which depend upon Matter, and which may be destroyed with it.

There are two Causes or Origines of *Humane Souls*, the *Paternal Spirit*, and the *Fountain of Souls*, which produces them by order of the *Spirit*. As they believ'd that there were places in the World distinct for the habitation of *Intelligences*, which we have spoken of, so they say that *Souls* come from Spaces which are above the Moon, and which are wholly replete with *Light*; whereas the Region of this Planet is partly *Light* and partly *Dark*, as an Extent which is always covered with *Clouds* and *Night*.

'Tis from these places of *Darkness* that *Humane Souls* descend, because their *Wings* have lost their force; that is to say, because these *Souls* have not kept their *Primitive Perfection*, and obey'd the Will of the *Father*, they never leave an *Ethereal Body* in which they are invest'd, and which is as their *Vehicle*. This *Body* is yet animated by another Species of *Soul*, which is without Reason, and which contains the Sense, the

the Imagination, and all the Faculties which do not necessarily belong to Reason; the Sages call'd this Soul an *Idol* or *Image* of the Rational Soul. 'Tis by this that the reasonable Soul is united to the Body, which we take from our Mother's Breasts; this unites the Ethereal Body to that of the *Fœtus*, to which it stays conjoin'd until the grosser Body be destroy'd.

Thus if the Souls thrown Headlong down from the Spaces which are above the Moon into the Places which we inhabit, do well acquit the Duty they owe to the Sovereign Divinity, then they are restor'd unto the same place from whence they came. On the contrary, if they corrupt themselves more, they are sent into yet darker Abodes.

We have said, That these Intelligences had Places destin'd for their Habitation: And thus 'twas the *Chaldeans* divided the World, and the Limits where they plac'd those Eternal Spirits. They believ'd, That above the Corporal World was in Infinite extended Light, which they call'd, *The Light above the World*, that was properly the residence of Spirits. This Light they call'd an *Image of the Paternal Profundity*, that is, the Immensity of the first Being.

Temporal, or Corporal Things, held the third and last Rank in the general division of Beings. All included in seven corporal Worlds, situate under that Light just before-mentioned, according to this Order, 1. The *Empyrean*, or World of Fire: Three Ethereal Worlds. 2. The *Supream Æther*. 3. The Sphere of the fixt Stars. 4. The Orbs or Planets: Three Sublunary Worlds. 5. The Air. 6. The Earth. And 7. the Waters. Some Christian Divines have confounded the *Empyrean* Heaven, which they make the Abode of God and of the Blessed, with that Light above the World; but the *Chaldeans* distinguish them very carefully. According to their Opinion, the *Empyrean* World is very different from the Ethereal, altho' this last is less pure and subtle than the Precedent. As for the Sublunary Worlds, *Pfellus* tells us, That the *Chaldeans* sometimes gave them a Name which the *Greeks* translated by the word *Hades*, or Hell.

The *Chaldeans* acknowledg'd two sorts of Demons, one Good, the other Bad; *Hosstanus* a Persian Magi, call'd the first, *The Ministers and Messengers of God*, who continued in his Presence. But the second, Terrestrial Demons, who incessantly committed Error in this Sublunary World, and which are Enemies to Mankind. They call'd their Head *אַרִימָן* *Ariman*, which signifies *The Enemy of Men*; for *אַדָּם* which properly signifies a *Vessel*, may Metaphorically signify a Man.

There are six sorts of 'em, 1. Those which they call *Fiery*, inhabiting the upper Region of the Air, above which they cannot ascend, altho' they are chas'd by the Intelligences which reside about the Moon. 2. Those that are in the Inferior Air in which we live,

and which is call'd *Aereal*. The Terrestrial. 4. Those of the Sea, which abide in the Water. 5. The Subterraneous. 6. Those that fly the Light, and such as are very seldom visible. Altho' they are all Enemies to God and Man, some are much more Wicked than the rest. The three last kinds particularly are very pernicious, and not only deceive Men by *Fantoms* and *Illusions*, but also sometimes even enter into 'em. Those of the Water, causing Shipwrecks; such as are under the Earth, and who fly the Light, often possess Men, causing *Epilepsies* and *Frensies*: The Terrestrial and Aereal Spirits precipitate Men into unlawful Passions, and deceive them by appearances.

They act, saith *Pfellus*, by disturbing our Imaginations, entertaining us without any Voice or Noise. Those which speak to us afar off must raise a Voice to move our Ears, but such as are near may make us hear by speaking very low; but those which can possess our Brain make us understand without any Noise, tracing certain Objects into our Imaginations without affecting our Ears. That is, that Souls separated from Mortal Bodies, entertain themselves without Voice or Words.

They make their Bodies what they please, and assume what Forms most agreeable unto 'em; some enter into Beasts, not that they hate them, but because the Natural Heat of Animals please them as well as the Humidity they meet with there, for their ordinary Habitations are cold and dry Places. The Subterranean Spirits cause those Persons to speak which they possess, and make use of their Mouths to give out their pretended Oracles. Those which fly the Light render their Patients Deaf and Dumb; and often make them fall into Soundings.

All have not the same Extent of Power, but it's diminish'd much according to the degrees I have observ'd. The Demons that fly the Light have the least of all. They transfer themselves so much the more diversly as their Power is less or more: It's believ'd that from one of these Transformations proceeded what the *Greeks* relate of *Proetus*, the *Nexeades*, *Naiades*, and other Nymphs. The *Chaldeans* fanci'd the Demons suffer'd when they hurt their Bodies, altho' the Wound was cur'd again immediately; for their Bodies are like the Water, the parts whereof are no sooner separated but they joyn again in a Moment.

We may see by these Particulars of the *Chaldaick* Divinity, that their Thoughts concerning Good and Evil, were not very different from the Opinion of the *Hebrews*. For Example, in respect to the Good they had divers Orders of them, As *Angels*, *Arch-Angels*, *Thrones*, *Dominations*, *Principalities* and *Powers*, which are spoken of in the New Testament. The *Hebrews*, as well as the *Chaldeans*, gave Kingdoms and certain Extents of the Earth, to the Govern-

ments

ment of Angels, as appears by *Daniel*. And like to them they plac'd the Evil Spirits in the Air, from when they are call'd *Powers of the Air, Princes of this World*; that is, of the sublunary World, *Princes of Darkness*, that is, this extended Darkness which we inhabit. The *Hebrews* also determin'd the ordinary abode of the Divinity to be above the fix'd Stars, and represented God dwelling in an inaccessible *Light*, environ'd with Ministers, which they call'd, as the *Chaldeans* did, *Angels of Light*. They acknowledg'd three Heavens or three Worlds, so the *Chaldeans* divided the Universe into the *Terrestrial, Ethereal, and Empyreal*. As for the Evil Angels, its well known that the *Jews* believed divers Orders, and that they formerly attributed unto them the cause of many Diseases, as is evident by the great number of the *Demoniacs*, which is spoken of in the *Evangelists*, where also several other things may be observed concerning Demons, which agrees not ill with the Doctrin of the *Chaldeans*. According to the Conjectures of some learn'd Men the *Jews* receiv'd these Opinions, and some resembling ones from them in the *Babylonian Captivity*. All that can be objected against this supposition is, that perhaps the *Chaldean* Oracles, whereof we have spoken, were always suspected by the *Jews* and Christians and that the Explication of *Plethon* and *Pfellus* were not true. This may be particularly oppos'd to this last authority, because he is said to have learnt from a converted *Chaldean*, what we have related of the *Chaldaick* Divinity. But for the Oracles we shall afterwards shew the Reasons why our Author believes they were not Supposititious; and as for the Doctrin, it may easily be prov'd that the *Greek* Philosophers who made Voyages into the East, brought Opinions from thence perfectly like the *Chaldeans*: As may be demonstrated without much trouble in respect to *Pythagoras* & *Plato*.

III. To return again to our Author, he afterwards gives an Abridgment of the *Astronomy* and *Physicks* of the *Chaldeans*. As the Heavens in that Country are very rarely troubled with Mists or Clouds, so the Learned apply'd themselves to *Astronomy* which they pretend to have invented. But if what *Diodorus of Sicily* says is true, they were not so expert in the Art as the *Greeks* were, after they'd learnt the Principles of 'em. Because the *Chaldeans* gave very ill Reasons for the Eclipses of the Sun, and durst not predict, nor reduce them to certain Periods. For *Astrology*, or *Apotelesmaticks*, that is to say, the Art of prediction, wherein it was more easie to impose upon the Credulous, if they attributed it only to their Knowledg, and boasted to have read such and such Events in the Stars.

Mr. Stanley gives here an Abridgment of their Doctrin drawn from *Diodorus of Sicily*, and from *Sextus Empiricus*. They believed there was a great Sympathy between the Stars, and what inhabits the Earth, so that *Terrestrial* Bodies depended upon the Course

and Vertue of the *Celestial*. They joy'd the Planets, fixt Stars, and Signs of the *Zodiack* together; And maintain that our whole life had a dependence thereon, and that nothing happened to us, whereof they were not the Cause. The *Chaldeans* placed twelve Gods in the *Zodiack*, to each of which they assign'd a Month, and a Sign of the *Zodiack*. They said also that there were twenty four Constellations; one half whereof was in the Northern Hemisphere, and the other in the Southern. The twelve which appear'd upon our Hemisphere, presided over the living, and the twelve which were invisible, over the Dead. They call'd these last the *Judges of all things*. But they had a great regard to the Planets, the unequal course whereof, according to their Opinion, caused the inequality of Life. They much observed their rising, and setting, and their Colour, &c. and pretended to predict all things by that. Under the Planets they held there were thirty Stars, which they call'd the *Counsellors of the Gods*: Whereof one half that was under the Earth, presided over what pass'd therein; and the other half that was above regarded what was done in Heaven and upon the Earth. Every tenth day one of the Superior Gods, went to relate to those below what was done above, and they made use of the same Conveniency on the other side. These Stars had these regulated Motions according to the Eternal Revolutions.

In our Author are the particulars of their Opinion concerning the divisions of the *Zodiack*, with the agreement they thought it had with the Planets from their Aspects, and with their manner of drawing *Horoscopes*.

Besides the Art of foretelling by the Stars, the *Chaldeans* knew how to Divine by the Flight and Notes of Birds, by Dreams, Prodigies, and Entrails of Victims, according to the report of *Diodorus*. R. Moses Son of Maimon affirms the same thing in his *More Nebuchim*, and also attributes to 'em other ways of divining, the Names whereof are in *Deut.* 18. 10, 11.

The *Physicks* of the *Chaldeans* was call'd Magic. There was two Sorts thereof, one *Natural*, and the other *Theurgick*; The first was only a knowledg of the Vertue of Simples, of the disposition of Animals, and of the Power of Minerals. But this knowledg was mixt with many Superstitious Opinions, if we may believe *Maimonides*, who hath discours'd their Operations at large, and in our Author we may read his Words. Such was their Opinions concerning the *Talismans*, which are certain Figures, or Letters grav'd at certain times, that they believed 'em able to defend 'em from divers Evils. In the Persian Tongue they are call'd *Tsilmenaja*, and in *Arabick* *Tsalima*, Words that come from the same root with the *Hebrew* *Tselem*, which signifies an Image. This may be seen in *Gassarel's* Book, entituled, *Unheard of Curiosities*. They also call'd that *Tsilmenaja*, that the *Hebrews* call'd *Teraphim*, which were little

Statues; that answered to what they said when they consulted them, concerning the event of things to come. *Onkelas*, a Chaldean Paraphrast always Translated the Word *Teraphim*, for that of *Tsilmenai*, and the seventy Translated it by the Words *φθεγγόμενοι* Speaking, *ἐπίλοιποι* Evident or Significant, *φωτισμοί*, Illuminations. Spencer may be consulted upon this, of *Urim* and *Thummim*. The *Theurgick Magick* of the *Chaldeans* consisted only in the knowledg of the Ceremonies that ought to be observed in the Worship of the Gods, to be agreeable and pleasing to 'em, and to obtain what they desir'd of 'em. *Julian* the Father, and *Julian* the Son, Chaldean Philosophers who lived under Mr. *Antoninus*, explain'd this Science in many Greek Books, both in Verse and Prose, as *Suidas* tells us. They thought by the means of these Ceremonies they were able to entertain the Celestial Intelligences, and even cure all Indispositions both of Body and Mind. We shall observe one of these Ceremonies, the Sacrifice whereof is very Considerable.

There was two sorts of Apparitions, one of which was call'd *ἐκστασία*, a *Superficial View* by the Greek Interpreters of this Philosophy. It was when the Gods appear'd under some Figure. Then they ought to have no respect to, nor receive any advertisement from 'em as true. The same Author calls the second *ἐνύπνια* a view of the same thing, when they saw a pure light without any form, and the Answer they received from it was true: Thus the Oracles speak in these Terms.

Ἡ νύκτα βλέπεισά μοι ὁρῶνς ἄπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λαμπρόμενον
σκυρτῶδ' ὄν ὅλως κατὰ βῆθηα κόσμου κλῆει πυρρὸς
φωτὴν.

When you shall see the Sacred Fire without Form, Burning from place to place, by all the Mysteries of Heaven, hearken to the voice of it.

As the *Theurgy* had Apparitions of good Demons, so they served to Chase away Material ones, and hinder them from Injuring them.

4. One may reduce the Religion of the *Chaldeans* to three kinds. The first is a worship of the true God, but after an Idolatrous Manner. The second, the Worship of Demons and Spirits; and the third is that of Celestial Bodies, and the Elements.

The *Chaldeans*, as hath been already observ'd, acknowledging one only Principle of all things, all powerful and good, it follows, that they must acknowledg the true God: and 'tis for this Reason that an Oracle that *Porphyry* cites, joyns them to the Jews, and says, that there's none but the *Chaldeans* and the Jews that adore that God and King who subsists by himself. But the *Chaldeans* adored him under the Name of an Idol, that they call'd *Bel*, which is the same as *Baal* of the *Phenicians*. The Jews also Worship'd him under the same Name, in the time of the Kings, and were reprehended for it by the Prophet *Hosea*, who tells them in the Name of the God of Israel, you shall no more call me, My Baali, Ch. 2, 16. Those who instructed

the *Greeks* in the Opinions and Customs of the *Chaldeans*, wou'd have it that they call'd the Supreme Divinity *Bel*, they gave him the Name of *Zeus*, which was the Name that the *Greeks* gave to the Chief of their God's. Altho *Bel* or *Belus* might be an Ancient King, the same with *Zeus* it hapned in length of time, that these Names were join'd to the Idea of the first Principle of all things, that is to say, to the Idea of the true God. Hence *Aratus* speaking of *Jupiter*, says, ὅς γὰρ καὶ γένε' ἐσμεν, we are of his Offspring. St. Paul makes it no difficulty to apply these Words to the true God. Acts. 17. Thus *Clement Alexandrinus* remarks upon these Words of St. Peter, Serve God, but not as the Gentiles. Thus "this Apostle does not say, serve not the God that the Gentiles Worship; but serve him not after the manner that they do; he wou'd have us to change the manner of Worship, but not the Object of it.—

One may see in the first Book of *Herodotus*, who was at *Babylon*, the Description of the Temple of *Jupiter Belus*; He says that the Priests thereof were *Chaldeans*; and *Maimonides* affirms that the Idolaters of *Chaldea* were the same with the Prophets of *Baal* which were in *Palestine*.

In the second place, the *Chaldeans* Worshiped Demons and Spirits; and 'tis to these Subaltern Divinities, to which they address'd themselves by means of the *Theurgy* whereof we have spoken.

In the third place they believed, that the seven Planets were animated by the Divinities, which they made use of, as if they were Bodies; the greatest were those which inhabited the Sun and Moon; they had the same thoughts in respect to the fixt Stars. But they confest they cou'd not prove this Worship of the Stars so distinctly as the rest; as the Readers may see more at large in Mr. Stanley.

Some Ancients say that they Worshiped the Air and the Earth, as *Julius Firmicus* and *Macrobius*; but these Authors, and particularly the last, do very much Confound the Divinity of all Nations without either Reason or Necessity, and might have attributed the Sentiments of the *Greeks* and *Romans* to the *Chaldeans*. Even some of 'em to maintain *Paganism* have taken great pains to shew, that all the Worshipers of many Gods did agree, and they also hop'd to answer the Objection of the Christians who accus'd them of the Diversity of Opinions. But without doubt the *Chaldeans* did Worship the Fire or the Supreme Divinity under the Emblem of Fire

(a) *Ruffinus* and (b) *Suidas* relate something to this effect, which deserves to be taken notice of here. 'Tis,

that in the times of *Constantine* certain *Chaldean* Priests ran through all the Empire, to shew to other Pagans, that the God of *Chaldea* was mightier than all the Gods, because the Fire that they Worship consum'd all the Statues of other Gods.

(a) *Hist. Eccl.*
lib. 2.
(b) *In voce*
Καὶ ὡς.

Gods. In fine, being come into *Egypt*, and having deify'd the *Egyptian* Priests to expose to the Fire the Statues of their Gods, one of these Priests triumphed over their Vanity by this Artifice. He took a Statue of the *Nile*, made it hollow within, and pierced it in divers Places: He clos'd up these Holes with Wax, so exactly, that they could not be perceived, and fill'd the Statue with Water. Afterwards he took the *Chaldeans* at their Word, and surrounded his Statue with Fire, so that the Wax melting left free passage to the Water, which soon issued out and extinguished the Fire.

Mr. Stanley employs the 16th and 17th Part of his Work, in giving an Account of the Philosophy of the *Persians*, which we shall make an Abridgment of in few Words.

1. In speaking of the Origin of the Philosophy of the *Chaldeans*, it was observed there were many *Zoroasters*: And so it was they call'd the ancient Sages of the *Persians*, who Instituted the Order of the *Magi*. *Dion Chrysostom* in his *Dorysthenick* Harangue, said, "That the *Persians* affirm'd that Love, Wisdom and Justice had quitted the Commerce of Men, and that they were retir'd into a Mountain, continuing there alone a long time: But when they had quitted it, a great Fire came down from Heaven, which environ'd it from all Parts: That the King and Nobility of the *Persians* going thither to invoke the Divinity, *Zoroaster* came out of this Fire, without receiving any Damage, and offer'd a Sacrifice, as if God had been present with him: That from that time he conversed no more with any sort of Men, but only those that were naturally more inclin'd to seek the Truth, and capable of knowing the Gods, as were those that the *Persians* call'd *Magi*."

The certain time of this *Zoroaster's* Life is not known. Another wise Man call'd *Hystaspes*, that liv'd in the Court of *Cyrus*, much augmented the Learning of the *Magi* of *Persia*, by the Sciences that he learnt of the *Brachmans*, when he went into *India*. He that discover'd these Sciences to the *Greeks* was one *Otanes*, who accompany'd *Zerxes* in the Enterprize he made upon *Greece*. The *Greek* Philosophers that frequented the *Persians* before that time, either conceal'd what they had learnt, or else had not penetrated into their Mysteries.

The *Magi* were apply'd wholly to the Service of the Gods, and their Name according to some Ancients signifies the same as that of *Priest*. They mingled not themselves with other *Persians*, nor never Marry'd but to Persons of their own Sect, and liv'd in Towns separate from others. They were in very great Esteem; they Instructed the Kings before they took the Government upon them, and were call'd to their Councils. Their Life as to the rest, was very simple: They liv'd only upon Milk, Wheat, Fruits and Bread.

2. As to what regarded the Supream

Divinity, they seem'd to have had the same Thoughts of the *Chaldeans*; for *Zoroaster* in his *Sacred Collections*, affirms, according to the Report of *Eusebius*, That God is Incorruptible, Eternal, Indivisible, most Wise, most Good, Father of Equity and Justice, &c. He divided all Things into three Orders: The first Eternal, without Beginning or End; others that have had a Beginning, but shall have no End: The last, which are Corruptible. *Oromazes* was the Head of the first: *Mithra*, or the Sun, presided over the Second; and *Arimanes* over the Third.

'Tis *Plutarch* that tells us that of *Zoroaster*; but 'tis dangerous to trust wholly to the *Greeks* in these sort of Things which they understood but by halves, and wherein they might easily confound the Doctrin of a People with that of its Neighbours.

However, be it as it will, the same Author relates, That the Sages of *Persia* establish'd two Principles, the one opposite to the other, whereof one was Good and the other Evil. He call'd the first *Oromazes*, and the second *Arimanes*, and said, That among sensible things, nothing so well represented *Oromazes*, as Knowledge and the Light; nor *Arimanes*, as Ignorance and Darkness. They made certain Sacrifices to this last, that he might not afflict them; and to the first to obtain Happiness and good Fortune.

The *Persians* also said that *Oromazes* was Son of the Day, and *Arimanes* Child of the Night, and that they had a perpetual War: That *Oromazes* had made six Gods, The 1. the God of Benevolence. The 2. of Truth. The 3. of Equity. The 4. of Wisdom. The 5. of Riches. The 6. of Pleasure; Divinities, which all submitted to him that made 'em. That after that, *Oromazes* became three times greater, and was as far from the Sun, as the Sun was from the Earth: That he made Heaven and the Stars; and established the Dog-Star to keep the rest: They say likewise that he made twenty four Gods, which he plac'd in an Egg, but that *Arimanes* had made as many; but they broke the Egg, and from thence it happen'd that the Evil Ones were mingl'd among the Good: That the time drew near in which the mischievous Beings, and *Arimanes* himself shou'd be entirely destroy'd by Pestilence and Famine; and that the Earth should be wholly united; and that there shou'd be only one manner of Living, and one only Society of all Mankind; and there shou'd be but one Language among 'em.

The *Magi* pretended they knew the Art of Divination as well as the *Chaldeans*. *Herodotus* tells us, They had neither Temples, nor Altars, nor Images, and that they look'd upon all such as had 'em as Fools: Moreover *Strabo* says the same. *Herodotus* suppos'd that the occasion of this Custom was, because they did not believe with the *Greeks*, That the Gods had Human Shapes; and *Cicero*, because they hold that the whole World was but a House or Temple for them,

them, and therefore they could not be confin'd within Walls. Nevertheless *Strabo* often speaks of their Temples, their Altars and their Statues, which perhaps only regarded the time that they were submitted to the *Greeks*, in which they learnt part of their Customs; whereas in the beginning they had nothing resembling them, as appears by that Action of *Zerxes*, in burning all the Temples of *Greece*, for Reasons which have been related.

(a) *Magis Auctoribus Zerxes inflammasse*
Templa Græciæ dicitur, quod
 (a) *Cicero de leg. lib. 2. p. 1197.* *parietibus includerent Deos,*
Ed. Elzevir. *quibus omnia deberent esse pa-*
temia, ac libera, quorumque
hic Mundus omnis Templum esset & domus.

When they (b) Sacrific'd they erected
 (b) *Herod. lib. 1. c. 131.* no Altars, they light no
 Fires, neither had they Li-
 bations, nor Flutes, nor

Crowns, nor Meal, but he that would Sa-
 crifice went into a clean Place, whither he
 led the Victim. There he invoked the Di-
 vinity, having a Branch of Mirtle upon his

* A round Orna-
 ment for the Head
 which in *Persia*
 they wore upon
 such Occasions.

* *Tyara*. He beg'd not
 the favour of Heaven par-
 ticularly for himself, but
 for all the *Persians* (in the
 number of which he was
 comprehended) and for

the King in an especial manner. After
 dismembring his Victim, having boyl'd its
 Flesh, and afterwards spread it upon the
 Grass, and particularly upon the sweetest
 Flowers, then the *Magus* that was present,
 (for without one of them no Sacrifice was

permitted) sung a † *The-*
 † *ogonia*, by the means of
 which they believ'd they
 might prevail with the

Gods. In short, he that sacrificed, carry'd
 away the Flesh of the Victim, and did what
 he pleas'd with it. *Strabo* says, That the
 Magus who officiated, having cut the Victim
 in pieces, each Person that assisted took his
 part and went his way, without leaving
 any thereof to the Gods. For they say,
God won'd have only the Soul of the Victim.
 Others left upon the Fire a part of the
Omentum. As may be seen in the same Book
 of *Strabo*, with divers of their Religious
 Ceremonies.

He tells us also, That the Magi ador'd
Jupiter, the Sun, the Moon, *Venus*, the
 Fire, the Earth, the Winds and the Wa-
 ter. But that which is the most perplexing
 in their Relations is, That they give the
 Names of the *Grecian* Gods to those of the
 East, because they conjectur'd they were the
 same Gods with theirs. Wherefore we shall
 not stand to relate what our Author says
 thereon, but the Curious may consult them
 if they think it to the purpose.

The 18th and 19th Parts of this Work,
 contains an Historical Abridgment of the
 Philosophy of the *Sabeans*.

1. The *Sabeans* were a People of *Arabia*,
 who have had among them great Philoso-
 phers, if we may credit some *Arabian* and

Jewish Authors. But these Authors are not
 of an ancient date, and living in a time
 wherein this Philosophy was extinct, it is
 not easie to know whether they were mista-
 ken or no. Some say, That the Head of
 the Sect of the *Sabeans* was named *Zara-*
dast, which seems to be the same Name
 with *Zoroaster*: Others say, *Tachmurat* King
 of *Persia*, was the first Founder thereof:
 There are also many other Opinions about it.
 The *Rabbins* pretended 'twas in a flourishing
 condition in *Chaldea* from the time of *Abra-*
ham, and fail not to relate the History of
 that time, with as great an Air of Assurance
 as if they had been Witnesses thereof, or
 had drawn it from Contemporary Authors.
 Some of which may be seen in the 2d and
 18th Chapters of Mr. *Stanley*.

Maimonides says, he had seen divers of
 their Books which our Author gives the
 Names of, that were full of Superstitions,
 conjurations of Demons, secrets for the *Talis-*
ans, and other Extravagancies of this Na-
 ture, *Liv. i. cap. 8.* *Hottingar* in his Histo-
 ry of the East, assures us, That he had
 some of 'em in his Possession, compos'd by
Abulfark Son of *Abi-Jacub*, and he wish'd
 that it had been made publick.

2. The *Sabeans*, according to the Rela-
 tion of *Maimonides*, believ'd the Stars to be
 Divinities, but that the Sun was greater
 than all the rest, and govern'd both Worlds,
 Superior and Inferior. They attributed
 their Opinions to *Adam* and to the first Pa-
 triarchs, and thereupon related Histories
 like to those that we find in the *Alcoran* and in
 divers *Mahometan* Authors; which is a very
 good Reason to make us suspect those Books
 to be Supposititious, partly from the *Maho-*
metan Superstitions, and partly from Cheats,
 which have often affix'd the Names of the
 first Patriarchs, the better to sell their
 Books to the Credulous.

They gave to each Day of the Week the
 Name of one of the seven Planets, to which
 they render'd certain Worship every Day
 and every Month. Their Monthly Devot-
 ions are described at length in the Manu-
 script of *Hottinger*, whereof our Author
 gives a very circumstantial Extract. They
 are only Fasts, Sacrifices, and Anniversary
 Solemnities in Honour of the Planets, and
 particularly in Honour of *Belia*, to whom
 the sixth Day of the Week was Consecra-
 ted, so that this Name mark'd the Planet
Venus, and of *Sammael*, a Name that the
Jews to this day give to the evil Angel,
 whom they call, *The Angel of Death*. They
 call'd their Months after the same Names as
 the *Chaldeans* did, whose Language they
 much speak, or one very near it, because they
 were Neighbours. This also hath been the
 reason that the Ancients gave the Name of
Arabia to one part of *Mesopotamia*; and
 that the Eastern People comprehended the
Nabatheans and *Sabeans*, under the general
 Name of *Chaldeans*, as our Author observes
 in his Preamble to the 18th Part.

In the last Chapter he relates divers Cust-
 oms of the *Sabeans*, contrary to many of
 the

the Injunctions of the Law of *Moses*, as *Maimonides* observes. But those that wou'd be instructed in the Original of the Opinions of the *Sabeans*, may read the second Book of that Work of the Learned *Spencer*, Entitled, *De legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus*. Since what has been said of the Divinity of the *Chaldeans* is only founded upon those Oracles that yet remain among us, it is necessary to relate here the Reasons that persuaded Mr. *Stanley* they are not Supposititious. 1. These Fragments are not drawn from one Book only, which might have been composed by any Ancient Heretick; but from divers Platonick Authors, who had them in great Veneration; whereas they shew the falseness of some Books writ by the *Gnosticks* under the Name of *Zoroaster*. This *Porphyry* hath acknowledg'd in the Life of *Plotinus*, where he makes a great difference between these Oracles and those that were Supposititious.

2. They are all full of Crack'd and Eastern Expressions, altho' it is true there are many also that are purely Greek, which ought to be attributed to those that Translated it from the *Chaldeans*.

3. *Picus de la Mirandula* in a Letter to *Marcilius Ficinus* says, he had these Oracles in the *Chaldean* Tongue much compleater, and larger than those they had in the Greek, with some Explications of the Doctrine of the *Chaldeans* in the same Tongue. This Manuscript was found in his Closet after his Death, but so spoil'd and difficult to be read, that nothing cou'd bedecifer'd of them.

4. 'Tis probable that these Oracles were Extracts of the Books of *Berosus*, who carry'd the *Chaldean* Philosophy and Astronomy into *Greece*, or at least of *Julian* the Son who had publish'd several of the Oracles and Secrets of the *Theurgy* in Verse, for *Proclus* cites some of 'em under his Name.

5. It may be the Name of Oracles was not given to these Verses only to mark their Excellency, but because they thought 'twas the proper Terms of an Oracle. *Stephanus* affirms that the *Chaldeans* had one of them, for which they had not less Veneration, than the *Greeks* had for the Oracle of *Delphos*.

This Opinion may be confirm'd by the esteem some Platonicks express of this Verse, as *Proclus*, who calls them in his Commentary upon *Timeus*: The Assyrian Divinity reveal'd from God, a Divinity receiv'd from God. In other places he also attributes them directly to the Divinity.

Some of these Oracles that had escap'd the Barbarity of pass'd Ages, were publish'd by *Louis du Filler* at *Paris*, in 1563. under the Title of the Oracles of the *Magi*, descended from *Zoroaster*, with the Commentary of *Gemisthus Plethon*. And afterwards Translated by *James Marthamus*, and publish'd by *Opsopæus* at *Paris*, in 1607. with the Commentary of *Psellus*. *Francis Patricius* had also published them with many Additions drawn from *Proclus*, *Hermias*,

Simplicius, *Damascius*, *Synesius*, *Olimpiodorus*, *Nicephorus*, and from *Arnobius*, so that he augmented them unto the number of 324. He reduced them likewise under certain Heads, and put them into Latin in 1593. *Otton Heurnius* Translated and Published them also in his Book, Entitled, *Philosophia Barbarica*, in 1619. but under a pretext of putting them into better Latin, and making a following Discourse upon them, he corrupted the Sense of 'em. He was laugh'd at for adding Fragments drawn from different Authors, which had no Relation to each other. Thus *Heurnius* spoil'd what *Patricius* had well done, altho' this last did not take sufficient care to publish them correctly, but wholly neglected the Measure of the Verse; even without observing, except in the beginning, the Authors from whence he had taken them, so that it was not easie to re-establish them. Mr. *Stanley* has mentioned some which are Translated into *English*, and also adds his Conjectures upon such Places as are corrupted.

Some of these Oracles appear'd so obscure and intricate, that they seem'd absurd: But we ought to consider that *Psellus* and *Plethon* have explain'd many, which without that wou'd not have appear'd more reasonable, and those that find them good, may very rationally presume that those they understand not, have not less reason to be supposed so. This made some believe they might publish them among the rest, without diminishing the high Esteem which was formerly had of the Wisdom of the *Chaldeans*: And 'tis this also engaged the Author to Translate the Commentaries of *Psellus* and *Plethon* into *English*.

These Oracles are placed under eleven Titles, the five first whereof regard the Supream and Subaltern God; and the rest the World, Man, and the Sacrifices. To make the Reader sensible of the Eastern Stile of these Fragments, I shall relate some here as exactly as I can. For Example, what they say of the Spirit (*ΝΟΥΣ*) that is, the second Being: *Light is born of the Father. 'Tis it only that has drawn the chief of the Spirit, in great abundance to the Paternal Power. The Paternal Spirit having conceiv'd its Works, disperses through the whole an ardent Love, to the end that all Things loving one another, they might subsist for a time without any Restriction. The Consequences of the Fathers Thoughts were not discovered to the Eyes of all things, because the Elements of the World subsist, being preserved by Love. It might by thinking, give Intelligence of its Father to each Source and Principle. It is the limits of the Profoundness of its Father, and the Source of intellectual Things. It goes not out from, but continues in the Paternal Depth, and in his Sanctuary, by a silence wholly Divine, &c.*

Another Being is also spoken of in these Terms: *Under two Spirits is the quickening source of Souls, and the Artist who himself made the World, being all Fire, cloath'd with*

Fire, preserving the most refin'd part of his Fire, to qualifie the Sources of Union.

It's easily discern'd by this, That the Stile of these Oracles bears no resemblance to that of the Greek Poets, nor to that of the Oracles of Delphos. There's a kind of Light and Obscurity very particular. Besides, it's easily seen that there's neither the Sentiments of the *Platonicks*, nor those of the *Jews*, but I know not what something very singular, which has entirely the Air of the Original, as will be more easily granted by those that read the Interpretations of *Plethon* and *Psellus*.

A Disquisition about the Final Causes of Natural Things; wherein is examin'd if there be any, and with what Precaution a Naturalist ought to admit thereof: By Mr. Boyle, Fellow of the Royal Society. With an Appendix, wherein are some uncommon Remarks touching sore Eyes: By the same Author. London, 1688. in Octavo, p. 274.

MR. Boyle compos'd this Work several years since, at the Entreaty of Mr. Oldenburgh, Secretary to the Royal Society. It remained among the Author's Papers until 88. when he Publish'd it, without adding to it any new Remarks, which he might have drawn from the Discoveries that have been made in Anatomy since it was compos'd, because he believed that what he had said, was sufficient to decide the Questions which are propos'd. It is undoubtedly of a great Consequence to know if the Final Causes of Natural Things can be found; that is to say, to know why Bodies are formed after a certain manner, and upon what design they are dispos'd in certain Places? If in this there was a design, and we should neglect to inform our selves thereof, we run the risk of not rendring unto the Author the Honour due for that Reason; and of not drawing from those Beings the Uses which we should, both in regard to Philosophy and Religion. If there was no design in all this, it is very profitable to know it, that we may not lose our time in vainly seeking for the same. *Epicurus* deny'd there were any in the Thought he had, That all Things were formed by chance; and *Descartes* hath maintained, That it was impossible to know any of the ends of God, unless he had himself revealed them to us. Mr. Boyle undertakes not here directly to refute *Epicurus*, he applyeth himself solely to *Descartes*; whose Opinion cannot nevertheless be refuted, without destroying at the same time that of *Epicurus*. To proceed more Methodically, he hath divided his Work into four Sections, in each of which he examines a particular Question; after which he concludes,

That the Disquisition of Final Causes ought not altogether to be banish'd from Physick; tho' in this there must be certain Precautions used which he observes.

I. The first question is, if (*generally speaking*) *Physicians can know the end and design of corporal Beings*? If *Descartes* affirm'd simply that we cannot know all the ends, which God propos'd to himself in the Creation of the World, or that we ought not to imagin that they all relate to Man, Mr. Boyle would not undertake to refute him: But as *Descartes* speaks in General Terms, its maintain'd that his Opinion is false, taking him without exceptions. The Reason of it is, that suppose God is an intelligent Being, and that some of the things he hath made be perfectly proper to produce a certain considerable effect, and that they produce it necessarily, we ought to judge that God, who hath foreseen this effect, hath produced his Work, at least partly, for that Reason. So when the admirable disposition of the Eye is consider'd, and the effect it produceth, to wit *Vision*, there is nothing more reasonable than to say that the Eye was made for to see, tho it may be it was made for some other end, which we know not. So also the Sun, which is, according to *Descartes*, dispos'd in a proper place to illuminate all the Planets that turn in its Vortex, and which unavoidably produceth this effect, has been undoubtedly created partly to give us Light and Heat. It cannot be said here that all the ends of God are hidden in his Wisdom, because that would be to allow that we have no Testimony of his Works which should teach us that *God is Wise*. Yet this is no impediment to Physicians seeking out the mechanical reasons of these effects, as nothing hinders but that we may say a Clock hath been made to shew the Hours, and to expound at the same time mechanically, how its Wheels and its Springs produce this effect. Thus *Descartes* himself after having said that the Immutability of God requires there should be always a like quantity of Motion in matter, sheweth how that may suffice to render a Reason of natural effects.

Altho Mr. Boyle is not of that Number who believe that *Descartes* had a design to favour Atheism, since he finds his proof of the Existence of God, to be conclusive, he maintains, that to say none of the ends which he propos'd to himself can be known, is to deny that we can see his Wisdom and Goodness in the Creatures, and consequently to take from Mankind the proof of the Existence of God, which is drawn from the order of the Universe. It is moreover to take from Men one of the greatest Reasons which they have of blessing and admiring the supream Being. For in fine, according to *Descartes*, God perhaps propos'd to himself in the Creation none of these admirable effects, which are observed in the Universe; and if we enjoy any good therein, it doth not teach us that he design'd to do us any.

So that we cannot from thence conclude, that God is either wise, or a benefactor to us, and we have no Reason from thence to admire and praise him.

II. (*) The second Question is in these Terms, *Suppose we should affirmatively answer to the first, whether the ends of God can be considered in all sorts of Bodies, or only in some?* To resolve this Query, we must divide Bodies, into *inanimate* and *animate*. The most considerable inanimate Bodies are the Sun and Stars. When we consider their Motions so regulate, and so necessary to the Earth: And on the other hand we suppose with *Descartes*, that they were produced by an intelligent Being, why should we not believe that we may place the use we draw from them amongst the Causes for which this Being created them?

But there is much wanting in inanimate Bodies, to render them as perfect as animate Bodies. The Disposition of our Muscle, is much more admirable than that of the Celestial Orbs; and the Eye of a Fly, includes a thousand times more Art than the Body of the Sun. Tho there is no absurdity to think that Stones, Metals and other Bodies of this Nature are made for the use of Man; their inward Disposition is so simple, that it might be believed they were formed by the Simple Rules of Motion, even as we see that the *Crystallizations*, and *Sublimations* of *Chymistries* produce effects sufficiently wonderful. But there is no comparison betwixt these sorts of things, and Animals, as Mr. Boyle proves at large;

(*) p. 45. &c. (*) for not to enter into an examination of the entire Bodies of Animals, he chiefly applies himself to the structure of the Eye, by which its clearly seen that it was made for to see. And this not only in regard to the Eye of Man that it may be proved; but we may besides observe particular Dispositions in those of other Animals, which render this truth very plain. Frogs, for example, besides what their Eyes have common with ours, have also a Membrane or Gristle, wherewith they cover them, without it's hindering their sight; for tho this Membrane is very strong, it is transparent, and may pass for a kind of Horny Movable. These Animals living not only in Water, but also upon the Water side, where there are often Shrubs and Bull-Rushes, and moving themselves by Leaps; if they had not these Fences to their Eyes they would be in danger of putting them out at all times. It may be observ'd by holding a Frog so that it cannot turn his Head, if one strives to put out it's Eyes, 'twill soon be perceiv'd that at the very instant it will cover them with this Membrane, and that as soon as the danger is over the Frog will draw it back without trouble. The same thing is found in several small Birds who Fly and hop in thick Trees and Bushes whose Thorns might easily put out their Eyes without an Horny substance wherewith they cover them.

We know that Men, and the most part of four Footed Beasts and Birds, have divers Muscles, by means of which they turn their Eyes where they please, according to the occasion they have for 'em. Flies on the contrary have none, but in recompense have on their Eyes, which are convex enough, a great number of little *Eminences* capable of receiving the Rays which come from all Parts. These Inequalities are particularly observed in the Eyes of Flies, (which fly upon Flesh) by making use of a good *Microscope*. Altho' Bees and other great Flies have immoveable Eyes, yet the same thing is not seen in them.

To these Remarks may be oppos'd, That the Eyes of Men being the most perfect, the Eyes of all Animals should resemble it. Mr. Boyle answers to that first, That since divers Organs of Animals are perfectly well disposed for the Uses for which they are destined, we ought to believe at least that it may be the same with Organs, whose Structure and Use are not well known to us. Secondly, we ought not to consider the Eye after an abstract manner, and simply as the Instrument of Vision, but as the Organ of a certain Animal to whom it ought to serve in certain Circumstances. And this, far from doing any wrong to the Creator of the Universe, renders him on the contrary much Honour, if we consider that in the infinite variety of Animals which he hath produced, he hath given them such Eyes as were needful, to preserve themselves in such places of the Earth as they live in, and to nourish themselves after the manner that's most natural to 'em. Thus tho divers Beasts, as Horses, Oxen, and some others, have a seventh Muscle to turn their Eyes, besides the six which they have common with Men; we must not conclude that their Eyes are more perfect than those of Man, or that they have any superfluous part: For these Animals having their Head stooping, to seek out the Forage they eat, could not have their Eyes turn'd downwards so long to the ground without great Weariness, if they had not this seventh Muscle which serves them for that purpose. But Men having no need thereof, such another Muscle would but trouble them. On the contrary it ought not to be thought that Animals, whose Eyes have not all that is observ'd in that of Men, are destitute of any part that may be necessary for them. Moles, for Example, have Eyes so little that it is commonly believ'd they have none, although those who have made a Dissertation of them, have found they had Eyes. But being oblig'd to remain in the Ground, they needed not great Eyes, which would be in danger of receiving Injury.

It is known that the *Camelion*, among several remarkable Things which it hath in its Eyes, can move them independently the one from the other; so that he can look with the one on what is before him, and with the other on what is behind, to see with one what is above, and with the other what

what is below, &c. Therefore he is a floathful Animal, which lives upon Trees or Shrubs, where Flies are nourished, which he can see coming what side soever they are. Fishes have a Crystalline Humour almost Spherical; because the Water in which they live, causing in the Sun-beams a Refraction much greater than the Air, they would see nothing in the Water, if the Convexity of the Crystalline Humour caused not a Refraction in the Light great enough, to reunite these Beams in the bottom of the Eye.

Mr. Boyle is persuaded, that those who might have Time and Means to examine after the same manner the Eyes of a greater number of Animals, would without difficulty observe that they have them so disposed, as that the Places wherein they keep, and their manner of Living require it. Besides this, he makes a Remark upon the form of the Eye-ball of some Animals, which serves to confirm his Thought; which is, That altho' Horses, Oxen, and divers other Creatures, have a long Ball as well as Cats, yet in the first it is placed transversely, and extends from the right to the left: Whereas in Cats, it is situate perpendicularly. A Friend of Mr. Boyles, well skil'd in Opticks, conjectured upon this Observation, that the reason of this is, That Horses and Oxen seeking their Food upon the Ground, can thus receive more easily the Images of the Forage, which presents it self to them from divers Parts in their transversal Ball: As Cats living upon Mice and Rats, which run along the Walls, can more easily observe them by the perpendicular situation of their Balls, than if it was otherwise disposed.

Thus this variety of Dispositions, in the Eyes of Animals, is far from giving us any disadvantageous Idea of him that hath produced them, we cannot but admire his Power and Wisdom: For it cannot be doubted but that a Mechanist who makes a great number of Machines, is of a greater Capacity, than another who could make but one sort. There is even much likelihood, according to Mr. Boyle, considering Things but as a simple Philosopher, that the Author of the Universe hath produced so great a variety of Animals, but to let intelligent Creatures see his Power and his Wisdom. Therefore doth Revelation teach us, that this was one of the Designs of God in the Creation of the World, as Mr. Boyle shews, from p. 78. unto the end of the Section.

But before that, he makes some Remarks upon that which is called *Chance*, which deserves our Observation. As to the corporeal World, it's easily believed that nothing falls out in it by *Chance*, but all by the Rules of Motion, when any free Intelligence comes in for a share. But because we consider certain parts of the World, as being particularly govern'd by the Divinity, or at least by what others call Nature, and as being destined to certain ends; if it hap-

pens that by the Intervention of some other Causes, which we foresee not, the things in Question produce a contrary Effect to that which we believe they were destin'd, we are accusom'd to say, That this Effect is produced by Chance. Thus Chance is nothing else but an Idea of our making, and which only subsisteth in our Brains. There is therefore no Reason to wonder why the Philosophers, which lived before *Aristotle*, have not put Chance among Natural Causes, as we learn of *Aristotle* himself, who justly reprehends them because of this pretended Omission.

Those who favour *Epicurus*, are used to bring for Examples Things that are formed by Chance, of certain Stones whose Structure is admirable, as the *Astroites*. But besides what we have said of Chance, its answered, that Learned Men have of late maintain'd, with likelihood enough, That curious Stones of this Nature are really Animals, petrify'd by some Moisture in which they have lain. But by supposing that these sorts of Stones are formed in the Ground, it might be said, without advancing any Absurdity, That there are Seminal Principles in some of the Fossils, whose disposition is most compos'd, not to mention that there is no Comparison betwixt this Disposition and that of Animals. We ought in it not only to consider the solid parts, but also the Liquors, the Spirits, the Digestions, the Secretions, the Regulations and Motions of the whole Body; and tho' it were allowed that the Stones, which we speak of, are formed by Chance, it could not be infer'd that Animals are thus formed, for if a Smith shall give a certain Shape to a piece of Iron without thinking of it, yet it cannot be concluded that this Smith can, without thinking, make a Clock.

III. The third Question is, *If it may be said that a Being destitute of Intelligence acteth for some end, and in what Sense it may be said?* It's said that a Being tends to certain ends, in two Senses. The one is when the Agent knoweth a certain end, and that he acts purposely, to arrive at it. The other, when the action of the near cause is directed to this end, yet by an Intelligent Cause more distant. It's evident that we cannot say, in the first of these Senses, that any Cause destitute of Intelligence acteth in order to some end; therefore it must be the second: To which the Sentiment of Mr. Boyle has Relation; which is, That God having proposed to himself certain ends hath produced a World proper for the producing such ends. For Example, an able Mechanist who proposeth to himself to make a Mill to turn round, and to raise Hammers to forge Iron, by the means of Water, he forms thereof an Idea which he afterwards executes, and whose Execution produces the Effect he had propos'd to himself: Even so God having propos'd to himself certain ends, hath created the World, so that he inevitably comes at it that way.

Mr. Boyle

Mr. Boyle admonishes here (a) That if he hath said any Thing by the bye against the common Opinion, *That all the Material World was made for Man*; he thinks only that this Question ought not to be decided after a too Dogmatick or Exclusive Manner. Altho' the Reasons which are brought to shew that all the World, and particularly the vast Extent in which the fixed Stars are placed, was not made for Man alone, yet it appeared to him more probable than those which favour the contrary Opinion; notwithstanding he willingly granteth that among the ends which the Author of Nature proposed to himself in divers of his Works, as Plants, Animals, Metals, &c. he had a Design to produce them for the use of Man, and that this perhaps was his principal Design. He hath even an Inclination to believe, that there being a great many Things made for our use, and which notwithstanding we do not know; and that the Things whereof we actually make use, may have other uses which are besides unknown to us.

Libertines have long since objected, That if other Animals had been made for Man, they would not come into the World in a better State than he: Whereas there are several produced in a condition of defending themselves from the Injury of the Air, and of seeking their livelihood without the help of another. To these slight Advantages is opposed that of Reason, which hath enabled Men to form Societies, and to become Masters of all other Animals by their Policy. This Reason evinces, That Man is more excellent than the whole Globe of the World, or an Extent of much greater Matter without Intelligence. So that do but look upon the outside of Things with regard only to the littleness of the Body of Man, deny that the Earth and some of the Cœlestial Bodies were made for him, because they are infinitely greater, and because an Intelligence, such as the Soul of Man, is much more excellent than all these Bodies.

Mr. Boyle moreover draweth from this Consideration an important Consequence, which is, That tho' Man receives no use from some distant parts of his Body, he can nevertheless receive a very great one in regard of the Intelligence which animates it; which raiseth it self by the consideration of the more distant Objects to the knowledge of their Author, and acknowledgeth in a thousand ways his Power and his Wisdom, and also renders him the Homage that is due unto him. Why should we not believe that among the ends of God, in producing these vast Bodies, which their excessive distance hath not robbed from our Sight, he hath proposed to make himself known to the innumerable Intelligences, which he hath covered with Human Bodies? This is the most probable Inference that Men have ever made thereof, as Mr. Boyle sheweth.

But if we will yet consider Man, as co-

vered with a Body, we must take heed of committing a gross Fault, whereinto we fall by Imagining, That nothing can go under the notion of having been made for Man, but that which all Men have always made use of; we ought to look upon Man, from his Origin upon this Earth, until his Dissolution, he changes Habitation, as does a Family, which in divers times makes use of divers things, altho' none of his Members do immediately participate of these Uses. Thus an Infinity of Things, whence much Profit is drawn of late, have notwithstanding been made for Man, tho' he made no use of them some Ages before us. We may see particularly Examples thereof in the Original.

IV. (a) The fourth Question is to know, *With what Precaution Physicians ought to make use of the Supposition* (a) p. 103. *of Final Causes?* Thence two sorts of Consequences may be drawn; the one relates to the Author of Nature, as when from the constant use of a thing, it is concluded that it was made for that. So after having acknowledg'd the use of Eyes, we ascend to the Creator, by saying that in creating the Eyes, he had a Design to make a Machine, as proper to produce that which we call Vision. The other Consequences conclude from the Supposition of certain ends, That Bodies ought to be disposed after a certain manner, because otherwise they would not be proper to produce the Effect for which they are created.

Mr. Boyle reduces what he has to say upon this Question, to five Propositions, upon which he makes divers Remarks which are briefly there; as also some of the most considerable Reflections which are made upon them.

1. (a) *As for Cœlestial Bodies in general, it is Folly to conclude any thing about their Nature, from the Supposition that God hath produced them for the use of Man.* (a) p. 107.

Those who say, That the Earth being the Place which Man Inhabits, and the Sun having been created to light this Earth; it follows from thence, That the Sun turns round the Earth, and not the Earth about the Sun; against the Rules we have related. They suppose that the only end which God proposed to himself, in creating the Sun, is to light the Earth; and tho' that was so, their Consequence may be denied. As to what regards the fixt Stars, whereof some are so distant that there is no use of the Telescope to discern them, it is yet more rash to suppose that they were only produced for our Earth; tho' we do not deny but that we may draw from them both Moral and and Physical Uses.

It would be also a meer Presumption, to conclude from thence that they are disposed after such a certain manner, because that would seem more commodious for the use of the pretended King of the Universe. It is much more reasonable to think, that God might have proposed Ends which we see

not in the Symmetry of the World. Can it be said that the Angels, which are more excellent Beings than we are, take no share therein, and that God in creating it had no regard to them? On the contrary it's well known, that several Divines have conjectured, with Mr. Boyle, That the Angels were created before the Material World, that they might render God the Praises due to him, for the Creation of the Universe. It may be these Intelligences perceive at first sight in this part of the Heaven, what we discover only with difficulty by the Telescope, and in other Bodies which we know not, a profound Wisdom, and as admirable Ends, as those which we observe in Bodies which are nearest and most known to us.

To descend from Heaven upon Earth; tho' it is very rationally believed that God made, for the use of Man, Metals and Minerals being such Things as he can procure; there would be no Reason to believe, that that which is round the Center of the Earth, more than fifteen hundred Leagues below our Feet, is made for us, and even only for that end. There could never yet a thousand Steps be dugg into a strait Line, nor is there any appearance that the Industry of Men shou'd ever find the means to peirce the Earth Diametrically for a Mile; and without that they can neither see, nor apply to their use what it hides in its Centre. We may notwithstanding judge, by the knowledg we have of some other parts of the World, that what the Earth includeth in its Bulk, may contribute something to the Order and Symmetry of its Vortex wherein it is placed. It might also be said, that there are divers Things in the World, which were produced, not for themselves, or upon a Design of immediately receiving some Benefit; but because they were necessary Subjects of what God had directly designed to create. So God it may be is the remote cause of Eclipses, but yet they are a necessary Series of the Motion of the Planets, and he did not think but that this Motion should be changed, to avoid Eclipses.

2. * It is permitted to a Physician to gather from the use of some parts of the (*) p. 142. Body of Animals, some of the particular ends to which they were destined. We may even, in some occasions, upon the Knowledg which we have of Nature, and of the Disposition of certain Parts, establish probable Conjectures about the use of these Parts.

Mr. Boyle speaks here only of such ends which regard the good and preservation of Animals in particular. Those who have any Knowledg in Anatomy cannot doubt of it if they consider the whole Machine of Human Bodies and the regular Functions, which an infinite number of Parts perform therein, without the one hindring the other, tho' their Offices are very different. It evidently appears that several Parts are destined to certain Effects, and that they are

justly disposed, as they ought to be to that intent, because if there happens any change, this Effect either ceases entirely, or is not produced without much difficulty.

The Epicureans object, That Men make use of their Members in many things, not that they had them given 'em for that Design, but because we have found out by Experience that they were proper for them.

Nil Ideo quoniam Natum est in Corpore, ut uti Possemus, sed quod Natum est id procreat usum. Lucret. lib. 4.

But chiefly there are several Parts of our Body, which perform their Functions, without our being sensible of it, and without our knowing how. Such are our inward Parts, the Heart, the Liver, the Spleen, &c. and as to the Members which we move as we please, altho' we cannot employ them before they are formed, it followeth not in any respect from thence that a blind Power hath presided over their Formation, without knowing what they should be good for. That is only a Supposition as little reasonable, as that of a Man wou'd be, who should maintain, that a Book was not made to be read, but that we read it, because Chance has formed it and writ it, after such a manner as we have Power to read it.

Suppose we knew well the Structure of one part, we might often affirm or deny certain Uses which are attributed to it. Those who writ formerly of Anatomy and Opticks, believed, as well as the Philosophers of the Schools, That Vision is made in the Cristalline Humour; but the Jesuit Scheiner hath shewn, the first Thing in his Treatise of the Eyes, That this part of the Eye, not being proper for that purpose, another should be fought for, which might be only the Coat or Membrane of the Eye. Mr. Boyle affirms, that having demanded of the famous Harvey, a little before his Death, what it was that might have given him occasion to find the Circulation of the Blood? He answered him, That it was the Disposition of the Valvulae or Folds, which permit the Veins to bring back the Blood to the Heart, but suffer it not to go to the Extremities of the Body, only by the Arteries.

3. * There are Things so proper and so well disposed for certain Uses, either in the Universe, considered in its utmost (*) p. 180. Extent, or in the Bodies of Animals, so that we may justly conclude, that Bodies were made by an Intelligent Being, which hath thus designedly disposed them.

Mr. Boyle demonstrates this Thesis by a great number of Examples drawn from divers Animals of Europe, America and Asia; where he examines only the exterior Actions, without engaging himself into any refined Disquisition, because what we see is sufficient to convince a rational Man, that an Intelligent Being formed the World. We

We shall not stop at it, because every Person can present to himself an infinite number of convincing Examples, and like unto those which our Author relates. There is no Body this day in *Europe*, who hath any Learning, that believes pure Chance was able to produce Animals; but there are Men who believe that they are formed by the known Rules of Motion, or at least by Rules which we know not. Yet they must grant, that an Intelligent Being established these Rules, as *Descartes* does, or say that they are from all Eternity, in Matter as well as in Motion; whence it would follow that there have been Animals on Earth from all Eternity, which is contrary to History and good Sense; moreover the supposing that Matter moveth of it self, is to suppose as incomprehensible a thing as the greatest Absurdities of the most ridiculous Religion. So that the Proofs of Mr. Boyle may serve to destroy this Sentiment, tho' it does not directly aim at it.

4. (*) We ought not precipitately to conclude, nor assert too affirmatively that a (*) p. 214. Thing is, or ought to be the particular end, for which any Body hath been formed, or the Motive which induced the Author of Nature to produce it.

It is true, there are some Ends that were designed in the Creation of Bodies, which are so clear and remarkable, that it cannot be doubted but these Bodies were effectively formed for these Uses, as the Eye to see; but there are several Effects either necessary or profitable for the conservation of Animals, to which Effects one part is not sensibly more proper than the other. It is very difficult likewise to observe the chief and the most considerable Use of each Part, as appears by these Reasons. 1. The whole Animal, whose Members are examined, is itself but a part of the Universe, and consequently it cannot be affirmed that his Members have no Relation but to himself only, and not with the whole Creation, whereof it makes a Part. 2. There is Danger in affirming, That a Member was not designed to such an Use, because it seems as if it could better perform this Function, if it was otherwise disposed, without considering whether this Structure, which is judged the best for this particular Effect, would not be more disadvantageous to the Animal, in some other regard; or if it would not be contrary to some other End that the Author of Nature might have proposed to himself, in the Production of this Animal. 3. It is hard to determine what the principal Use of a Member is, because it may be equally destined to several. 4. Nature can accomplish the same End, by divers ways, equally sufficient for that Intent, though they are not all equally commodious. Mr. Boyle believes, That these two Considerations ought to be joyned together, because they are often found to be united. We imagine sometimes, without Reason, That Nature employeth but a Part in some one Function, whereas the Effect which she proposeth to

herself is oft produced by a Series of Operations, which succeed one another, and to which different Members do diversly contribute. Besides, that an Animal cannot subsist only by the means either of the Solid or Liquid Parts, which are seen in it when it is opened. It is a Machine that may be called *Hydraulico-pneumatick*, whose Functions (and perhaps the principal ones) are not simply performed by means of the Blood, or other sensible Liquors, because they are Liquors; but partly by their Motion, partly by an Invisible Fluid, which is called the *Spirits*, and partly, perhaps by little Particles, which are suddenly loosened from the rest, or by a Portion of Air enclosed in our Body, or by some kinds of Ferments; all which things cease to act with Life, and cannot be discovered by the means of Anatomy.

5. A Physician ought not to apply himself so much to the Disquisition of the Ends of the Author of Nature, as to neglect examining the manner whereby Natural Effects do happen, and the Causes which produce them more immediately.

In effect the one is not incompatible with the other; as nothing hinders us from knowing by what Springs and Wheels a Watch playeth, when we have learned for what Design it was made. A Physician, who would not be unworthy of this Name, ought to add the first of these Knowledges to the second.

The Book whereof we have given an Extract, though full of Matter (being little enough) Mr. Boyle hath added * fourteen Curious Observations, * p. 245. about divers Infirmities of the Eyes. It hath been already observed, That he insisted much upon this part of the Animals, to prove that their Bodies were form'd designedly; so that these Remarks may serve only to confirm what he hath said: There is but one Power, and one Wisdom so great as is that of God, which could have included so many things in so little an Organ: And we have an occasion still to admire his Providence, in that this Organ being composed of so many Parts, and so easie to be spoiled: It nevertheless is found to remain in the greatest part of Mankind in the same state from their Birth to their Death. The Observations which Mr. Boyle gives us here, are so much the more remarkable, because he hath seen most of those Persons, whose Unhappiness he relates: This is the last, which was translated Word for Word.

"Men, it may be, may be persuaded, "That those who perceive Objects in a "Light much less than it ought to be, for "others to discern it, may rather be accounted to have an excellent Sight, than "to have infirm Eyes. But although this "Delicacy of the Organs of the Sight, may "be looked upon as a Perfection in Bats and "Owls, which cannot take hold of their "Prey but in the Twilight; yet in regard to "Man, who ought principally to act in full "Day, or in a Light almost equivalent; we may

"may be sensible of the Bounty of the Author of Nature, in that he hath given him Eyes so qualified as they commonly are; if he had the Coat or Membrane too tender, it would be an Imperfection, or at least a great Inconveniency, as appears by the following Observation.

"In the Army of *Charles the First*, King of *England*, there was an Ingenious Gentleman, who was Major of a Regiment, and being forced by the Victory of the Usurper to go seek his Fortune out of the Kingdom, hazarded himself, at *Madrid*, to render his Prince a Service of very great Consequence, after such a manner as was judged in *Spain* to be altogether void of Prudence; he was seized and put into a Dungeon, where there were no Windows, but only a Hole in the Wall, by which they gave the Prisoner his Victuals, after which they shut it, although perhaps not very exactly. This Gentleman remained some Weeks without seeing any thing whatever, and in a very deep Melancholy: But after that it seemed to him as if he saw a weak Light, which afterwards augmented from Day to Day, so that he could discover his Bed, or any thing of a like Bigness. At last he came to discern Objects so little, that he saw Rats, which came to eat the Crumbs of his Bread that fell on the Ground, and distinctly observed their Motions. He related several other effects of his Sight in this obscure Place: Which shews that this proceeded chiefly from his Organs, which became tender, staying so long a Time in such a dark Place, as it was. But his Affairs being changed, and having recovered his Liberty, he durst not immediately expose himself to a full Sight, fearing lest a too sudden Brightness should make him lose his Sight, but thought he should accustom his Eyes thereto by little and little. I add here, continueth *Mr. Boyle*, this strange History with much the less Difficulty, because I have it from the very Mouth of this Gentleman. He told me besides, other Particulars, which I dare not to mention here, because I have not those Memorandums I took of'm to refresh my Memory.

An Extract of a Letter, written from London, about the Description of a Ship, built after a new Form, by Sir William Petti.

AS all Men expected the Success of Sir William Petti's Enterprize, of Building a Ship after a new Make; so there ran a multitude of People to the *Thames-Side*, to see this Ship Launched, being empty when it was tryed: It drew Water but seven Foot and an half. They were going to name it *Gemini*, because it was

composed of two small Ships, but at last it was called the *Experiment*, because of the uncertainty of the Event it would produce.

To apprehend its Structure we must imagine two little Ships joyned together by a Plat-form, so that between the two there may be a Space almost as large as the two Ships together, through which the Water has an entire Liberty to pass. The Keel of each Vessel is eighty Foot long: The bigness with the Platform is only thirty two Foot: The height from the Keel unto the Platform is fourteen Foot.

If this Ship is used in War, it will carry fifty Pieces of Cannon, two hundred Men, and three Months Provision. If it be used as a Merchant Ship, it will carry three hundred Tuns.

The Advantages which are expected from this Ship, are First, That it will be swifter than those hitherto used. 1. Because it will carry twice or thrice as many Sails as others do. 2. Having no Ballast, it will be lighter, and consequently swifter.

Secondly, They pretend that this Ship will be surer than others. 1. Because the Figure of its Sides, with the Water which runs between the two Ships, will keep it from running aground. 2. And having no Ballast, it cannot sink, what Breaches soever it may meet with, especially if it be assisted by some Pieces of Cannon. 3. Its Keel being supported by a great many streight Planks, will defend it, if it should touch the Ground with all its Weight. 4. Because it will not carry its Noses under the Water, and that its Mast will the sooner Break in the Tempest.

Thirdly, They say, this Ship is still more commodious than others. 1. In that the Water passing with its full Force to the Rudder, along its direct Sides, it will make the Ship turn more speedily than others do, whose Rudder receives only the broken Water by the Sides of those Ships, which are rounder. 2. This Ship not being so round as others, will toss less in a Tempest; and as it will not Rise or Fall but very little, so they may make use even in a Tempest of its Cannons, which are plac'd very low, which cannot be done in other Ships. 3. When it is calm the Ship will go with Oars betwixt these two little ones, beneath the Platform: Besides the Oars, which may be used without-Side, as it happeneth every Day to others. 4. Because this Ship will be equally proper to serve in War or Merchandise: And as it will be lighter than others, it is very useful to carry News to any Place, that they have occasion to convey it to; Relieve a Besieged Place, or go to spy out the Enemy, and even in Battle it will have many Advantages as easily may be imagined.

That which is the most feared in this Vessel, is breaking asunder: For, in fine, a considerable Space being betwixt the two Vessels (whereof the Ship is composed) it is feared the Waves which meet there with

with great Force, will separate them. But as this Objection was made as soon as the Structure of this Ship was proposed; he that undertook it, hath, as he says, taken such Care to provide against this Accident, that he thinks it is the least thing to be feared. And certainly if there is no secret Cause that retards its Course, or renders its Navigation more perilous, there is no apparent Reason which hinders the succeeding of the Enterprize. In this Case a great many things must be changed in Naval Architecture, which hath been hitherto observed: And Wits will have Subject enough to exercise themselves in the Disquisition of the Causes of the Motion, which will meet in the Agitation of this Ship.

An Extract of two Letters, one written from London, and the other from the Hague, concerning the Use of Pendulums, to find out the Longitude upon the Sea.

BEFORE I give the Extract of these two Letters, we must say two or three Words of the Longitude, in favour of those who are not well acquainted with these kinds of Subjects.

One of the greatest Philosophers of these latter Ages has observed, That of all Arts, Navigation is the most Perfect, and that which can receive the least Addition: Yet, nevertheless, there are many Defects observed in it. The chief is, That Pilots having lost sight of the Land, and knowing not where they are, run the hazard of losing themselves; for if the Compass and the height observed teach at what Distance they are from the North and South, and that so the Latitude is easily distinguished, yet no means could hitherto be invented, by which the Longitude could be precisely known; viz. what Distance one is from the East or West. Nevertheless, seeing it would be impossible to Navigate, if there was not at least an imperfect Knowledge thereof; Pilots are reduced to make a Journal from Hour to Hour, to mark what Wind they have made use of, and observe the Violence and Impetuosity of Currents, through which they have passed. Therefore they hold a very exact Register of these things; and afterwards computing their Journals, they judge by the Estimation of the Way which they have gone towards the East or West; and thus they conjecture at what Distance they are from it. But as this manner is very uncertain, and that the best Pilots agree but very seldom in their Reckoning, they often lose themselves in Places against Rocks, which they think themselves very far from: So that it may be judged of what consequence it would be to discover a certain Means to find out the Longitude, seeing after that the Place may

be precisely known in what part of the Sea forever one is; and so we might Sail in great Security. This is what Mr. *Huggens* hath found out, by means of the Pendulum. All the World knows its Exactness, that it fails not one Moment: And as soon as it appeared, it was not doubted but it would serve to find out the Longitude; provided a means could be invented of carrying it on the Sea, without its losing any thing of the Regularity of its Motion. For suppose this exactness, it is certain, that if in parting from the Port, the Pendulum's adjusted to the Hour it is in the Port, from which the Longitude and Latitude is known, when one is on the Main Sea, it will be easie to know by the Sun or the Stars the Hour of the Day, at the Place where one is; and in comparing this Hour with the Hour it was at the Port whence one parted, as it is given by the Pendulum, the Longitude will be found without Trouble: For as it is known how many Degrees of Longitude the Sun makes in one Hour, one may infallibly determine by the Difference of the Hours, how far one is towards the East or West; and then to judge by the Map of the Distance of the Place where one is, from all the other Places, which are marked in the Map.

An Extract of a Letter written from London, January 1665.

Captain *Holmes* is at last arrived, and the Relation he made us of the Experiment of the Pendulums, makes us confident they will succeed. He parted from the Isle of *St. Thomas*, which is under the Line, accompanied with four Vessels: He was obliged to gain the Wind proper for his Return, toward the West, and to sail six hundred Leagues without changing his Road: After which, finding the Wind favourable, he drew towards the Coasts of *Africk*, directly to North-North-East. But as he had made about four or five hundred Leagues upon this Rumb, the Pilots of the three Ships, which were under his Conduct, fearing they should lack Water before they arrived at the Place intended, proposed to him to go and take Water in at the *Barbados*. Hereupon this Captain having assembled them, and made them bring their Journals, they found themselves distant, in their Reckoning from his, one eighty Leagues, the other one hundred, and the other one hundred and twenty; for this Captain judged by the Pendulums, that he was not much more than thirty Leagues from the Isle of *Fuego*, which is one of those of the *Green-Cape*, which these Pilots judged then to be very far off: And because he had an entire Confidence in these Clocks, he maintained that they should continue their Road; and the next Day in the Morning the Isle appeared, according to his Expectation.

An Extract of a Letter, written from the Hague, the fifth of February, 1665.

Captain *Holmes*, at his Return, hath given such Relations concerning the Usefulness of Pendulums, as surpassed my Expectation. I did not imagine that the Clocks of this first Construction would succeed so well, and I reserved my chief Hope for the New. But seeing those have already been so successful, and that the others are more exact, I have the more reason to believe, that the Invention of the Longitude will be in its utmost Perfection. Nevertheless I shall inform you concerning what you desired to know of the manner wherewith the Gentlemen of the States received my Proposition, when I asked them for the Privilege of New Clocks, and such a settled Price on the Invention, in case of Success, that they have without Difficulty granted me my Request, and willed that I should cause one of these Clocks to be carried into their Assembly, to expound the Invention thereof unto them, and then the Application to Longitudes: Which I did with great Approbation. I have published this Week, That the same Clocks will be exposed to Sale, with necessary Instruction to use them at Sea; and thus I have opened the way. The Objection was made me here, which had also been made by you, against the Exactness of the Pendulums, to wit, though they agreed together, they might both fail, because the Air at one Time would be more thick than at another. But I answered, That this Difference, if there be any, is not at all felt by the Pendulums; seeing the Observations made from Day to Day, and continually from Winter to Summer, always shewed that they agreed with the Sun. As to the printing the Figure of my Clock, I shall defer it as yet for some Time; yet it shall appear nevertheless with all its Demonstrations, and a Treatise of Pendulums, which I have written some Days past, and which is of a very subtle Speculation.

The Publick is obliged for the Communication of these two Letters, to the unparallel'd Mr. *Chaplain*, who adding to his other fine Knowledges that of the most Curious Philosophy, kept a Correspondence in all Europe, to be advertised of the New Discoveries which are made therein.

An Extract of an English Journal.

MR. *Boyle* has communicated a Letter to the Royal Society, by which he is advertised of a Monster, born at *Lymington*, in *Hampshire*.

A Butcher having killed a Cow, found

she was big with a Calf, which began to be Hairy. Its Hind-Legs had no Joints, and its Feet were divided like the Claws of a Dog. His Tongue was triple, and after the manner that *Cerberus's* is described, one in the middle of its Mouth, and two others on the Sides. Between the Fore and Hind Feet, there was a great Stone, upon which it was laid: This Stone weighed twenty Pounds and an half; its Colour was greyish, like to a Cut Stone, which is commonly called the *Grison*; the Superficies thereof was unequal, and full of little Cavities; when it was broken they perceived small Grains of Stone, of an oval Figure, and its Colour was mixed with Yellow and Black Veins, which were all over it. Dr. *Haughton* of *Salisbury* keeps very carefully this Stone, of which he hath sent a Part to Mr. *Boyle*, who hath shewen it to the Royal Society.

An Extract of an English Journal.

MR. *Moray* hath told the Royal Society, That *Brimstone* and *Vitriol* are taken from the same Minerals, and that it hath some resemblance of the Lead-mine, which often separate by rubbing when they meet together. Sometimes the Mine is digged fifteen or twenty Fathoms or more, according as the Vein leads the Work-men, or the Subterranean Waters permit them.

When Men are minded to make *Brimstone*, it is broken by little bits, which are put into little Pots of Earth five Foot long, of a Pyramidal Figure, the two parts whereof must be disposed after a leaning manner, and are plac'd one upon another: There are eight underneath, and seven above, ordered so that there is an emptiness betwixt, thro' which the Fire passeth, which by this means toucheth them all. The *Brimstone*, which is melted thro' the violence of the Fire, droppeth, and coming out by the lesser end of the Pot, falls into a Trough of Lead, which is common to all of them, and thro' which there continually runs a little Brook of cold Water, carried thither by Pipes, to congeal the liquefied *Brimstone*, which is commonly four Hours melting. When that is done, the Ashes are drawn out with an Hook of Iron, they are carried in an Iron Wheel-Barrow without the Place, and are broken to bits, and covered with other Lye-Ashes which are dry, to keep them the warmer, which is done so long as they yield *Brimstone*.

When Persons are minded to make *Copperas* or *Vitriol*, they take a quantity of these Ashes, which are put into a square Hole made in the Ground, about four Foot deep and eight Foot in bigness, which is every where covered with Boards of Wood well joyned together. After that, they throw Water upon it till it swims, and so it's commonly left twenty four Hours, or else

else until an Egg swims on the top of it, which is a mark that the Water is strong enough. So when they are minded to boyl it, they make it run thro' Pipes into Kettles, and add thereto one half of the *Mother Water* (as they call it) which is that which remains when the Vitriol is made. These Kettles are of Lead, and are four Foot and an half high, six Foot in length, and three Foot broad; and they lay 'em on Iron Grates, and boyl this Liquor in the Kettles with a great Cole Fire, for twenty four Hours or more, according as the Grounds are stronger or weaker. When the Water is well consumed, the Fire is taken from under it; they let it cool a little, and draw it from the Kettles by holes which are on the sides, and by wooden Pipes whereby they make it pass into Recipients, which are three Foot deep and four long, where they leave it fourteen or fifteen days, and longer if it may be necessary, until the Vitriol is separated from the Water, becoming clear and hard. The Water which remaineth, when the Vitriol is drawn off, is that which is called the *Mother Water*, and the Lye-Ashes which remained at the bottom of this boared Hole, are the *Fæces* which the Water leaves, when the Vitriol is made.

An Extract of an English Journal.

TWas attempted a long while ago, to take the Whales which are in the *American Sea* near to *Bermudas*, but the Attempt was altogether given over as Fruitless, because of the Fury and extraordinary Swiftnes of these Fishes. But it was begun again sometime since with more Success, as a very able Mariner told us, who was present at the taking of some of 'em: The last time he was at Sea, two old Females were taken, and three young Males.

One of these old Whales was eighty eight Foot in length from the Head to the Tail; it's Tail was twenty three Foot in bigness, the Fins twenty six Foot in length, and it's Gills three Foot; it had great Beards hanging under the Nose unto the Navel, and towards the end of the back Parts, a Crest upon its Back; within it was full of Fat like the leaf of an Hog.

The other was about sixty Foot in length; one of the young Ones was thirty three Foot, and each of the two others about twenty five and twenty seven Foot in length.

This Fish is of a very sharp Figure behind, much like the ridge of an House; near the side of it's Head are several little Lumps, its Back is extreamly black, and its Belly white.

He saith that the Swiftnes of these Fishes is incredible: And that having hooked one, it dragged the Vessel wherein he was, six or seven Leagues in three quarters of an Hour.

When these Whales are Wounded, they

make a horrid Cry, to which all the rest that are within Hearing, immediately swim thither, but without hurting any Body.

He struck one of them one day, which by estimation was more than one hundred Foot in length. He believes that these Fish are like those which are called *Jubartes*; they have no Teeth, and are of a greater length than the Whales of *Greenland*, but not so thick.

They feed on the Herbs which grow in the bottom of the Sea, which is apparent by the opening of their great Sack or Stomach, in one of which there have been found two or three Hampers full of green Stuff, like to Herbs.

He thinks seven or eight Tuns of Oyl may be drawn from the biggest of these Whales, tho' all those he took, afforded him but eleven Tuns: But he believes the Reason was, because he had not a Skilful Cooper to hoop them well. The young Ones give but little, and it is more like Jelly than Oyl. That of the old Ones is curdled, and yet burns very well. That which is drawn from the Fat, is as clear as Whey; but that which is drawn from the interlarded Leannefs, becomes hard as Tallow, and sparkles in burning. As to that which is made of the Leaf, it is like the Fat of an Hog. This Oyl, he says, hath a marvelous Quality; for tho' it is boyling hot, one may dip ones Hand in it without being burned. It is Sovereign for Wounds and several other sorts of Evils, being applied to the afflicted part.

Upon what he first said, That the catching of these Whales lasts from the beginning of *March* unto the end of *May*; he was asked, where they might be the rest of the time, seeing they were not in the Sea? To which he replied, That the common Opinion was, that they withdrew into the Weedy Caves of the Gulph of *Florida*, because it hath been observed, that upon their Fins and Tails there were quantities of Viscosities, upon which there grew Shells; and there has been seen upon 'em Shells bigger than Oysters, many of which have been ranged upon the Palisadoes of the Governour of *Bermudas*.

An Extract of an English Journal. A new Invention which they use in Virginia to kill Bell-Serpents.

THere are in several Places of *America* a kind of Serpents, most dangerous, which is called the *Bell-Snake*, because with the End of their Tail they make a Noise very like that which Bells do, when they are moved. This Animal is very big, about five Feet long, and of Brown Colour, mixed with Yellow: It hath a forked Tongue, and long sharp Teeth, and moves with as much Swiftnes, that it seems to Fly.

As

As there was Discourse in the Royal Society of this kind of Serpents, Captain *Silas Taylor* gave there the Relation of the manner how they are killed in *Virginia*, and afterwards gave it in by Writing, attested by two Persons worthy of Credit, in whose Presence the Experience had been made: These are their own Words.

The wild *Pouliot*, or the *Distam* of *Virginia*, is about a Foot high, the Leaves are like unto those of the *Pouliot*, and little blue Knots, at the Places where the Branches are joyned to the Trunk; and though the Leaves are of a Red Colour, inclining to Green, the Water, which is distilled thence, is of a fine Yellow, and is like Brandy. When these Leaves are opened and put upon the Tongue, they seem very hot and pricking. They take of these Leaves, which they tie to the End of a splitted Stick, and some one puts it very near the Nose of the Bell-Serpent, which useth all its Endeavours to draw away from it, but the Smell, as it is believed, kills it in less than half an Hour.

This Experiment was made in July 1651. at which Time it is thought the Venom of these Animals is in its greatest Strength. This Gentleman also assured the Royal Society, That where ever the wild *Pouliot* groweth, or the *Distam* of *Virginia*, there are no Bell-Serpents to be seen.

An Extract of an English Journal, about a remarkable Spring, which is near Paderborn in Germany.

Near the City of *Paderborn* there is a Spring or Source, which is called *Methorne*, whence there comes three different Brooks. There are chiefly two, which, though they are not distant from one another above about a Foot and a half, yet have very contrary Qualities; for the Water of the one is Clear, but blewish, Blood-warm and Boiling, which seems to partake of an Armoniac Salt, of Oker, of Iron, of Vitriol, of Alum, of Brimstone, of Niter and Arsnick, which they usefully make Use of against the Epilepsie, the Pains of the Spleen and Worms. The other has a Water as cold as Ice, Muddy, Whitish, more Heavy, and of a Stronger Taste than the former, and imbibes much of Arsnick, Salt, Iron, Nitre, and a little of Armoniac Salt, Alum and Vitriol; and it is said, That all Birds that drink on't do dye suddenly: Which gave an Occasion to a curious Person to make Trial thereof, by himself, upon Hens, to which he gave of this Water to drink, after they had been fed: He remarked, That all those which after having fed upon Barly, Oats, or Crumbs of Bread, drank thereof, did immediately stagger and fall, being attacked with strange Convulsions, in which they dyed a little after, and became Stiff almost like Sticks. But those which he made

to swallow a little Common Salt, immediately after they had drunk, lived a little longer: Others, which he made to swallow Vinegar, lived almost seven or eight Days, being very much incommoded thereby, and about that Time dyed. He had the Curiosity of opening all those which dyed, and found that they all had the Entrails and Lungs withdrawn, and gathered together. Notwithstanding, it is certain, that several Persons have been cured of the Worms in taking a little of this Water, which they mixed with other common Water; for though most of them became thereby Sick, yet none of them dyed, and they have been delivered from Worms, after having voided a great Quantity of them.

As to the third Brook, which is a little below the others, about twenty Paces from them, it hath a Water Greenish, Clear, of an Acid Taste, and agreeable enough: It is not as Light as the first, nor so Heavy as the second, but it seems to keep a medium betwixt both; which makes those who have examined it to believe, That this Brook is formed, and comes from the Mixture of the others, which come to joyn together. This is principally known, in that if they mix an equal Quantity of the Water of these two first Brooks, and if there is a little Well-water put thereto, shaking them altogether, it falls out that after they settle, there is a Water which hath the same Taste and the same Colour as that of the third Brook.

An Extract of an English Journal. An Opinion of the Astronomers of England upon the Contestation happened betwixt two Learned Men, about an Observation made of the First of the Two last Comets.

There happened a Difference betwixt these two Famous Philosophers Mr. *Hevelius*, and Mr. *Auzout*, upon the Subject of the Observation made by the former, upon the 18th of February, 1665. and afterwards some famous Astronomers of England, considering the Importance of this Dispute, resolved to examine it; we have thought, that those who have heard it spoken of, would not be displeased to know what they have done and remarked on this Subject. Having then compared the Printed Writings of these two Gentlemen with one another, and consulted carefully the Observations which have been made here with Prospectives, by some of the most Learned Astronomers amongst them, who have exactly observed the Position of this Comet with the Telescopic Stars which are in its way; they have unanimously concluded, That whatever this Appearance was, which Mr. *Hevelius* hath seen, near the first Star of the *Ram* (of the Truth of which Appearance they would not doubt) the

aforesaid

aforesaid Comet hath not approached near this Star, which is in the Left-Ear of the *Ram*; by which Mr. *Hevelius* supposeth it hath passed, but that it took its Course near the shining Star, which is in its Left-Horn, according to the Tables of *Bayerus*. And whereas the Observations which have been made by very Judicious *French*, *Italian*, and *German* Astronomers, which are come to the Knowledge of the *English*, do entirely agree with that of theirs; they doubt not but a Consent so unanimous meeting, between so many Persons, concerning what we have said, and the Dispute being a Question of Fact, wherein Authority, Number and Reputation ought to prevail, Mr. *Hevelius*, whose Knowledge and Sincerity are known of all Men, joyneth to them, and is of their Opinion.

An Extract of an English Journal, concerning a Mine of Mercury, which is in Frioul; and the manner of making Wind by the Falling of the Water.

THE Mines of *Mercury*, which are in *Frioul*, are situated a Day and a half's Journey, or thereabouts, from *Coritia*, drawing towards the North. The Mine, wherein we entred, which is the Richest and Greatest of all, is more than six hundred Foot in Depth. It is descended into with much Pains, by Ladders placed perpendicularly: But there is one of the Descents, where there are from Space to Space Boards laid across, to rest upon them. When we were at the Bottom, we saw the Mine, which is dug out with Picks, because it is for the most part as hard as a Stone. It is of the Colour of Livers, or of *Crocus metallorum*. In these Mines is a soft Earth, in which the Mercury is all by little parcels. There are besides, round Stones found in them like Flint of different Bigness, and resembling little Balls of Hair, which I have often seen taken out of the Bellies of Oxen in *England*. This is the manner how *Mercury* is got. They take the Earth, which hath been dug from the bottom of the Mine, and brought up in Baskets, which is put into Sacks, whose Bottom is made of Wyer, so disposed that one may put his Finger betwixt two: Thence they carry it into a Brook of running Water, where it is washed until nothing more can pass through the Sack. The Earth which passeth not is put apart in a Heap, and that which hath passed through the Sack is put into the Hole, whence a second Man draweth it, and puts it into another Sack, and from that into ten or twelve others, which are more bruised the one than the other. It happens often that there is *Mercury* at the bottom of the first Hole, whence the second Man draweth his Earth; but in any Place where the Iron Wyers of the Sacks are nearest one to another, they find *Mercury* in a greater Quantity.

The Earth is laid in a Heap, which was set aside, and they begin again the same Operation. The fine and thin Earth which remaineth after that, and from which the *Mercury* can no more be separated, by means of the Water, is put into Retorts of Iron, proper for the luting of the Recipients, in which the Violence of the Fire pusheth on the *Mercury*. The Officer who had the Conduct thereof, deluted several of 'em in our Presence, to shew them to us; and I observed in all, that there immediately issued out perfect *Mercury* very fluently, and afterwards a black Dust, which being wetted with Water, appeared to be nothing else but *Mercury*, like the other. They piled up the *Caput Mortuum*, and began again the Operation, until they can get no more *Mercury* from it. The Water which imbibes the Qualities of the *Mercury* cures the Itch and Ulcers.

This is the manner they draw, what they call, Common *Mercury*; for that which they call *Virgin*, is found either perfect in the Mines, or drawn by Lotions and Washings of the Earth. The *Virgin Mercury* is much more esteemed than the other. I asked some of the Officers of the Mine, What Vertue it had in particular? they told me, That when Gold was mingled with *Virgin Mercury*, this Mixture being put over the Fire, the *Mercury* volatilizes the Gold, which common *Mercury* doth not.

Common *Mercury* is in far greater Quantity than *Virgin Mercury*; for we saw by the Account these Officers had given the Emperour, That of 695334 Pounds of *Mercury*, which was drawn out of these Mines, in the Years 1661, 1662, 1663, there were 667666 of Common *Mercury*, and only 27668 of *Virgin Mercury*.

The Machines which are used in these Mines are admirable; the Wheels are the greatest that I ever saw in my Life, and are all moved by the Force of the Water, which for little Cost is brought from a Mountain that is three Miles from thence. The Water which is drawn from the Mine, by the means of fifty two Pumps, twenty six on each Side, is employed to move other Wheels, which serve for different Uses.

The Workmen are paid but one *Sulas* a Day, and stay not long at this Work: For although there is none who is more than six Hours under Ground, they become all Paralytick, and dye Hectical, some sooner, and some later.

We saw there a Man, who wrought at these Mines but six Months, so full of *Mercury*, that immediately after he had put a bit of Brass into his Mouth, or that he had rubbed it betwixt his Fingers, it became as white as Silver, and as if he had rubbed it with *Mercury* it self. He was so very Paralytick, that he could not carry to his Mouth a Glass half full of Wine, without spilling it. I have learned since, That at *Venice*, those who work behind Locking-Glasses, are also subject to the Palsie. I did

not observe that these Men had black Teeth, and it may be we unjustly accuse *Mercury* of spoiling the Teeth, when it is given in Venereal Distempers. It is true, I did not make this Observation upon the Place; but as black Teeth are very rare in that Country, if they had been so I should undoubtedly have remarked it.

I am willing yet to impart to you an Invention that I find new, which they make use of to blow the Fire in the Brass Forges of *Friouli*, near *Rome*. It is the Water which bloweth the Fire, not in moving the Bellows, as is commonly done, but by making a Wind. There is a River, from whence proceeds a Fall of Water, which is received into a Tub; out of the Side of this Tub comes a Pipe, like the Nose of a Pair of Bellows; on the upper-side of the Pipe there is a Hole, with a Stopple, to stop or unstop it at pleasure; the Tub empties itself under Ground when the Hole in the Pipe is stopped; at its Mouth comes out incessantly a great Wind; and when the Mouth of it is stopped, the Wind comes out with such Violence, by the unstopped Hole, in the Top of the Pipe, that I believe it would make a Ball leap, as that does of *Frescati*.

An Extract of an English Journal, containing Instructions for those who take great Voyages upon the Sea.

THE Design of the Royal Society, being, according to its Establishment, to apply it self to the Search of Nature, and conformably unto the Observations made upon divers Phenomenas, and the effects thereof, which were observed by 'em, to compose a Natural History, that might serve for a Foundation to establish a solid and profitable Philosophy, they have from Time to Time given Orders to divers of their Members, not only to labour after the Search of Remarkable Things, which they might meet with in Foreign Countries, but also to give some Instructions for Private Men, who should have the same Curiosity. It is for this End, that considering the great Advantages which might be drawn from Voyages that shall be made for the future into all Parts of the World, Mr. *Rooke* was heretofore chosen and charged with the Care of giving some Advice to those who go to the *East* or *West Indies*, the better to enable them to make such Remarks as might contribute to the Accomplishment of their Design. After which they desired the Mariners to keep an exact Register of these Observations, which at their Return they should give two Copies of, one to the High Admiral, and the other to *Trinity-House*, to be revised by the Royal Society. Therefore Mr. *Rooke*, before he dyed, acquitting himself of his Commission, and having made up a Memorial, according to the Order which he had received thereupon, it was

thought fit to publish it, and to give a Copy thereof to all the Mariners, in the ensuing Form.

I. To observe the Declination of the Compass, or the Variation of the Needle to the Meridian, marking as exactly as possible, the Place wherein the Observation shall be made, and the Method which shall be used to make it.

II. That they should carry with them Needles of a good Temper, and well-touched with a Load-Stone, and to remark after the same manner the Inclination of the Needle.

III. To observe carefully the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea, in as many Places as they are able, with all the Ordinary and Extraordinary Accidents of the Tide, as what is the prefix'd Time of its Ebbing and Flowing in the Rivers, or Promontories or Capes, what way the Current of the Water takes, what perpendicular Distance there is betwixt the highest and lowest Tide, what Day of the Moon, and what Time of the Year falleth out the highest or lowest Tide; so of the other Accidents which may be observed in the Tides, chiefly near the Ports, and about the Isles.

IV. To make Draughts and Descriptions of the Aspect of the Coasts, Promontories of the Isles and Ports, marking the Approaches and Distances as exactly as possible.

V. To Sound and Observe the Depth of the Coasts, Ports, and other such like Places near the Shore, as they shall think fit.

VI. To endeavour to know the Nature of the Earth, which is at the Bottom of the Sea, and to sound it after all the ways, to know if it be Mud, Sand or Rock.

VII. To make a Memorandum of all the Changes of Winds and Tides which happen at every Hour of Day and Night, marking the Point or the Place whence the Wind comes, and if it be strong or weak; as also the Rains, Hails, Snow, and such like Things, with the precise Time of their beginning and continuance; but chiefly to have a great Care to remark regular Winds, in what Degree of Longitude and Latitude they begin at first, where or when they cease or change, and become stronger or weaker, and by how much; which ought to be done as exactly as possible.

VIII. To observe and put in Writing all the extraordinary Meteors, such as are Lightnings, Thunders, Comets, and false Fires, always remarking the Place and Time of their Apparition and Duration.

IX. To carry about them good Ballances and Viols, that contain near a Pinr, and have a very narrow Neck, which shall be filled with Sea-Water, in different Degrees of Latitude, as shall be thought convenient; and to remark carefully the Heaviness of the Viol full of Water taken at each Time, and especially the Degree of Latitude, and the Day of the Month.

An Extract of an English Journal, containing some Observations made by Mr. Boyle, and taken from one of his Letters, about the Baroscope, and the manner of Weighing the Air.

I shall make no Difficulty to say, That I have hitherto found nothing that pre-sages more certainly, and makes known so exactly the Changes of the Time, which happen after a long and constant serenity, than the Baroscope. I know not also whether in the most clear and serene Climates this Instrument might not be absolutely infallible; for in these Northern Isles the Clouds are so little, and discharge sometimes so suddenly, that often the Weight of the whole Atmosphere of the Air receives thereby so small an Alteration, that we are deceived therein, and cannot find out the true Causes of the Constancy or Change of Air: Therefore I should desire to see some good Kalendar or Journal made at *Tangiers*, or in some other of our Northern Places or meridional ones of *America*. At least I can affirm, That after having tried all sorts of Hydrosopes, whereof I have a great Quantity, and observed carefully the sweating of Marble, and as many other famous Prognosticks, as I have heard spoken of, I have at last found out, That there is none which comes near the Excellency of the Barometer, to signify the Changes of the Times which are to happen

2. To confirm what I have advanced, I am willing here to give some Remarks which I have made. The Weather appeared extremely charged the fourth of last *January*, but yet more on the seventh, and it remained the following Days so gloomy, that all the World believed certainly that we should have Rain; nevertheless, I observed then, That the *Mercury* of my Baroscope did not fall down, and that, notwithstanding the Mists, which sometime appeared pretty Thick, and some Drops of Rain which fell, it remained very high; which made me know certainly, That there would not happen any great Change in the Weather. It is true, that when there fell some small Drops of Rain, it would fall a little, but this was not considerable, and rather confirms my Assertion than destroys it. And in the last cloudy Weather, which we have had, I have not been Mistaken in my Judgment thereof, upon this same Foundation.

3. Another Time, seeing that after a small Rain, the *Mercury* rose very high, I thought that we should have a Serenity that would last; but, on the contrary, having remarked that it descended after it had rained, I was in much Doubt whether we should have Cloudy and Rainy Weather.

4. I believe that the Principal Reason for which we become more chilly and more weak when the *Mercury* appears at the low-

est, and the Air is the highest, is because the Air serves to our Bodies for Nourishment, even as Water serves for Aliment to Fish; when we are deprived of the ordinary Quantity of this Nourture, it happens to us as it does with Fish, when Water faileth them.

5. That the lowest I ever saw the *Mercury* fall, since the Time I remarkt it, was the twenty eighth of *October*, 1665. towards Evening, for it appeared to me then fallen twenty seven Inches and an half, as I find it in my Remarks with these Circumstances.

The twenty fifth of *October*, in the Morning, the *Mercury* was twenty eight Inches and an half; great Storm and Rain.

The twenty sixth of *October*, in the Morning, the *Mercury* was twenty eight Inches; Wind without Noise, with gloomy and very thick Clouds.

The twenty sixth of *October*, at Evening, the *Mercury* was twenty seven Inches and an half; that Day and the following ones an unconstant Time, and frequent Rains: The *Mercury* was lower than it used to be.

6. To be still more exact, I laid over the Place where my Baroscope was, a Weathercock, disposed so that one may easily take each of the thirty two Points of the Wind, from the half Points and quarter Points, pretty far off; otherwise all our Conjectures would be found false, as Experience informed us: By this means, when some Cloud draweth nigh, or some other Meteor gets higher or lower, or when there riseth some Storm or Fresh Wind, be it Night or Day a Servant may bring certain News of the Weight of the Air, as easily and surely as he might the precise Hours, after having consulted a Sun-Dial.

The Baroscope or Barometer, whereof we have spoken, is nothing else but a long Pipe of Glass, having about four Feet in length, and a large Cavity of about the fourth part of an Inch. This Pipe is hermetically stopped at one of the Ends, and the other is filled with Quick-Silver: Afterwards it is prepared, turning down the End which is not stopped, and sinks into other *Mercury*, exposed to the Air, and contained in a larger Vessel, which is under it. By this means the Quick-Silver, which is in this Pipe, striving to escape, as much as it can, and to run into the *Mercury*, in which, as we have said, the Stoppage of this Pipe is thrust, it follows of necessity (as all those know, who have seen this Experiment) that what remains of the Quick-Silver stayeth suspended in this Pipe, at the height of about twenty eight or thirty Inches (more or less, according as the Air, to which this *Mercury* is exposed, is more Light or Heavy) leaving the Superior Part of this Pipe empty.

That which the Journal of England calls Baroscope or Barometer, is no new thing in France, where it is almost as Ancient as the Suspension of *Mercury*; for the Experience of the Tute, which having been invented in Italy by

by Galileus of Toricelli, was first used in France in 1646. by Monsieur Petir, Intendent of the Fortifications, as appears by the Discourses which he printed thereupon at Seb. Cramoisy's in 1647. Afterwards it was augmented by Mr. Pascal and several others, who left the Mercury suspended in the Pipe, for continual Experience, as they called it, to see the Change which would happen, as to the height of the Mercury, according to the Diversity of Time and Seasons. It is more than nineteen Years since Mr. Merseune had one, according to the Relation of Mr. Pascal, in his Treatise of the Equilibrium of Liquors: We see that in 1649. the same Experiment was made in several Places, which hath been continued here in divers Times, and is so yet by Mr. Auzout and Tycho; but finding hitherto no certain Rule of the Difference which happeneth to the Height of the Quick-Silver, according to the Change of the Air, they had not thought fit to publish any thing on't.

An Extract of an English Journal, concerning a new Method, how to sound the Depth of the Sea without a Cord; and to discover the Nature of the Water at bottom of the Sea.

MR. Hook is the Author of these two new Inventions; from whence Advantages may be drawn for Physicks as well as Navigation.

1. To sound the depth of the Sea without a Cord, one must have a Globe, or Bowl of Fir, Maple, or some other light Wood; it must be rub'd over with Varnish of Pitch, or some such like Matter, to preserve it from the Water; then take a piece of Lead or Stone, the weight whereof must be sufficient to sink the said Globe, which must have a Staple made of Wire-Thread, and a Spring also of the same Wire, whose end must be crooked or bent; into this Staple must be drawn the Wire-Spring, which presses the crooked or bended end, to which a Weight must be hang'd by its Ring, to let the Globe and all the rest fall into the bottom of the Water, where the Weight touching, the Globe also stays there; whence it follows, that the Globe of Wood which is dragg'd to the bottom, only by the violence of the Motion which it acquir'd in descending, must also unbend the Spring, and set it self at liberty to ascend again to the top of the Water; so that if it be observed how long this Bowl tarries under Water, 'tis easy to discover the depth of the Sea, by means of some Tackle that may be made for that end.

He says we must take great care that the Heaviness and Figure of the Leaden Weight, be proportionable to the Bigness, Weight and Figure of the Wooden Globe, in such manner as Experience shall discover what is most convenient.

In some Essays which have been already made of this Instrument, the Globe, which was of Maple, and well covered with Pitch, was $5\frac{1}{4}$ Inches Diameter, and weighed $2\frac{1}{2}$ Pounds. The Lead weighed $4\frac{1}{2}$ and was Pyramidal, and 11 Inches in length, the Point turn'd downwards: The Basis was $1\frac{1}{2}$ Inches Diameter, and the Point was $\frac{1}{6}$: In the Thames, where these Experiments were made, where it was 19 Foot deep, there was only six Seconds of an Hour betwixt the Immersion and Emerision of the Globe: And in another place, where the Water was but 10 Foot deep, 'twas but about two Seconds and an half. When there shall be more Experiments of this Nature made, without doubt 'twill not be very difficult to find out a Method for the Computation of the depth of Water, according to the length of time which these Globes stay under Water.

It's also Remark'd, that in making new Experiments in the Thames, this Globe being cast into a place where the Water was deepest, it was not longer in ascending to the top, than in passing the length of two Boats from the place where it was cast in, being carried so far by the Stream.

The other Instrument, which was to draw in the Water that was at the bottom of the Sea, was a Pail of Square Wood, whose top and bottom were made after such a manner, that a Weight coming to sink the Iron (to which the Pail is fastned by two Ears, having at both ends moveable Bottoms, in the form of two folding Doors) and by this means drawing in the Water at the bottom, the resistance of the Water taking hold of the Pail in such a Posture, so that the Water might easily pass over it whilst it descended. But so soon as the Pail is drawn up again by a Cord, the resistance which the Water makes to this Motion carries the Pail to the bottom, and keeps it in a close Posture, so that Water that is without cannot get in; nor that which is shut up within, cannot get out.

By means of this Instrument it may easily be perceiv'd, whether the Water at the bottom of the Sea is saltier than that on the Surface; as also whether the Water is fresh in any place of the bottom of the Sea, as the Industrious John Hugh van Linschoten assures us, who in his Relation of the Voyage into the East-Indies, tells us, That near the Isle of Barem in the Persian Gulf, with certain Instruments (of which however he gives us no Description) they drew out of the Sea from under the Salt Water, four or five Fathom deep, some Water that was as fresh as that of a Fountain.

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An Extract of a Letter written by Mr. Peti, Intendant of the Fortifications, to Mr. Galloys P. concerning the Depth of the Sea, the Nature of the Water which is at the Bottom of the Sea; and some other Curiosities.

IT will be hard to judge right of the Depth of the Sea by the Machine mentioned in the *English Journal*, and which was related in a Journal of the third of May: For neither the Figure nor the Discourse explain intelligibly the turning and situation of the Spring, which ought to be unbent when the Lead toucheth the bottom, and how the wooden Bowl is disengaged from that of the Lead. But suppose, that the Lead remaining at the Bottom of the Water, the light Body should Ascend, and that the Time of the Descent and Ascent of these two Bowls together, was well observed, as it is easie to do; besides that one ought to know many things which are yet unknown, to be able to judge of the Depth of the Water.

1. How much Time a Heavy Body requires to descend into the Water, according to such a certain Depth.

2. If it descends with the same Proportion of Swiftneſs as it would do in the Air: I do not say Swiftneſs, but only in the same Proportion of Swiftneſs; for Experience ſhews us, That when a heavy Body falls in the Air, it falls unequal Spaces in the same Distance of Time; as for instance, ſuppoſe it falls twelve Foot for the first Second of Time, in the next Second it will fall thirty ſix Foot, in the third Second it will fall ſixty Foot, and ſo on. By this means one may know the Hight of a Tower, or the Depth of a Well, in letting a Stone fall from the Top, or another heavy Body, and meaſuring the time of its fall with a Pendulum of a String of nine Inches and a quarter long, which ſhall mark the half Seconds; as a String of 37 Inches marks the Seconds, 60 whereof makes a Minute.

This is very near the proportion of the fall of heavy Bodies in the Air, according to the Observations which I have made thereof in times paſt. But to know whether the same Bodies falling into the Water, and in the Water of the Sea, and if they keep the same proportion, is the difficulty; and this difficulty is encreaſed, when a heavier Body than the Water is joyned to the lighter.

We ſhould beſides this, know when a light Body aſcends from the bottom of the Water unto the top, in what proportion of Time and Swiftneſs it mounts. For to aſſert that 'tis the same as that by which it deſcends in the Air, which I have now expounded, is what will never be determined. And tho', for my own Curioſity, and that of Father *Merſenne*, I have in times paſt made ſeveral Experiments, to know if a Dart perpendicularly ſhot by a Bow, would deſcend in the

ſame equality or proportion of Time and Swiftneſs in which it mounted; and if a Bomb or an Iron Ball as big as one's Fiſt, caſt by a ſmall Mortar, would take more or leſs time to fall in, than it would to mount by the violence of the Powder, I can determine nothing on't, if I did not again make the ſame Experiments ſeveral times; tho' I remember there was but little difference betwixt the one and the other, and that the time of the natural Deſcent of Arrows was to their Aſcent, as 7 is to 5: But for the Bullet of a Canon or Mortar, we judged that it deſcended almoſt with the ſame Impetuofity as it mounted; and to inform our ſelves the better, we overturned the Mortar, and put it's Britch upwards, ſhooting into the Ground, and we found that the Bullet ſunk but a little deeper by the violence of the Powder, than it did by its natural force, when it fell on the Ground. This proportion of ſwiftneſs of a Body mounting and deſcending, being not yet given by Mr. *Hook*, nor known by the Experience which is related thereof, which marks but the time of the Motion of theſe two Bodies together, to wit, the Deſcent of the heavy joyned with the light, and the mounting of the light alone, there remain ſtill many Things to be known, before any uſe can be drawn from this Invention.

Beſides, it is not a new Invention. For ſeveral have written, that for to ſound the depth of the Sea, one needed only to take a Lead of eight or nine Inches long, made into a Cone or a figure like a Horn, at the top of which there muſt be tyed a Spike of Iron about the length and thickneſs of a Finger, a little inclined upon the Lead. So that this Machine may repreſent a Figure of Seven, whoſe long Leg is a weight of Lead, and the Spike of Iron the Head. If in this Spike there is a Ring well faſtned to a wooden Bowl, and this Machine is caſt into the Water, as ſoon as the Lead comes to touch the Earth, it muſt fall, not being able to keep up, being pointed at the end like a Sugar-loaf, and the wooden Bowl being raiſ'd up by the Water will make its Ring to diſengage from the ſmall Iron Spike, and then it will aſcend with ſuch proportion of ſwiftneſs as I believe to be unknown. Thus without other Artifice, one may, it ſeems, do the ſame thing, ſuppoſing the bottom was firm, and that there ſhould be no Veſſel.

As for the other Invention, of drawing Water from the bottom of the Sea, it is ſo darkly expounded, that it can ſcarcely be underſtood; one muſt gueſs that there were Pails at the two Handles, that they were moveable, and made like a Spring. But without all this ado, I have done the ſame thing before now, with a Braſen Pamp of about a foot long, which I let fall into the Sea with a Cord, and which had the ſame effect as your Pail with its Lead and all its Apparel; for the lower Pipes opened themſelves in deſcending, and ſhut themſelves in aſcending, and brought up Water from the bottom of the Sea.

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But I have always found this Water Salt, for five or six Fathom deep, having made no Experiment lower. And certainly if Experience and good Physicks were consulted, the Sea should be more Salt in the bottom than at the Surface, seeing the Salt being more heavy than the Water, it wou'd stay at the bottom, and the lightest and sweetest wou'd always rise uppermost, as we see by the Rain, by Lemicks, and by all sorts of Evaporations; and I do not believe that one can doubt of this. For the Authority of *John Hugh van Linschoten* a Hollander, which says, in Chap. 6. of his Voyages (that writ in his own Tongue, not in English) That in the Isle of *Baharem*, which is in the *Persian Gulph*, there is fresh Water found four or five Fathom below the Salt. We shou'd doubt this to be Matter of Fact, had it not been related by this Author. For he knows it not by Experience, and relates it by Hear-say, as he doth many other false Things; were it nothing but what he saith of the Tomb of *Mahomet*, whom he pretends to be in a Coffin of Iron suspended in the Air, by a Vault of Stones made of Loadstone, which all the World knows to be false.

But tho' fresh Water shou'd be found at the bottom of the Sea near the Isle of *Baharem*, four or five Fathom under the Salt Water, it follows not that one should find it elsewhere. For the cause related by *Texeira*, in his Relation *De los Reyes de Harmuz*, where he saith, That the Isle of *Baharem* hath much Water, whereof the best is that of certain Wells, very deep in the midst of the Isle; and that there are great Veins of pure and fresh Water which spring in the next Sea, where the Divers go for it above three Fathoms, or thereabouts; and that they are of Opinion, these Fountains were in times past in firm Ground pretty far from the Sea, which hath since covered them. So you see that it is a Fact altogether particular; from which we ought to not conclude, That under 4 or 5 Fathoms of Salt-Water, there is commonly sweet Water found; but only by such Causes, or by the Springing up of some Rivers which are lost under Ground, and come out into the Sea by Subterranean Channells, which are sometimes to be found.

An Extract of an English Journal, Communicated by Mr. Hook; how to cause a Plano-convex Glass of a small Sphere, to retort the Rays of the Sun upon a Focus of a greater distance than its Convexity requires.

TAKE two Glasses, whereof the one is perfectly flat on both sides, the other of one side only, and Convex of the other of what Sphere soever, so that the flat Glass may be a little larger than the other. Afterwards take a Ring of Brass made very

round, in which you must cement these two so that their Superficies may be exactly parallel, and the Convex side of the Plano-convex Glass may be turned inward, yet without its touching the flat Superficies of the other Glass. Being thus well cemented in the Ring all round, pour into a little hole that must be at the brim of the Brass-ring some Oyl of Turpentine, Spirit of Wine, Salt and acid Liquors, &c. and having filled the empty Space which is betwixt the two Glasses, stop this hole with a Vice, and according to the different refraction of the Liquors put betwixt the two Glasses, the Focus of this Prospective shall become either longer or shorter.

Mr. *Hook* adds, That he wish'd he had examined a Tryal, among several which may be made, upon the possibility of making a Glass wrought in a little Sphere to serve a Prospective of a very great length; tho' for fear of promising too much, he ought to add, That among the Spherick Objects those which are greatest, and whose Matter hath a greater Refraction, are the best.

It's long since that Mr. *Hook* propos'd to Mr. *Azout* this Problem, to lengthen the Focus of Prospectives. Mr. *Azout* gave them a general Solution of it for every length given, by the disposition of a second Glass, whose Figure he determin'd; as may be seen in his Letters, printed by *J. Cusson*, and whereof mention was formerly made in the French Journals. But Mr. *Hook* having inform'd him, that the Invention which he had found was very different from what was before thought upon; Mr. *Picard*, very understanding in these sorts of Matters, propos'd about five Months ago, the means of lengthning the Focus of Prospectives by Liquors, after the same manner as hath been seen in the Journal of *England*. Notwithstanding, the Glory of this Invention is always due unto Mr. *Hook*, who hath had the first Thought thereof. It's true, there will not be much use drawn from it; yet it is very Fine and Curious.

An Extract of a Letter written from Oxford, May 12. 1666. by Mr. Wallis; and inserted in the Journal of England, about a Visit to a dead Body struck with Thunder.

THERE was here a frightful Thunder the 10 of May, wherewith two Scholars, who were alone in a Boat without a Water-man, were unhappily struck, and cast out of the Boat into the Water. One of them was killed out-right, and tho' he was taken out of the Water, where he scarcely stay'd one Moment, yet there appear'd no mark of Life, Sense or Motion in him: The other was very well, yet fallen down in the Boat, without being able any way to help himself, and as immoveable as a Stake; but there

there appeared no Wound in his Body; and all the harm he had, was, that he remained so troubled in himself, that he could not remember how he fell into the Water; and whether it was the Thunder or some Lightning which was the cause. He remained in this State the Night following, and I know not what became of him since.

As for him who dyed, as soon as he was drawn up, we endeavoured to bring him to Life by all manner of Remedies, but all was in vain. Therefore he was brought the next Day Morning into the City to be Buried. Dr. Willis, Dr. Mellington, Dr. Lower, and I, had the Curiosity to visit this dead Body, to remark the Particularities thereof.

We found no considerable Wound in all the Skin. His Face and Neck were black and livid; on the right side of his Neck there was a small blackish Spot an Inch long, and a quarter of an Inch large at most, like unto a mark made as if it had been with a hot Iron, an Inch long and a quarter of an Inch broad; there was another a little bigger, I think, on the other side of his Neck under the left Ear; and below on the left side of his Breast, there was a place which was about nine Inches long and two Inches broad; in some places more, in others less, which appeared burnt, dry, and like the Skin of a roasted Hog: On the fore-part of the left Shoulder, there was such another Spot almost of the breadth of a Six-pence, yet it was not so black nor so much marked as that of the Neck; from the top of the left Shoulder downwards towards this part of the Breast, there was a little place of the Skin which was, as it were, broiled, as if by that something entred into the Neck, which went down towards the Breast, and which afterwards extended further.

The most part of his Buttons were carried away, the Neck of his Doublet was broken in two, just before the left Shoulder, and in some places the Stuff of his Doublet appeared as if it were cut off or taken away by a blunt Instrument, but the Fashion with which it was lined, did not appear to be broken.

His Hat was strangely torn round about the edges; there was among other things on the Side, a Hole big enough to put ones Fist through. There were in other places deep Cuts to be seen, which appear'd to be made by an obtuse Instrument. As for the rest of the Cloaths we perceived nothing more, and they had no smell of Brimstone.

The following Night we open'd the Head, where we found no sign of Contusion. The Brains were intire and in a good State, the Nerves whole and without any hurt, the Veins and Arteries sufficiently full of Blood, so that none of the Company could say any thing against it. It is true, that this was done by a Candle, and that each part could not be examined with all the exactness which could be wished for, partly because of the Concourse of People, partly

because the Body was to be buried a little Time after: Notwithstanding, I believe if there had been a considerable Defect among so many Spectators some one would have discovered it. There were some who imagined to see a little Cleft on the Scull, and those who held him whilst it was sawed, said, That then they had felt some crackling, but it was such a small Business that nothing certain could be known of it by the Candle.

On the right-Temple were seen some Hairs, manifestly burned, and the lower part of the Ear was a little blacker than that which was round about the upper part of the left Shoulder; and the left Side of the Neck was yet Blacker than the rest of the Body, yet without driness, as if this Colour had not been caused but by the sediment of Blood.

After having thus examined the Head, the Breast was opened; and it was found that the Burning traversed almost the whole Skin, which was scorched in these Places, hard and like a Horn: Yet there appeared nothing else under the Skin. The Muscles were in their natural situation, and had lost nothing of their ordinary Colour. The Lungs and the Heart, which we afterwards drew out of the Breast, had their ordinary Colour, and seemed nothing altered.

This is what was chiefly remarked: To which I shall add, That in the Night the Body swelled much more than it did in the Morning, and that it had a strong and stinking Smell; which, notwithstanding might come from the Heat of the Weather, and the multitude of People which was continually in the Chamber.

We have carefully related all the Particulars of the Visit of this Body, because it being made by several most Learned and Experienced Physicians, it may serve for a certain Ground, to reason upon the Nature and the Qualities of Thunder.

An Extract of an English Journal: An Experiment to examine what Figure and Swiftness of Motion Produces, or Augments Light and Flame.

THis Experiment was communicated by Doctor Beale as follows.

The fifth of May 1663. fresh Mackarels were boyled in Water with Salt and fine Herbs, and when the Water was cooled very well, the Mackarels, the next Day, were left in the Water to be seasoned.

On the sixth, other Mackarels were boyled, which were fresher, in a like Water, and on the seventh both the Water and Mackarels were put with the first Water, and with the first Mackarels. I relate particularly all these Circumstances, because whether it be the Mixture of the Pickle, made after one another, or something else that was necessary

necessary was wanting, the Experiment succeeded not another Time with the same Trial.

On *Monday* the eighth, towards the Evening, the Cook moving the Water, to take some of the Mackarels out, observed, That at the first Motion it became very luminous, and the Fishes shining through the Water much encreased the Light, although this Water, by reason of the Salt and Herbs, which they had boyled in it, was rather Thick and Black than of a Clear and Transparent Colour; notwithstanding, being moved, it was Luminous, and the Fishes appeared through it altogether whole, and very shining.

Where-ever Drops of this Water fell, they shone after they had been moved, and the Children took Drops in their Hands, as large as a Penny, and carried them up and down the House; and the Lustre of this Light made each Drop shew far and near, as large as a six Penny-piece.

That Side of the Fish that was downwards was turned upwards, but there came no Light from it; and after the Water had rested long enough, it shined no more.

Tuesday Night we began the same Experiment again, and we saw the same things. The Water shewed no Brightness before it was stirred, and it appeared even obscure and thick in the Day as well as by Candle: But so soon as a Hand was put into it, it began to shew Bright. When it was strongly stirred it shined so that those who looked upon it at some Distance from thence, even as far as the other End of the Chamber, thought it was the Light of the Moon which came in at the Window upon a Vessel full of Milk: And when it was stirred round more swiftly, it seemed to be a Flame, and there was a great Brightness both within and without these Fishes, but chiefly about the Throat and some other Places, which seemed to be broken in Boiling.

I took a bit thereof, which shined most, and adjusted it the best I could, in the Night, to my great Microscope, and then to another that was less; but I could not find any Light by the means of these Instruments, neither in this Bit, nor in any of the Drops of Water, which shined before, and which I had put into Glasses.

The tenth of *May* I examined a little Bit of this Fish, with my great Telescope, at the brightest Beams of the Sun, which shined most of the preceeding Night, but we remarked nothing considerable. Its Surface seemed whitish and dry with deep Inequalities; and the rest, as well as I, thought they saw a Vapor, rather obscure than luminous, which raised from this Fish after the manner of small Dust and small Sparkles, which were almost imperceptible; notwithstanding we are very certain of having seen them, for we reckoned them, and we all agreed in their Number, their Order and their Place; yet I am not so assured of this Vapor, whereof I have spoken, but that I am afraid the Light of the Sun deceived us,

and that this Vapor was the Dust of the Air.

Having made Trial, in the Day, with a great Microscope, upon this Bit, we examined it at Night, but it gave no more Light, whether it was looked upon with Glasses or otherwise.

Seeing it was dry, I thought, that by wetting it with Spittle and handling it, I could make it shine a little, which also happened; but this Lustre lasted not long, and besides, there were seen some small Sparkles, which disappeared immediately: We perceived them with our Eyes, without making Use of Spectacles.

The Fishes as yet had no ill Smell, and had not lost their Savour, according to the Judgment even of the most delicate Palates; therefore I caused two to be kept, to make other Experiments two or three Days afterwards, when they should begin to be corrupted, hoping to find more Light therein; but I found nothing of what I expected, neither in stirring the Water, nor in drawing out the Fishes.

An Extract of an English Journal, containing divers Experiments about Petrification.

THough there hath been already much written of the manner how Stones are formed, notwithstanding we have not as yet a perfect History; therefore the Curious ought to apply themselves to this matter, to perfect it, and to discover the Cause of this Transmutation; for besides other Advantages which might be drawn from this Knowledge, it would be of great Use to hinder a Stone from generating in Human Body, or to dissolve it when it is formed.

To this End there has already been given, in divers Places of the English Journal, several Relations touching this Matter, as the History of a Monstrous Calf, which was found in the Belly of its Dam, laid upon a great Stone, which weighed more than twenty Pounds: As also that a certain sandy Earth in *England* converts into a Stone such Wood as is put therein, although there is no petrifying Spring in it. There is also mention made of two Stones which were found in the left Ventricle of the Earl of *Belcarras*, one of which was of the bigness of an Almond, and the other was one Inch broad and two in length. Mr. *Boyle* relates in his *Essay of Firmness*, several such Histories, upon which he makes very curious Reflections. There are also several other Examples in the Micrography of Mr. *Hook*, and in the Book of *Helmont*, entituled, *De Lithiasi*; where, among other things, he relates what *Parvus* saith of a Child petrified, that was to be seen formerly at *Paris*, and which served for a Whetting Stone to him that kept it. There might several other Histories

Histories be added, still more surprizing, if they were suspected, as that of an entire Company of Men, and of a Company of Beasts, which, according to the Relation of *Aventinus* and *Purchas*, were converted into a Stone; and what *Acofta* speaks, of a Company of Spanish Cavaliers, to whom a like Accident happened.

Dr. *Beale* tells us, upon this Subject, That there was an Inspection about the Time of *Easter* into the Matrix of a Woman, whence a Stone was drawn, which she carried for eight or nine Years with unsufferable Torments, of which she was since entirely well cured. He assures, That he hath seen the Stone, and that having then weighed it in excellent Ballances, he found it weighed near four Ounces, but that its Weight is since a great deal diminished, and is become very Light for a Stone of the Bigness. He adds, That it is of a whitish Colour, a little clearer than that of Ashes: He believes it is not much different from that which *Scaliger* speaketh of, and after him Mr. *Boyle*, in his *Essay of Firmness*, which being exposed to the Air, became like Plaister, as much in Consistence as Colour. It hath no considerable unevennesses, and its Figure is almost Oval, but one of the Ends is not so much like a Hen's Egg as the other, which is bigger and more obtuse than that of a Goose-Egg. This Stone is now given to the Royal Society, with the Certificate of the Chirurgion who made the Operation, and of several credible Persons, who were present thereat.

Micrographia: or, some Philosophical Descriptions of minute Bodies, made by Magnifying Glasses, with Observations and Enquiries thereupon by R. Hook, Fellow of the Royal Society; in Fol. Lond.

ONE of the greatest Obstacles which is in the Progress of Natural Science, is, that the Ancients being entirely taken up to perfect Reason, have neglected the Knowledge of the Senses, having rather chosen to guess the most part of things, than to see them. Notwithstanding, as the Soul knoweth nothing, but by the Interposition of the Organs of the Body, the Operations of the Senses serve not less to acquire a perfect Knowledge of Nature than those of the Mind; and they are even more necessary, that the Wisdom of God being infinitely above the Reach of our Imagination, it is more easie to know what it hath done, than to imagine what he hath been willing to make.

To remedy this Defect, the Moderns having endeavoured to perfect the Operation, of the Senses, particularly that of Sight, which is the most necessary of all, as it is the noblest, have invented two kinds of Glasses,

the Telescope, to draw near the Objects, which are invisible because of their Distance; and the Microscope, to magnifie those which are imperceptible, because of their Smallness. And with these two Instruments they have discovered more things in a few Years, than the Ancients had done with all their Reasons for the Course of many Ages. By this means all Nature has appeared New unto us. For the Telescope hath shewed us in the Firmament new Motions, new Stars, and new Meteors: And the Microscope hath discovered unto us, upon the Earth, a little World, altogether new, and hath made us perceive in each thing an infinity of small Creatures, which are not less admirable than all those which have been known hitherto.

The Ingenious Mr. *Hook* having made several curious Observations with both the one and the other of these Instruments, but particularly with the Microscope, hath gathered them together, and communicated them to the Publick in this Book, which he hath entituled *Micrography*, to wit, a description of small Bodies, because he principally examines what is least in Nature.

He begins with the Point of a very fine Needle, which though it seems imperceptible, appears by the Microscope, which he made use of, as large as the fourth part of an Inch. The Extremity of this Point does not terminate in a Cone, as People imagine, nor is it round or flat, but obtuse, unequal and irregular, and resembleneth a Pin, whose End is broken. Moreover its Sides are not even, as our Eyes do represent them unto us, but knotty and full of little Cavities and Risings.

He saith also, That having considered, with his Microscope, the Edge of a Razor, well set, it appeared as thick as the Back of a Penknife, and observed several Teeth in it. That the Surface of a Looking-glass, well polished, appeared to him, before the Sun, to be full of Rays, and composed of an infinity of unequal Bodies, which reflected a Light of several different Colours. And that the best made Points, which serve in printed Books, at the separation of Periods, appear like uneven Ovals, and not rounder than Chestnuts. And it is not to be wondred at, because the Files, the Stones and other Things, which are used to polish or to make round, being composed of unequal Parts, they must also of necessity leave several inequalities on the Surface of those Bodies upon which they act.

He also examined some very fine Linen-Cloath, whose Threds, through the Microscope, appeared unto him as great as Ropes; and he hath observed, That that which renders those thin Cloaths so transparent, is, That there are many Holes betwixt the Thred, almost like to the Bars which are put in the Grate of a Window. He found out, That the Waves which appear in divers Stuffs, upon the highest Parts, cause a different Reflection of Light; and he remarked, That in the Syphons and Tears

of Glafs : There were feveral curious Things, which the brevity of this Journal will not permit to relate.

After having fpoken of the Works of Art, he comes to thofe of Nature, to which the Microfcope is much more advantageous than to the others : For there is this difference betwixt them, That the Works of Art being always very imperfect, and will be only feen afar off, and the more exactly they are confidered, the more Defects are found in them : But as the Works of Nature are the Effects of an infinite Wifdom, they do not fear to be examined, and always appear the more admirable as they are the nearer lookt upon. Mr. *Hook*, in this Treatife giveth feveral Descriptions thereof, of which there is none but what is furprizing ; but as they cannot all be related here, I fhall only remark fome of the moft Curious.

1. He describes the Foot of a Fly, and expounds how thefe fmall Animals can fufpend themfelves upon the top of a Ceiling, and thus to walk without falling. Some have believed, that their Feet were full of a sticking Moisture, by means of which they adhere to whatever they touch ; but the true Reason is, as it hath been found out by the Microfcope, That Flies have at the End of each Foot two Talons, which eafily enter into the leaft Pores of all Sorts of Bodies ; and moreover the Soles of their Feet are covered with an infinity of little Points, like to the Combs of Carders, with which they eafily ftick to the leaft inequality of the moft polifh'd Bodies.

There is nothing uglier than a Lowfe, and yet the manner wherewith it is represented unto us by a Microfcope, is as curious as this Infeft is hedious in it felf. Mr. *Hook* hath drawn the Figure of it with the Microfcope, becaufe it being a Foot and a half long, it fheweth better than others how far this Inftrument can enlarge Objects.

2. A Lowfe hath two Eyes placed behind its Horns, quite contrary to other Animals ; for as it hath no Eye-Lids, the Hairs through which it paffeth, would hurt its Sight continually. It feems to have fome Appearance of Chops. Its Paws are covered with a Shell, as that of Lobfters, and have two Talons, with which it grappleth the Hair, when it walks on the Head. It hath upon its Breaft a light transparent Substance like unto Horn, and upon its Belly a Skin spotted, through which may be feen, that the white Spot, which perhaps is the Liver of this Infeft, is agitated with a continual Motion. Mr. *Hook* having fhut up in a Box one of thefe Animals for two Days, without giving him any thing to eat, and having afterwards put it upon his Hand, this Infeft thruft its Snout into the Skin, without feeming to open any Chop, and immediately a little Torrent of Blood was perceived, which paffed directly and fpeedily from its Snout into its Belly by means of a kind of Pump, which feemed to be the Heart or the Lungs. Through the Scale of

the Breaft were plainly feen feveral Veffels, which fwelled up with this Blood, which was carried and diftributed into divers Parts. Mr. *Hook* remarks, that the Digestion is made in the Body of this Infeft with a marvelous quicknefs : For the black and thick Blood was feen, whilft it fucked it ; when it was in its Guts, it appeared of a fair red ; and the Part which was diftributed in the Veins, was all white. He adds, that altho' its Snout was not the 25th part as long as Line, and that it did not thruft it quite through the Skin ; yet the Blood was feen to come out not only in the Skin, but even unto the very Cuticle.

3. The Structure of the Sting of a Bee, is not lefs marvelous. It is compofed of two parts, whereof the firft hath feveral Knots or Joints, and befides that feveral Pricks which perfectly refemble the Nails of a Cat, and which the Fly ftretcheth or draweth in as it lifts. The other part is the point of a Sting which is fhut up in the firft as a Sword in its Scabbord, and which is alfo armed on each fide with Nails. It is they which flop the Sting in the Wound which the Fly hath made, and which hinder that it cannot draw it back. But that which chiefly maketh the Pain, is a corrofive and venomous Liquor which is fhut up in the Scabbord, and which being pushed into the Wound gnaweth the Fibres, and caufeth the Inflammation.

4. The Leaf of a Nettle hath much Relation with a Sting. For this Author remarks, that it is covered with very fharp Pricks, whose Bafe, which is a little Sack or Bladder of a flexible Substance, and almoft of the Figure of a wild Cucumber, includeth a fharp and venomous Liquor ; but the Point is of a very hard and ftrong Substance, and hath a hole in the middle, by which this venomous Liquor runs into the part which is prick'd, and excites Pain therein : Which may be eafily perceived with a Microfcope, if one preffeth with a Finger the end of thefe Pricks againft its Bafe : For then through thefe Pricks which are transparent, this Liquor is manifefly feen to mount and to descend, as Mr. *Hook* affures he hath often made Experiment.

5. This Author having examined with the Microfcope feveral of its Hairs, hath found that they were all almoft round. That at the End they were bigger than towards the Root ; that from one End to another they appeared transparent as a Horn ; and that there are no Threds to be feen in their Root, as in that of feveral Plants. He adds, that they are folid, and that he hath difcovered no Cavity in them, no more than in the Bristles of an Hog. But that the Beard of a Cat being cut, hath juft as the Elder-Tree, a large Marrow in the middle ; yet the Weaving thereof is fo clofe, that there can be no appearance of Pores perceived therein.

6. As the Opinions of Philofophers are very different, touching the manner where- by Fire is produced when one ftriketh Fire, this

this Author made several Experiments to find out the Truth of it. Having then for this Design struck Fire upon a leaf of white Paper, he found at the place where the Sparkles were fallen, little black Spots, but Luminous; and having considered them each in particular with a good Microscope, he found that they were little Bowls round and shining, among which there were two different from the others; the one whereof was stuck by one end to little bit of Steel pretty long; the other was but a Blade of Steel very small. Thereupon this Author makes divers Arguments, and lastly he concludes, That these Sparkles are nothing else but Particles of Steel or of a Flint Stone, which are sometimes made red, sometimes melted, and even often vitrified, according to the different degrees of Heat, which Motion produceth. And to confirm this Opinion, he after having made some File-dust of Steel to pass over the Flame of a Candle, he saw shining Particles fall from them like unto Sparkles of a Flint, only that they were a little bigger.

7. But there is nothing more admirable, nor which better shews the Excellency of a Microscope, than what this Author saith of Mouldiness. It was never thought that it was a heap of small Plants, and that all the Things which appear mouldy, were as so many small Meadows enamelled with divers Flowers. Some had round Buttons, and which seemed not to be opened; others were half Budded; some were altogether Flowered; and there were some whose end appeared to be broken, as if they had begun to cast their Flowers. Tho' they were very near one another, each had its Root apart. Their Stalks were red, long, cylindrick and transparent. Their Substance was very tender, and almost like that of Mushrooms; for in touching them with a Pin they broke easily, and being put to the Flame of a Candle three or four times, they remained whole. As for their Odour it was strong and unpleasant, as well as their Taste.

8. A Flea hath six Legs, which hath three Joynts each, whose Disposition is altogether different. For the Joynts of the two fore Legs enter and are entirely trust into one another; those of the Thighs of the middle have their Extent quite separate; but the hind Thighs have their Joynts folded upon one another as the Leg and Thigh of a Man. When the Flea leaps, it stretcheth at the same time all its Legs, and its different Joynts coming to unbind together as so many Springs, cause this Leap, which some have attributed to Imaginary Wings.

9. It is wonderful to see the quantity of small Pores, which the Microscope discovers in a Coal. They are disposed in order, and white all over, so that there is no Coal, how long soever it is, through which one may not blow; and if a bit of it is broken a little short, the Light is seen through with a Microscope. Their number is so great, that in a rank, the 18th part of an Inch

long, Mr. Hook hath reckoned 150. whence he concludes, that in a Coal of an Inch Diameter, there ought not to be less than five Millions, seven hundred, fourscore and four thousand. It is to this great quantity of Pores, that he attributes the blackness of a Coal: For he saith, when a Body hath many Pores in which the Light is not reflected, it appears necessarily black; whereas Blackness is nothing else but a privation of Light, or a defect of Reflection.

10. He saith, that the other Senses may be perfected even as the Sight, by Instruments like unto a Microscope, he pretends he has already made several Experiments of it which have succeeded with him.

11. He makes an Infinity of fine Remarks about Colours, Light, the Moon and the Stars, &c. which I should relate, if I had not already enlarged upon this Book much more than usually: But as it contains many curious Things, I thought the World would be glad to have an ample Extract thereof in this Journal.

An Extract of an English Journal, containing some Curious Observations made by means of the Microscope.

IN a late Journal we have spoken at large of the Observations which Mr. Hook made with the Microscope. Mr. Lewenhock imparts now those which he hath made with the same Instrument.

1. He examined certain yellow Grounds of *England* and *Flanders*, near the City of *Tournay*, whereof *China* is made, and he found that it was composed of several small Globes a great deal less than the least Grains of Sand. Those of the Earth of *Flanders*, were less than those of the Earth of *England*; but he observed yet less near *Esphen*, whereof they make pretty strong Pots, and which is easily changed into Glas. This Ground cannot be used to make *China*, because it is too red; but it is good, being mixed with the two other Earths whereof we have spoken. This Earth is not so pure as the others, it is mix'd with other parts which it seems are of rotten Wood, and Particles of Sand.

2. He found that in the white of the Eye of a Beef there were some little Globes. That the Crystallin was also composed as round Scales laid upon one another; and that these Scales were composed also of small Globes. He discovered the Vitriol Humour was much fuller of little Globes than the Watry Humour. The Cartilage being dryed, he saw also that it was composed of Crystallin little Globes very even among themselves; and if this Membrane suffers some Separation, it seems to him as if it was wet. These little transparent parts appear white when they are laid upon one another, as Crystalling appears white when it is dry or broken.

broken, and appears so no more when it is wet. And he hath found out that all the other Tunicles were also compos'd of even little Globes united to one another.

3. The Optick Nerves in which he hath remarked small Arteries, appeared to him to be compos'd of Threds pretty tender and a little strait. These Threds are likewise compos'd of little Globes.

4. What he hath remarked upon the Sea-Water which is on the side of *Berkelse-Sea*, is also very Curious. The bottom of the Sea is very marshy in that place: In Winter it appears very clear; in the middle of Summer it begins to whiten, and in the midst are seen as it were small green Clouds. Mr. *Lewenhoeck* having filled a Glass with this Cloudy Water, and stirred it, after having let it settle a whole day, hath remarked in it as it were Strings of a Spiral Figure, and thick as Hairs, compos'd of small green Globules, where were also an Infinity of small Animals, round or oval figur'd, which were of different Colour, and moved on all sides, but very slowly, and which appeared a thousand times less than the least of those which are seen in Cheese, Fruits, or in Moldiness.

5. Finally, having exhal'd the Solution of Salt, he found that the Saline Particles were either Round, Pyramidal, or Quadrangular and very polished.

An Extract of an English Journal, containing some Observations made upon the Salts and Oyls of mix'd Bodies.

MR. *Coxe*, who made these Observations, finds much probability in the Opinion of *Vanhelmont*, who saith, That the variety of Brimstone commonly makes the diversity of Species in the Mixt; and that the most considerable Changes are made by the Separation of a Sulphurous Nature, and by the Introduction of a new one. This Brimstone is not a simple Body, but inflammable and in form of Oyl. This Oyl, which is drawn commonly with the Water, includes the principal Qualities of the mix'd. But the Salts, as well fix'd as volatile, restore the Earth and Water to their elementary Simplicity, if they retain not something of this Specifick Oyl. So the fix'd or volatile Salts are different among themselves, but proportionably as they yet retain some mixture of these Oyls.

Let one take some volatile Salt whatever, let it be sublimated in a Vessel of Glass high enough for a gentle Heat, let this Operation be reiterated several times, it shall be found that there still remaineth some Oyl at the bottom of the Vessel, and the Salts being deprived of this Oyl, shall become very homogenous. But because it is hard to rule the Fire so justly, that no Oyl shall be mixed with Salts, they may all be reduced to a certain Simplicity by a more easie way.

Spirit of Salt well rectified, must be poured upon a certain quantity of volatile Salt a little purified. When there shall be no more Ebullition, and that the Salt shall be enough, the Phlegm must be separated from it, which is done with a mild Heat. This Phlegm will carry with it some portion of the volatile Salt. Sublimate what remains, and you shall have good Armoniack Salt. Mix it with an equal quantity of good Alkali Salt well calcin'd, or pour upon it good and strong Grounds of an Alkali, because the volatile Salts do not so well mix with the fixed as the Acids do, the least degree of Heat shall sublimate the volatile Salt deprived of all its Oyl, and by this means all the volatile Salts are reduced to certain common Proprieties.

What all these Artificial Operations do, is yet more easily effected in the Air, which is full of volatile Salts which are sublimated from Subterranean Places, from Plants, from Animals. The Air depriveth these Salts of their Oyl; but being dissolved in the Rain or in the Dew, and carried in Vegetables, they are specified by the other Principles, tho' they may be easily reduc'd by Nature or Art to their first Simplicity.

The same Uniformity is the Spirits that have the taste of Wine, which are nothing but the most subtle Oyl of Vegetables, which are as it were pounded by Fermentation into lesser Branches than the Oyl: For before the Fermentation there is Oyl drawn from it, but not Winy Spirits; after the Fermentation there remaineth a little Oyl; and even after the Fermentation of a Plant, when you draw the Oyl from it, you'll scarcely have any thing of the Winy Spirit. When this Spirit takes with it some part of this Oyl whose Branches remain whole, it puts difference among the Spirits; but when after several Digestions or reiterated Distillations, these oleagenous parts are cut into lesser Branches, or that the degree of Heat which raiseth the Winy Spirits cannot raise those grosser Oyls, what difference soever there was in the whole Bodies, these Spirits became very homogenous; and this is seen in changing the Oyls of Vegetables into a Winy Spirit, which is done in several manners. Put upon an Ounce of the essential Oyl of a Vegetable, two or three Pounds of the Spirit of Wine well dephlegmed; the Spirit immediately, by a simple Agitation, devoureth this Oyl and changeth it in its Nature.

New Experiments drawn from the English Journal.

ONE of the principal Vertues of Salts which are drawn from Plants, is to make the Image of these Plants to revive and appear in all its Beauty. It hath been doubted a long time whether the Thing can be

be done. Some do even as yet doubt thereof: But the Experiments which have been made in *France, Italy, Denmark*, and elsewhere, suffer us no more to doubt on't. Mr. *Coxes* hath lately made some in *England* upon this Subject, and he writeth that having drawn a great deal of Salt of Fern, and dissolved a part thereof by the damp Air, after having dryed it, the rest of the Grounds being filtred became as red as pure Blood. This colour denoted, that there remained many Sulphurous Parts. He put this Solution into a great Vessel or Bottle of Glass, where after it had rested five or six Weeks, a great part of the Salt fell to the bottom and became browner, whereas the upper remained white. And then it was that upon the Surface of this Salt, there was seen to rise up a Fern in great quantity.

When the Fern was burned, it was as yet betwixt dry and green: So the Salt was, as it were, Tartarous and Essential; being dryed by a great Fire it diminished much in Weight, and became whiter, because there had been before some Oyl and some Acid.

Having mixed equal Parts of these Ashes which came from the North, and which are called in English *Por-Ashes*, with Armoniack Salt, there arose immediately a volatile Salt; and some time after he saw appear a Forest of Pines, Deals, and of another kind of Trees, which he knew not.

*An Extract of a Letter of Mr. Hugen
of the Royal Academy of Sciences,
to the Author of the Journal of the
Learned, concerning the Catoptrick
Glass of Mr. Newton.*

I Send you the Figure and Description of Mr. *Newton's* Telescope. As to my Opinion, which you desire to know touching this new Invention, though I have not as yet seen its effect, I think I may say it is Fine and Ingenious, and that it will succeed, provided there be Matter found for the Concave Looking-Glasses, which may be capable of a lively and even polishing, as that of Glass, which I do not despair of.

The Advantages of this Glass, over those wherein nothing but Glass is employed, are first, That the Concave Looking-Glass, though of a Spherick Figure, gathereth much better the parallell'd Beams towards one Point, than our Spherick Glasses do; as this may be Geometrically demonstrated. Whence it followeth, that of two Glasses of the same length, whereof the one shall be of this new manner, and the other an objective Glass as usual; the first bearing a greater opening, may unite much more Beams coming from the Objects, though the little Looking-Glass hindreth

some of them; and yet it may be made to magnifie much more than the other. So that with the half or the third part of the length of the old Glasses, or perhaps less, the usual Effect may be had.

The second Advantage, is, That by this Invention an unseparable Inconveniency of the objective Glasses is avoided, which is the Inclination of both their Surfaces to one another. For though this Inclination is little, yet it hinders the Beams which pass towards the sides of the Glass, and it would hinder still more, if we should make use of Hyperbolick or Elliptick Glasses, which would require greater Overtures.

I reckon for a third Advantage, That by the Reflection of a Metalline Looking-Glass, there are no Beams lost, as in the Glasses which reflect a notable quantity thereof by each of their Surfaces; and besides that, do not intercept one part by the obscurity of their Matter.

And this Matter being also so difficult to meet with the Goodness which is requisite for long Glasses, because for the most part it is not altogether homogenous, is a fourth Advantage of this Catoptrick Glass, that in the Metal there needed no other Goodness but that of the Surface.

Those who have seen Mr. *Newton's* Glass, do observe, that there is a little difficulty to order it towards the Objects. But this may be easily remedied by fastning thereto a Glass which may be exactly parallel to it, by which the Object may first be sought for: It is true that for this there needeth a second Observator, if the Catoptrick Glass is big; because that he that looketh at it, ought to be at the end which is raised on high: But this Incommodity is inconsiderable, considering the usefulness of the Invention. If instead of Spherick Looking-Glasses, there could be had parabolick ones, exactly formed and polished, these Glasses would have the effect which were hoped for from the Ecciptick or Hyperbolick Glasses; and I believe it much easier to succeed in Looking Glasses.

*Experiments about Freezing of Water,
made by Mr. Mariotte, of the Royal
Academy of Sciences.*

AS the Royal Academy make every Winter Observations of the Cold, Mr. *Mariotte*, to contribute to the Design of the Assembly, hath applied himself to examine how Ice is formed; and for that end he hath made several curious Experiments, whose principal ones I shall relate.

EXPERIMENT I.

He put common Water into a Vessel of Brass which was about 8 Inches broad and 6 high, and having exposed it to the Air

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during

during a hard Frost, some time after he perceived, that long Shreds of Ice begun to form, some whereof did go from the Top to the Bottom, others ran across, some more fastened to the Bottom and Sides of the Vessel, and others crossed in divers Places. Afterwards he saw these Shreds to widen into very thin Blades; and having softly poured out the Water, by stooping the Vessel, that so he might the better see the Blades of Ice, which were formed at the Bottom, he found that they all had the Breadth of about three Lines, and that they were separated from one another by equal Intervals, whose Breadth was also about three Lines.

EXPERIMENT II.

The same Vessel having been filled again with new fresh Water, and exposed to the Frost, there formed immediately Ropes and Blades of Ice as before; and afterwards the Blades of Ice, which were at the bottom, grew large by little and little, and composed a continued Ice, which covered all the Bottom of the Vessel. The Blades of Ice which were on the Top of the Water, were also joyned together; but there was about the middle of the Surface of the Water a little Place which froze not, and the Ice was more than an Inch thick when this little Place not frozen. The Water went out by little and little through this Hole, and freez'd round it according as it was spread; so that the Hole became still narrower, and there was made round about it a Rising of Ice, about an Inch high, which formed a little Channel. Finally, the Hole being quite stopped, the Ice some time after broke with a Noise, before all the Water which was in the middle was frozen.

EXPERIMENT III.

To find out what made the Water come out by this little Channel, and what broke the Ice, Mr. Mariotte took a great Glass, of a Conick Figure, and having filled it up with Water, within three or four Lines of the Brim, he carefully considered the Progress of the Congelation. After that small Ropes were formed, and then small Bars of Ice, whereof some were cut like *Parsley Leaves*, and others dented as a Saw, several small Bubbles of Air began to appear at the Bottom and at the Sides of the Glass, and magnified by little and little: Some of these stayed engaged in the Ice, others were loosed and raised up to the Top. The more the Water freezed the more Bubbles were formed; yet the Water came still forth by the little Channel, and as it freezed so it spread: The Ice in fine became so high round about the small Channel, that on one Side it passed the Brims of the Glass, so that the Water ran over it. Then he made another Channel with a Pin at the other Side, where the Ice was less thick, and the Water immediately

went that way. This Channel was renewed from Time to Time, and the first Hole, by which the Water passed no more, was entirely shut up. Afterwards the Water stopped also the second Channel, which was no more renewed; and yet there were Bubbles that were formed in the Water, which was not as yet frozen, and raised unto the Top of the Water. Some time after the second Hole was stopped, he heard the Ice crack, and found that it was cleft at the Top at two Places; that about two thirds of the height of the Glass the Ice above was entirely separated from that which was under, by a Space of about two Lines; and that in the midst of the Ice there was a little Water, which was not yet frozen. He remarked also, That in all this Ice there was an infinite Number of little Bubbles, which ended in a Point, and which extended almost all towards the middle of the Glass; and that at the Place which the Water had frozen last, the Ice was whitish, and a little transparent, almost as Snow.

By these Experiments we judged, That the reason why the Water included in the Ice raised and spreaded at the Top, was, That the Bubbles which were formed, coming to stretch, pressed and pushed it out; that the little Channel had remained a long while without freezing, because the Water which continually passed through it, kept it open: That when the Ice had at last stopp'd this Passage, the Bubbles, whose number always increased, was at last too much press'd, and by the Strife they made to extend themselves, had broke the Ice: That it was also this same Strife, which had made the Ice above to part from that beneath; and that the whiteness of the Ice, which was last formed, happened because there were many of these Bubbles mixed with it.

If it be asked, Whence these Bubbles come? he answers, That they are formed of an Aerial Matter, with which the Water is all full, as is seen by Experiment of the *Void*; for if there is a Glass full of Water put into a Recipient, there are seen many such Bubbles come out of the Water when the Air is pumped: And the same thing happeneth when there is Water put to boyl on the Fire. It will perhaps be said, That in boyling Water these Bubbles come from the Fire: But Mr. Mariotte hath seen several of these Bubbles stay more than six Weeks at the Bottom of a Dish filled with Water, without any notable diminishing in bulk, although the Dish was no more on the Fire, but exposed to a pretty cold Air; whence he concludes, That these Bubbles are not Particles of the Fire. It might also be doubted whether they come from the Matter of the Vessel, or from the Air which is contained in these Pores. This Doubt, which seems pretty well grounded, gave him an occasion of making a curious Experiment: He poured Oyl into a little Vessel, and with the Head of a Pin he put softly a Drop of Water over this Oyl. Having afterwards put the Vessel on the Fire, he

saw

saw no Bubbles come from the Oyl, but he saw a great many come from the Drop of Water: When the Oyl was more warmed, the Drop of Water fell to the Bottom, and Bubbles continued to come from it. But what is wonderful, a little after there fell out a kind of Fulmination, and at the same instant the Top of the Oyl was all covered with Bubbles, whereof some were bigger than the whole Drop of Water. This Experiment made him to judge, That the Matter, of which the Bubbles were formed was contained in the Water, and that it changeth into Air when the Water is frozen, or boyled, or that the Air about it is pumped out, in making the Experiment in the *Void*.

It remains to know how the Bubbles are formed, why they swell, and how the Ropes are made, which appear at the beginning of Freezing; which he also easily expounds, according to the same Principles. He saith, There is a great likelihood that the fluidity of the watry Liquors comes from that their Parts are continually agitated by the Motion of this Aerial Matter, and that this Motion is maintained by Heat; whence it followeth, that when there happeneth a great Cold, this Motion becomes so weak that it can no longer agitate the Parts of the Water, so that they stick to the Vessel, and then they joyn to one another; and thence comes these Ropes and Bars of Ice, which are seen to appear when the Water begins to freeze: Then the Aerial Matter is disingaged from the Water, which freezeth; and as the Spirits of new Wine, being separated from the Gross Matter of the Wine, put themselves into Motion, and make the Wine come out by the Bung-Hole or Break the Barrel, if they have not Passage given them; so this Aerial Matter in dilating makes the Water come out by the little Hole, which remains open, and where this Hole is stopped, it breaks the Ice, which keeps it too pressed. To shew that there is no other Cause of this Rupture, Mr. *Marionne* made the following Experiment.

EXPERIMENT IV.

He put fresh cold Water into the Vessel, which he had made use of in the two first Experiments, and when the Water was altogether frozen above, so that there remained no Channel, he pierced the Ice with a big Pin; there came immediately out a Spout of Water more than two Inches high, which took away the Pin which remained in the Hole. He continued to pierce the Ice from Time to Time, until the water was altogether frozen, and after that he left it exposed to a very cold Air, two Days and two Nights successively; but the Ice burst not, though other Ice which had not been pierced, burst just by it.

EXPERIMENT V.

He was minded to see if there needed many of these Bubbles to break the Ice; and

for that end having set another Water to freeze in the same Vessel, he pierced the Ice from Time to Time: When the Water was frozen almost all over, he drew the whole Ice out of the Vessel, having heated it a little, and left it exposed to the Air, without piercing it any more. A quarter of an Hour afterwards he heard it break, and found it separated into two Parts, almost equal; in each of which there was a Cavity of about an Inch diameter, which was the Space occupied by the Bubbles, and the rest of the Water which remained unfrozen. The Ice was above three Fingers thick, all round about; and yet the Bubbles which were formed of the little Water which remained, did nevertheless break it.

EXPERIMENT VI.

Many Persons have endeavoured to make Burning-Glasses of Ice, but it is hard to succeed, because Ice is commonly imperfectly Transparent. Mr. *Marionne* having judged by the precedent Experiments, That if the Aerial Matter was exhausted, which is in the Water before it was exposed to the Frost, one might have very pure Ice; and he was minded to make a Trial of it: Wherefore he boyled some clean Water upon the Fire, for about the Space of half an Hour, to make the Aerial Matter evaporate, and then exposed it to a very cold Air. Very near this hot Water, he put as much cold into another Vessel, to compare them together: The cold Water begun to freeze before the hot Water had as much as cool'd, and there were formed a great many Bubbles. The hot Water also freezed at last, but the Ice was two Inches thick on all Sides, afore any Bubbles were formed, so that it was perfectly transparent: He put a bit of this Ice into a little Concave Spherick Vessel, and having set this Vessel near the Fire, he made the Ice on one Side to melt by little and little, until it had taken a Convex Spherick Figure: He did as much on the other side, turning the Ice often, and pouring the Water on it from Time to Time, according as the Ice melted. When the Ice had a Convex Figure, pretty uniform, he took it by the two Edges with a Glove, that the heat of his Hand might not so soon melt it; and he exposed it to the Sun. This Experiment had the Success he expected, for in a very short Time, by the Heat of this Ice he made some fine Powder to take Fire, which he had placed in its *Focus* or Point where the Rays met together. It is true, that notwithstanding all the Care which may be taken, it is impossible to make all the Aerial Matter to evaporate from the Water, and to hinder that some Bubbles do not form in the middle of the Ice; yet there is always a considerable Part on't which is perfectly Transparent.

An Extract of a Letter of Mr. Hugen, of the Royal Accademy of Sciences, to the Author of the Journal of the Learned, touching the Figure of the Planet Saturn.

THE last Conjunction of this Planet with the Sun happened the twelfth of *March* past at 22 Degrees 35 Minutes of *Pisces*, and the great Obliquities of this Place from the Zodiack to our Horizon, when it riseth, is the Reason why it was almost three Months before it was seen in a clear Morning; for it was but the fifth of *June* when Mr. *Cassini* observed it the first Time, the Arms of *Saturn* being already visible and large, it was judged they were re-established a long Time before. He remarked also upon the North Side of the *Descus* of *Saturn* a little Tract of Shadow, which agreeth as well as the re-establishment of the Arms, with what is mentioned elsewhere, concerning the Ring with which, I suppose, *Saturn* is surrounded. But because this Hypothesis is chiefly confirmed by the Observations which have been lately made, whereof some have not been as yet published, you will suffer me to relate them on this occasion, with the Reflections I have made thereupon.

In the Year 1671. *Saturn* appeared round, without Arms or Handles, as I had foretold it fourteen years ago, when I published my System; though this happened two Months sooner than I expected, to wit, from the beginning of the Month of *May*. Afterwards an Intermision was perceived in the round Figure, which I had not seen before, and it had been hard for me to do it, having observed *Saturn* but for one Year only, when I writ these Predictions: But you know that as soon as I heard that the Arms were returned, which Mr. *Cassini* observed on the eleventh and fourteenth of *August*, I said, that assuredly he would take them up again in a little Time, which was also found to be true; for about the fourth of *November* the Arms of *Saturn* were so obscure that I doubted whether they appeared as yet, though Mr. *Cassini* assures he had seen them the thirteenth of *December* following, after which the round Figure continued until *Saturn* hid himself in the Beams of the Sun. This last Eclipse of the Arms proveth chiefly the Truth of my Hypothesis, seeing it may well be judged, it would have been hard for me to foresee this second Change so near the first, if I had not known what had been its true Cause. Besides, that the manner it self wherewith the Arms were lost this second Time, was precisely such as I have established in my System; for they were seen to lose by little and little their Brightness, though they remained always large enough to be seen; which was a certain Mark that the Beams of the Sun lighted very obliquely the Surface of the Ring of

Saturn, which was turned towards us, and that at last they lighted no more, but the other opposite Surface. In the Precedent Apparition of the round Figure, from the end of *May* unto the fourteenth of *August*, the Arms were not become invisible for want of being lighted, but because our Sight was very little or not at all raised upon the Surface of the Ring, which the Sun looked upon.

All these Reasons cannot be understood but by those who have taken the Pains to examine attentively what I have written thereof in the System of *Saturn*; and it is for them that I shall adhere yet, that as to the Lines of the Equinoxes or of the round Apparition of *Saturn*, which Line is made by the Interfection of the Ring, and of the Draught of the Orb of this Planet, there have been hitherto no Observations made, which oblige me to place it elsewhere, but at the 20th Degree of *Pisces* and the *Balance*, which is the situation I have given it in Writing the System. Every Time that the Place of *Saturn* meets in these Places of the Zodiack, it ought to appear round and even, it is only two Degrees or thereabouts from it. For the Observations of the last Year, 1671. oblige me to straiten thus these Limits, which I had in Times past established six Degrees; which I had done to save some Observations of *Galileus* and *Gassardus*, whose Prospects have been of less effect than I had dared to suppose them. According to these last Limitations the Appearances of the round Form of *Saturn* ought to last less than by my former Predictions, so that in 1685. it will not be at the beginning of *March* but only at the Month of *July*, about the End of the Appearance of *Saturn*, that he shall be seen to lose his Arms, which he shall recover in the Month of *November*; and so in the Year 1701. it cannot be seen round but in *June*, at the beginning of his Appearance, and from the Month of *August* his Arms will begin to grow again.

Before I end, I shall add, That the Table which I have given of the Motion of the small Moon or Star, which accompanieth *Saturn*, and which turns round about him in sixteen Days forty seven Minutes, hath been hitherto found so conformable to the Observations, that I cannot as yet see whether I ought to add to it or diminish from it.

An Extract of the Registers of the Royal Accademy of Sciences, containing some Observations which Mr. Perrault made concerning two remarkable things which were found in Eggs.

THE first Observation is upon a little Egg, which was found in a great one, and was about as large as a little Olive; it was also of the Form of an Egg, only a little

little longer in Proportion than Eggs commonly are ; but the End which is the sharpest in Eggs , was so much more in this : When it was first found in the big one, which inclosed it, it had no Shell ; it was only covered with a hard and thick Membrane, which became hard in a very small Time as the Shell of all Eggs. The Matter wherewith it was filled was not Yellow, as it is common in other Eggs, but White and Serous, such as is that of Eggs which are found in an Ostrich, when she is near laying, or such as are those that are Barren and Corrupted.

Another Observation is, of an Egg, in which a Pin was found inclosed ; and the Place by which it got in was not to be seen. This Pin was covered with a whitish Crust, of the thickness of the third Part of a Line, which gave it the Form of a Bone of a Frog's Thigh. Under this Crust the Pin was Black and a little Rusty.

The great Number of Examples which we have of the easie Penetration which Living Bodies are capable of suffering by the Dilatation of their Pores, may make it credible, that the Small Egg entred the Covering of the Great one without Difficulty, notwithstanding the little Disposition which its blunt Figure gave it for penetrating ; and that the Pin passed through the Body of the Hen without wounding her, though its pointed Figure was very capable of doing it.

It appears that the insensible Motion of Things which are pushed by little and little produceth these two marvelous Effects. It is seen, that the Parts of the Plants, although blunt (such as the Points of Sparrow-grass) penetrate the most hard Earth by the slow Strife they make ; and there are Persons who thrust sharp-pointed Pins up to the Head in their Arms and Legs, without Pain, because they are used to it by little and little. It seems, nevertheless, That nature finds more safety to make blunt things pass, which are capable only of dilating the Pores of Living Bodies, than those which by their Figures are more sharp ; and this is seen by the Care it hath to make, as it were, a Case to the Point of a Pin, which we speak of. And we have, moreover, observed a like Providence in the Dissection of a Duck, in whose Ventricle we have found a great Knot of Ribbons, made of Thred and Gold-Lace, which being a Weaving of small Bars of Metal, capable of tearing the Skin of the Ventricle and Intestines, each Bar was covered as with a little Leather, which took the Roughness away ; yet we have further remarked in the Ventricle of an Ostrich, That two coyned Pieces, which it had swallowed, seemed only to have been kept a long Time, and were not covered with this Crust, so much as in the very Places of their Cavity, because perhaps these Pieces of Metal were not capable of hurting the Body their Figure ; there being some Reason to believe, That things which hurt the Parts by their asperity, make a Salt come

out capable of causing the Coagulation of the Humour, whence this Crust is produced.

Howbeit the Examples of Penetration, which blunt Bodies may make, and the Histories which we have of this Nature, about Bodies swallowed and entred, by Places where there is no apparent opening, render this Thought probable, That the little Part, which was found harder about the Point than the Film of an Egg is, ready to descend into the Channel called *Oviductus*, might penetrate these Films, being pushed on softly and insensibly.

An Extract of an English Journal, containing some very Curious Remarks made by Dr. Grew, about the Structure and Vegetation of Plants.

THE First of these Remarks is, That in Plants there are organick Parts, somewhat like those of Animals ; so that according to him one may say, they have Entrails, a Heart, a Liver, &c.

2. That all the Entrails are not of the same kind, but that they contain divers Liquors, and that the Concurrence of two Liquors particularly different, is not less necessary for the Vegetation and Nourishment of Plants than for that of Animals.

3. That the whole Body of a Plant, in respect to its Structure, is like a Piece of Lace, in the same Form as it appears upon the Cushion. The Substance of the Liver and the Parts which are about it, are like so many small Threds ; those which are near unto the Heart turn on both Sides, and form divers little Bladders of the Barks, like to small Threds that are turned and moved in making Lace, and cause the little Holes which appear in it.

4. That the Juice supplying the Place of Blood in Plants, there is a continual Profusion made on't, and a Circulation very much like the Blood in Animals.

5. That the Motion of the Air in Plants is not less necessary for their Vegetation than the Motion of the Juice ; that it enters into it by the Trunk, and particularly by the Root, from whence it is distributed into all the Parts of the Plant.

6. That the Juice is not always the same, that it is at first like Oyl, afterwards like Milk ; and that it is apparent from the grossest Parts of the Juice, which are thus found, the Matter of Rosin and Gum are produced upon the Body of Trees.

7. That the Motion of the Juice ascends up to the Top of the Branches by the newest Fibres, which compose the last Circle which is formed in the Body of the Tree ; and he pretends, That there are so few of them in the oldest Fibres ; that it may be said they are rather filled with a kind of Vapour than a true Liquor : Notwithstanding,

ing as this Vapour moistens the sides of these old Fibres, yet it doth not nourish them; and it is for this Reason that Onions and other such like Roots, being only plac'd in a moist Air, encrease and grow.

An Extract of a Letter written from Florence, concerning a prodigious Fire in the Air.

AN Hour after Sun-set, there appear'd in the City of *Florence*, in *Tuscany*, so great a Brightness, by the means of a prodigious Fire which run in the Air, that it was thought, by a new Miracle, the Day would re-appear. Every one spake as he thought of this new Prodigy, and gave it a Name according to his Fancy. Some affirm'd they had seen a Flying Dragon which vomited Flames, and heard his Hissings; others call'd it a Column, a Beam, or a great Club of Fire; others gave it the Name of a Fatal Comet, which foretold very great Misfortunes. But intelligent Persons agreed, that in the middle Regions of the Air there was seen, at the beginning, a little whitish Flame like unto a little Cloud, which immediately darkned the Moon, and which kindling still stronger, became in a little time of a considerable greatness and thickness.

It's Course lasted not long. It first appeared under *Arcturus*, thence running with a surprising Impetuosity against the Motion of the first *Mobile*, and whistling after a frightful manner it came to the vertical Circle, and travers'd the *Zodiack* under the Lines of the *Lobsters* and *Gemini*; but coming at the right Shoulder of *Orion*, it fell into a Cloud which was at the West, as if it had been entirely quenched, there was no more Fire nor Brightness seen; but during the Space of eight Minutes a great noise was heard, much stronger in some places than in others, and which might pass for an Earthquake.

This Prodigy ought not to go for a new one in *Italy*; for we find that in the same City of *Florence*, in 1325. a Figure, as it were a Spindle of Fire, was seen to fly at Night in the Air, which was very big. In 1352. there was likewise seen in the Air after Sun-setting, a great Mass of gathered Vapours, which was accompanied with a noise as great as a Thunder-clap. In 1353, and 54. there appeared two more: The first as a great Serpent all in Fire, about one of the Clock at Night; and the other about six at Night, like flying Fire. Finally, in 1557. there appeared in the Air a great Vapour kindled, which was seen throughout all *Italy*, and which was follow'd by three different Noises.

There may be a Physical Reason given for this Meteor, which ought to be put into the number of those which are called burning

Torches. It arose from the great Heat which was at *Florence* about the end of that Winter, which had less of the rigour of this Season than of the mildness of the Spring, and was warmer than usually. For the preceeding Summer having been almost without any warmth, the Exhalations remained spread in the low Region of the Air, not being able to rise up to the middle one. They were balanced and preserved in this first Region by the great Humidity of Autumn. But the last forty days of the Winter having been very dry, as we have already said, there was Heat enough for these Exhalations to be raised higher, where they were easily inflamed, and aided by the violence of the Winds which reigned then, by means of which they made a violent Passage through the Clouds, which inclosed them.

Mr. *Cassini* had Advice that the same Phænomen was seen at *Rome*, at *Genoa* and *Bologne*, and *Imola*, and several other Places, the same Day and about the same Hour that it appeared at *Florence*. The Relation which Mr. *Vittori* hath sent him from *Bologne* upon the Observation which he made of it himself, is almost like to that of *Florence*: But as it specifieth many things which the Relation of *Florence* does not, it will not be unagreeable to give here a little Abridgment of it, which Mr. *Cassini* hath had the goodness to communicate to me.

Mr. *Vittori* observed this Phænomen at *Bologne*, at a quarter past one of the common Clock, which was then an hour and three quarters after Sun-setting. It was as large as the Moon in its full, of the colour of pale Fire, and inclining a little to Green, bright as the Sun when it is among Vapours after Rain, with a long Tail as a sparkling Flame, its Head being a little obscure, as if it were lighted Iron. It had a very quick Motion from the East to the West. It lasted but a Minute of Time, and in less than a quarter of a Minute it passed from the Constellation of *Orion* to *Venus* which was at the West, it augmented in apparent bigness, and made a noise like to that which several Serpents do when they are cast into the Air. Several Persons smelled an odour of Brimstone and Bitumen.

The Tail of the Phænomen was followed with some black Clouds, which afterwards covered the Heaven, and the same Night there hapned a small Rain which was much expected for four Months.

What Mr. *Cassini* finds remarkable in all this, is, that this Phænomen was seen at the same time from *Bologne* and *Florence*, to pass through the Constellation of *Orion*: Whence he conjectures that it was very much raised, yet it could not be said how much, because the Constellation of *Orion* is great, and the Observation of *Bologne* marks not the Star by which it passed, as that of *Florence*, even as the latter telleth us nothing of the Clouds, wherewith the Tail of this Phænomen was followed, as we learn by that of *Bologne*.

An Extract of the Journal of England, containing some new Experiments made and communicated by Mr. Boyle, concerning the Course of the Air weakened, and the Change of Colours which are produced by its Operation, in some Dissolutions and Precipitations.

THESE Experiments are but a Series of the Design which Mr. Boyle had proposed to himself in the Conjectures which he gave us upon some Qualities of the Air which had not yet been observed. The two principal Things which he proposed in these new Observations, are, to discover, 1. If even as the Corruption of some Bodies inclosed in Vessels makes the Air to augment, as he hath already marked elsewhere, so some other Corruptions might not also weaken it by some contrary manner. If in some Dissolutions or Precipitations, the Air might not produce some new Phenomenon, by some Quality which had not as yet been observed.

EXPERIMENT I.

Having taken some Leaves or Dust of pure Brass, and put them into a Cristal Glass of a Conick Figure, into which very good Spirit of Salt had been cast for about the height of three Fingers above the Brass, the Glass was neatly shut with a Stopper which had been made for this effect. Then it was left for some Days upon a Window without stirring it, and some time afterwards was perceived in the Liquor a brown and obscure Colour by the Dissolution of the Brass. But this Colour being vanished, the Liquor appeared like clear Water; which is also a certain considerable Phenomenon; and then taking away the Stopper without troubling the Liquor with any Motion, and giving thus a free access to the exterior Air, the Surface of the Liquor regain'd in a few Minutes its first Colour, and having insensibly penetrated more deeply, all the Body of the Liquor appeared a quarter of an Hour after, coloured after the same manner. The Glass being well restopped, the Menstruum in a few Days lost its Colour; and when it was again unstopped, it retook its first Tincture.

EXPERIMENT II.

The Liquor became more clear than usually in this second Experiment, which was made after the same Method as the first; but the Glass having been unstopped and the Liquor thus exposed to the exterior Air for half an Hour, the Surface of the Liquor was found more coloured than the rest: This perhaps was not because it was exposed to the exterior Air, but because it might be doubted whether the Air had made some

Operation upon the rest of the Liquor, tho' it appeared not at first to try it.

EXPERIMENT III.

The Vessel was stopped, and having left it thus two or three Hours, there was perceived in the Liquor a Colour something like Green, pretty thick, and indifferently transparent, which it lost not, even when it was exposed to the open Air after that the Glass had been unstopped, and that it had been left so 24 Hours. But because they might, in part, attribute this slow and imperfect Success to the Season of the Year, which was a little too late, since 'twas towards the middle of *October*, he made the following Experiment, for better Information.

EXPERIMENT IV.

A little of the strong Spirit of Salt being preserv'd upon the Brass until the Dissolution was come to a Colour intermingled with red and black, he put about three Spoonfuls of it into a Recipient which held eight times as much: The whole having been preserv'd in a *Void* for about half an Hour, kept the same Colour; but the Vessel being open'd, and the exterior Air having free Access, the Dissolution appear'd in half an Hours time turn'd to a very clear and transparent Green, although we saw no precipitation of the Substance disturb'd by the Fæces.

As for the Influence of the Air, and the Knowledge of weakning and diminishing it, by any other Method than that of Cold and Compression, just as we see it encreases by Heat and Dilatation; having often found the Menstruum which breaks and spoils some Metals after such a manner, that it produces small Bottles or Bubbles capable of exciting the Spring of the Air, shut up in Vessels where the Dissolution is made: Mr. Boyle found it worth his Labour to examine, whether in some Metallic Dissolutions, where he only observ'd a few Bubbles almost imperceptible, the Springs of the Neighbouring inclos'd Air might be satisfied. See his Experiments.

EXPERIMENT V.

After having taken some thin Pieces of Brass, and put them with Mercury into a Conic Glass stop'd up exactly with a Clod of Earth, he turn'd so much of the fermented Spirit of Urine upwards, that it swam above to the height of three or four Fingers, and then he carefully clos'd up the Glass. After this he perceiv'd that the Mercury was much depress'd, and the Stoppage having been taken out for the Admission of the exterior Air, he saw that by this entrance of the Air it had a manifest Effect upon the Mercury.

EXPERIMENT VI.

A certain quantity of good Brass, being put into a Conic Glass, with as much Spirit of fermented Urine as will make it swim above the Brass the breadth of a Finger, he stop'd up the Glass very exactly, placing a crooked Pipe about it, wherein there was Mercury after such a manner as it lean'd upon the bottom and sides of the Glass: And they observ'd, that the Quick-Silver was set down in the side of the Pipe seal'd Hermetically; and that the Menstruum began to operate very slowly upon the Brass in a very silent manner, without making any Noise or sensible Bubbles, producing a very agreeable green Colour, which continued so the space of two or three days; but every day afterwards became paler till the Glass was unstopp'd, and the exterior Air having a free Access, the Surface of the Liquor in four or five Minutes time reassumed an agreeable and lively Green, which gently insinuated it self to the bottom, and in ten Minutes space changed into a rich blue Colour which work'd through all the Liquor, and intermix'd it self so with the Green, that in a little time it became very dark. The Glass being unstopp'd again, the Liquor began to lose something of its Colour; this Experiment, after several Repetitions, always produced the same Effect, even during the Night: Without one might attribute it to the Agitation of the Liquor when the Glass is shook, following the Opinion of some, that one might raise a fine and subtle Powder, which being precipitated from the Tincture, and thus mingled again with the Liquor gives it its first Colour.

EXPERIMENT VII.

The strong Spirit of *Sal Armoniac* made without Quick Lime operates also more easily and strongly upon the Brass than Spirit of Urine. An Experiment having been made after the same manner as we just before related, the same Phœnomen was not only observed for Colour, but also that the same Mercury, which was plac'd according to the precedent Experiment, descended, although very slowly, for two or three days in the seal'd side, until it appear'd to be the fourth part of an Inch lower than it was; and probably the descent of Quick-Silver wou'd be greater if the Glass had not been touched, by which the compleating of the Experiment was hindred. The Event whereof, nevertheless, seem'd sufficiently to declare, that the Spring of the Air inclosed in the Concavity of the Glass, and mixing with that which is contained in the open side of the Pipe where the Mercury was, was weak in respect to that which was enclosed, where it could have no Communication, since the Quick-Silver hindreth it on one side, and the Glass that was seal'd Hermetically, on the other.

EXPERIMENT VIII.

The same Spirit of *Sal Armoniac* made without quick Lime, produces the same Effect upon Leaves of Brass; the Glass in which they are both put being stop'd up, the Liquor assumes a gross blue Tincture; which it lost in a little time, becoming pale and almost like common Water; whereas the Glass being open'd, the top of the Liquor appear'd of a perfect Blue in a Moment; and this Tincture was not only dispersed throughout the whole Liquor, but also continued for many days after the Glass was stop'd.

EXPERIMENT IX.

The Experiment being often shew'd to Mr. Boyle, that the Spirit of Vinegar with Minium of Lead, works very gently without producing any Scum, altho' upon Coral and many other Bodies, it causes not only a great quantity of Bubbles, but also a kind of strong Elasticks; He had a mind to prove if this gentle and quiet Dissolution of the Minium wou'd be attended with a permanent changing of the Spring of the Air.

He one day placed the crooked Pipe with the Mercury in a Conic Glass, the bottom of which was cover'd with beaten Coral and stop'd it very carefully, after having pour'd some Spirit of Vinegar upon the Coral; and there appear'd a quantity of Bubbles, which for some little space of time were very considerably produced, as soon as the Menstruum began to operate upon the Coral. But these Bubbles successively dissipated in the concavity of the Glass, and this continual Succession so strongly shut up the Air, that that which was in the seal'd side of the Pipe also felt the Effect. After the Corrosion had ceas'd, and the Compression that this new Air had made became manifestly more feeble, and the Air shut up within the Pipe forc'd its way below the Mercury to a certain Mark, it continued the space of five or six Hours; so that in this Operation, it seem'd as if Nature exercised a double compressive Power. The first might be call'd Transitory and of little duration, through the agitation of Exhalations and Vapours: The other Permanent, by the means of the Air and of the Parts which went out, and were produced from it, excited by the Action of the Spirit of Vinegar upon the Coral.

An Extract of an English Journal. Some natural and remarkable Particularities taken out of a Letter written from Dublin.

WE every day see new Effects of Thunder. But Mr. *Havard* relates one that was not a little surprizing. He says, that in a Vessel that went to the *Barbado's*, the Compass was strangely disordered by a Clap of Thunder, which however touched it not, but threw down one of the Masts, broke the Cords and tore the Sails, so that this Vessel changed its Course and return'd again for *England*, just as they were in sight of *Burmudas*; *Grofton* that commanded, always conducting it by this Compass, in which he cou'd not observe the alteration that was made in the Needle, whereof the position of both ends was chang'd. He had thus continued his Course, if Mr. *Havard*, in the Company of whom he made his Voyage, and whose Vessel had not been injur'd by Thunder, had not recall'd him, and corrected by his Compass the Change that the Thunder had made in those of *Grofton*. But what was yet stranger in this Accident, was, that the new turn which the Thunder had given to all the Needles that were in *Grofton's* Vessel was so strong, that tho' they were turn'd with ones Finger to the first Situation, it wou'd always return with great violence to that Position which it received by means of the Thunder, and these Compasses cou'd never be recover'd.

2. 'Twas observable that there was a notable Change in the Temperature of the Air of *America*, since the *Europeans* went thither, and especially such Places as the English have rendred themselves Masters of: Either it is to be attributed to the Cutting down of the Wood, or the cultivating the Earth, which the Savage Inhabitants took no care of, or to some unknown Cause: As it has happen'd in *Ireland*, which being less cultivated than it was before the late and bloody Wars of *England*, there being fewer People than there was, is however much more Temperate; for it has been sometimes two or three Year without either Snow or Ice during the Winter; whereas before that, it used to be two or three several times in a Winter, and continue fifteen Days or three Weeks together, with so much Violence, that not only the Lakes, but the most rapid Rivers, were covered with Ice.

3. There is nothing more rare than a Horned Beetle. That which is found in the Woods of *Virginia*, has this Particular only proper to it self, That where it tarries upon the Body of a Tree, or ordinarily rests it self, it begins to sing with a very shrill Voice, raising it by little and little with so much force, till all the Wood ecchos with the sound; and afterwards it diminishes

with the same proportion until it makes so gentle a Murmur that it seems almost asleep; and then flying upon another Tree, it begins and ends his Song after the same manner.

4. Those who believ'd it was a particular Quality of the *Thames*, only to recover its natural Sweetness after it has been putrified, and that this wonder is to be met with no where else, know not that the Water of New *London* in New *England*, hath the same Virtue of recovering its first Sweetness after an Insupportable stinking.

5. *M. Josselin* affirms, That the Testicles of the Animals that we call *Musquash*, smells as well as Musk it self; and he pretends to maintain it by Experience.

The Art of Navigation demonstrated by Principles, and confirm'd by many Observations drawn from Experience: By Father Deschalles, &c.

IT cannot be deny'd that the Ancients allow'd the Loadstone to attract Iron: But it is certain they were Ignorant of its propriety in causing the Needle that is touched with it, to turn towards the North and the South. This Wonder of Nature was not observ'd till towards the end of the twelfth Age; and one may affirm, that the true Science of Navigation begun but since this happy Discovery. And this is likewise the Reason why we have no Account of the Ancient Authors that writ upon this Subject.

The time is not precisely known in which they begun in *Europe* to make use of the Loadstone for Navigation. Some believe that *Paul Venetian* having made a Voyage into *China*, about the year 1260. he brought this Invention from thence: And that which confirms their Opinion, is, That in the beginning they made use of 'em in *Europe* after the same manner; that the *Chinese* did also about the end of the last Age; which was a kind of little Frog made of Linnen, upon which they let the Loadstone swim in the Water, to give it the more facility to turn towards the North. The general Opinion is, That *John Gira*, Native of *Amalphi*, who was a Citizen of *Naples*, by searching into this new Knowledge, invented the Compass about the year, 1300. This Author pretends that its likely he might find out the manner of using the Needle; but that the *Flower de luce*, which in all Countries is placed beneath the Compass to mark the North, sufficiently shews that the French have brought it to this Perfection. Let it be how it will, it's certain that the great Navigations were made only in the following Ages, by *Christopher Columbus*, in 1492. by *Americ Vesputius* some time after; and by *Magellan*, in 1519. but never endeavour'd with more Ardour

dour than in these two last Ages, to bring the Art of Navigation into its utmost Perfection.

F. Descartes hath collected all that has been said of it, and hath treated of it in Latin in his *Mathematical Course*; but as this Language is not always familiar to those who have the Conduct of Vessels, no more than to many others who are curious to have some Intelligence of this Art, he hath voluntarily render'd it into French much better, than those who have written since *Petrus Nonnus*, that famous *Portuguese* Mathematician, who began in the year 1530. and have done it after an obscure, perplex and untelligible manner.

He first establishes four Principles, upon which the whole Science depends. The 1. whereof is the Course or Rumb that the Compass corrects, which must be given very exactly. 2. How much way the Ship makes. 3. The Observation of the height of the Stars. And 4. to describe the Line that the Compass makes. In explaining these Principles, he touches all other things that regard this Matter, so well, that in seven Books whereof this Treatise is composed, it contains whatsoever is necessary for the Knowledge of Navigation.

He teaches, for Example, in the second Book, the manner of observing the height of the Stars with the common Instruments, and with others which may be very serviceable upon the Sea: To which end he gives, in the beginning of his Book, the Principles of the Sphere necessary to Navigation.

In the third, he forgets nothing that belongs to the Compass; and in the fourth, he explains the Nature, Proprieties and Use of the Loxodromick Lines, that is, the secret Principle of this Art, which few Persons understand. How to make a right estimation of the way which the Ship steers, is the Subject of the fifth Book. In the sixth, this Author explains all the Methods of correcting it, by the different manners of observing the Latitude. Upon which he likewise proposes the famous Problem of the Longitude, for which the French, English and Dutch, have profer'd so considerable a Recompence; and examines the Means that have been made use of all along to accomplish it.

In fine, in his seventh, he teaches many practical Rules very useful upon the Sea, as the Method of keeping a Journal, of raising the Plan of a Port, or of a Coast all entire, the means of knowing the Hour when it is full Sea on each Coast, the History of the Periodic and running Winds, that of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, &c.

He stops particularly upon this last Subject, and after having examined and refuted the Opinions of all those that have yet treated on it, he establishes his, which attributes the Flux and Reflux of the Sea to one of the most common Principles, which is that of Fermentation, made in the Sea like all others of Levin, of Wine, of

Beer, &c. by the Spirits that agitate it and throw it up. He says, that the Motion and Agitation of these Spirits ought to have its Periods even independently of all exterior Causes, as we see in Critical Days, and in all sorts of Fermentations: So Winds blow by Gusts and the Surges of the Sea are unequal, the tenth being more violent than the others. And by that he gives a Reason why Lakes have not a Flux and Reflux, the Water being very pure, and by consequence have not these Spirits that agitate it from time to time; and why Tides are greater in some places than others, is more difficult to conceive, in his Opinion, than the Reason why Vines thrive more in some places than in others.

The Moon, according to his Judgment, may determine these Spirits, and contribute to their Agitation; from whence it comes that the Periods of the Tides agree so exactly with those of this Planet: And he pretends 'tis as probable as to say, That the Moon concurs to the Effects which cause Melancholy in Lunatics, by the Temperament that it produces in the Air, which is dispersed every where; but he does not think that the Moon excites these Spirits precisely by its Heat; for we see that an extraordinary Heat often hinders these Fermentations. It may be, adds he, that it mingles some Spirits with the Light which are devolved with those of the Sea: Thus we see 'tis not Cold only which produces Ice upon the Water, but that certain Vapours mingling themselves therewith, assist in the Coagulation.

An Extract of an English Journal; containing Remarks upon Mr. Plot's History of Oxfordshire.

THE Remarks upon *Oxfordshire* are only the Inventions which many Learned Men of that Province have at divers times made known to the Publick.

The First is, An Instrument, invented by Sir *Christopher Wren*, to know the Changing of the Weather, which therefore is called the Weather-Clock. This Instrument serves also to discover the Cause of the Good or Bad Air, and to prevent the mischievous Accidents which proceed from the last.

The Second is, Another Instrument, invented by the same Person, to know exactly the Quantity of Rain which falls in a Years Time, in such a Space of Earth as shall be determined.

The Third is, A Striking Clock, invented by Mr. *John Jones*, the Motion whereof is caused by the Air of a Pair of Bellows; and this Air has the same Effect as the best Spring in the World.

The Fourth is, A way how to prevent Stacks of Hay from taking Fire, and Rats and Mice Eating of Corn.

The

The Fifth is, A Mill which Grinds Corn, Breaks Stones, and does other things, all at the same Time.

The Sixth and Last is, Also a Mill which at the same Time makes Cyder and Mustard, Grinds Corn, and passes Meal through four different Shutters altogether or separately, by the Labour of one Man and an Horse.

An Extract of an English Journal, containing many Experiments made with Phosphorus, prepared by Dr. Slare, of the Royal Society.

There are two Sorts of *Phosphorus*, the Liquid and the Solid, which are not materially different, being both drawn from the Body of Man.

That which is Liquid is a Substance mixed with a Liquor, which although burning, when it is in a Solid Mass, cannot spoil, nor even heat a Hand, how delicate soever it may be, when it is washed therewith.

If this *Phosphorus* be stop't very close, it preserves not its Light much longer; nevertheless, in one of those Experiments that I have made, I observed for five or six different and successive Times a kind of Darting, although the Vial was close-stop'd; which made me conclude, The Experiment was the same with the shining *Phosphorus* of Dr. Esholt, its Darting bearing some Resemblance to Lightning.

The Solid *Phosphorus* is not materially different from the Liquid, as I have already said, being made chiefly of Urine. I am convinced one might do as much with the Blood, if it could be had as easily, and in as great a Quantity, since Urine is only the Serum of the Blood, passed by the Reins.

The Substance of this *Phosphorus* may be made as Transparent as any Rosinous Body, and melts in hot Water like Wax. When it is covered all over in Water, it ceaseth to shine, but as soon as any little part thereof escapes, and gains the Air, it shines again, although the Vial was sealed Hermetically.

I have kept it without Water many Days in a very large Vial, and although it always shined, its Brightness or Weight diminished not at all, or so little that it was not discernable.

The Pieces of this solid *Phosphorus* are some of 'em much more inflamable than others. Some of 'em one may take in ones Hand without Danger; but others, that take Fire and burn as soon as ever they are touched, if the Hand be never so little warm. We have seen a Piece weighing about two Drachms, which taking Fire in a Chamber, where there was no Candle, and distant from us, light like a Faggot, and burnt the Carpit and Table whereon it was laid.

This Sort of *Phosphorus* ought to be managed only by Men of Experience and Wisdom.

With that which is not so inflamable one may make Characters upon a blank Paper, which in the Dark appear like Rays of Light; but if it comes near the Fire these same Characters, as soon as they are warm change Dark, and continue so for as long a Time as good Ink will.

This Light is very diffusive of it self. I have made with this new manner of Pencil above an hundred Characters, without wasting a twentieth part of it. Half a Grain laid upon my Hand, communicated its Brightness to the utmost extent of it, and so continued all Night, the Hand shining also the next Day. A Grain of this Substance exposed to the open Air flamed for seven or eight Days, so that during the Day, shutting the Windows of my Closet, I cou'd always perceive it stirring, and when I look'd very earnestly, I could see a whitish Flame come out of it into the circumambient Air.

After all the Matter was consumed there remained no Cinders, but only a little Moisture, which had an acid Taste; but having left off to consume the more gross Portion, there was found much more Moisture, which had the Taste of the Oil of Sulphur: This made me remember, That the greatest part of my Friends, who saw this Experiment, called it a *Sulphurous Flame*. Indeed it seemed, that in all its Proprieties it had more relation to Sulphur than Saline Concretes, chiefly because of its inflammability, and because it did not destroy itself nor dissolve in Water.

An Extract of an English Journal, containing the manner how, with many singular Experiments of Preserving Fish, Butter, Flesh, Fowls, Fruits and Roots in a very good Estate, and for a long Time.

This is done only by the means of Salt; upon which he observes.

1. That refined Salt is the best of all to salt Fish, because that by that it loses its Hot, Dry, Burning, Corrosive, Mortifying Quality, so that it will never give any ill Taste to the Fish: And as this Salt, on the contrary is more Lively, Sharp and Piercing than if it were not refined; it preserves the Fish more Fresh and Cool; and even in the Hottest Country prevents its Fermenting, which is so apt to spoil the Fish.

2. That the Brine in which they keep Herrings ought to be strong enough to bear them up upon it; for then this Pickle surmounts and overcomes the Nature of the Herring so strongly, that it makes it very stiff and preserves it: Whereas on the contrary, if it is weaker, then the Nature of this

this Fish, it is overcome by it, and so the Herring wafts and is spoil'd.

As for the Experiments, some have been made of Eggs, Flesh, Wine and of Fruits. Eggs being put into a Barrel of Salt keep a long time; whereas those that are kept in Meal soon decay and grow Musty.

Having put a Leg of Mutton and a whole Salmon into a heap of Salt, they kept good, agreeable and fresh, for three Months together.

Wine is preserved so even in Bottles for a long time, because that the Salt defends it in the Winter against Frosts, in the Summer against the Heat, and at all times against such Particles of Air as are very well known to corrupt and decay all Material Bodies.

One may, by the same means, preserve Fruits, as Oranges, if they are wrapt up in Paper and so put into Salt.

Some have, after this manner, also preserved Artichokes, Sparra-grafs, and other such Things.

Some Curious Observations upon Insects.

A Bundance of very fine Remarks may be made upon Insects; we shall only speak here of the different manners they make use of to preserve themselves from the rigour of the Winter.

1. Insects continue all the Winter without any Motion; so that if they are cast out of their Places where they hide themselves in the Winter, they have not strength enough to transport themselves thither again; but if they are a little warm'd they assume their Motion, and rest not till they find some place where they may continue in Security; or that the cold Air again making their Bodies stiff, hinders them from Moving. This Cessation from Motion or Rest, is not common to all Insects. For Bees open and shut the Gates of their little Habitations all the Winter; and even the coldest Weather hinders them not from seeking Food for their young Ones, which they breed in that Season. Therefore we see their young Ones in the beginning of the Spring, which has made some say that has kept them, that little Bees appear'd in the same time as Swallows did.

2. They continue in the form of Worms not only upon and under the Earth, in hollow Trees, between Leaves which stick together, and in Fruits, but even in the Water, under which they are often found to be Froze and without any Motion. But what is still more surprizing, is, that Insects are of a much stronger Constitution when they are in the form of Worms, than after their changing, and when they become peculiar to their kind. Hence it is that the Aquatick Worm, whereof the Fly *Ephemeris* is engender'd, is so vigorous,

that after having been run through with a Pin it nevertheless lives some Days; whereas after its Change without receiving any hurt, it cannot live four Hours.

3. When Insects cannot find a place that agrees with their natural Constitution, they suffer not that little Strength they have, to decay presently. Thus we see it happens to Worms which are found in Nut-shells. For unless they are kept in moist Sand or Dirt, where they are hid for the Winter, they dye not only in a little time after, but in one Night in the Air become so hard and dry, that they may easily be reduced to Powder: The same thing happens to the Worms that are upon the Leaves; but they make no holes in the Earth, they only spin a kind of a Web which serves to cover them, and defend them from the Severity of the Cold.

4. There are some which subsist in the Water only, where they continue three entire Months without taking any Food: But if they are not capable of taking Nourishment, it proceeds from the Weakness of their Members, or that the Coldness of the Air congeals them, or else that the superfluous Humidity that environs them, not being sufficiently agitated, renders them incapable of taking any Food. From thence it comes also that they eject no Excrements; because they taking no Nourishment, have no superfluous Humours to evacuate.

Tentamen Porologicum, sive ad Porositatem Corporum tum Animalium, tum Solidorum detegendam: Auth. R. Boyle, &c. Lond. 1685.

THE Observations of Mr. Boyle in proving the Existence of Pores in Animate Bodies is very Curious; as also what he has said about the Pores of solid Bodies.

He observes, that an equal quantity of Powder of Brimstone, *Sal Armoniac* and good quick Lime, being pulverised and mix'd together in a Horn, and pounded by little and little, until the Dust become red, it raises a Spirit, the penetrating Fume whereof, changes the colour of Brass or Silver, altho' covered with a double Skin: And the same Vapour has penetrated through a Skin glued upon Egg-shells, tho' there is nothing so close; and made a piece of Brass black, which was inclosed in it. It has had the same Effect also upon this Metal, on a piece of Silver covered with a Calves Bladder that was wet; which has not happen'd when the Bladder has been dry.

A notable Example, according to this Author, of the Porosity of the Membranes of a Man's Body, is, that of a young Gentleman, that *Harvey* gives the Relation of, who had a received such a Wound in the Breast that a Hole was made thereby, through

through which one might see the Motion of the Heart. He nevertheless recovered his Health, and was afterwards a General of an Army. Mr. Boyle, to whom he one day shewed his Breast, which gave him an opportunity to perceive the Motion of his Heart, said that this Gentleman gave him to observe, among other things, that as from time to time an Injection of a certain vulnerary Liquor was made into this Hole, the Smell and Taste of this Medicament ascended immediately to his Mouth; and that his Breath was always touch'd with the Odour of some Aromatick Powders, which he wore in a Bag upon this place, to preserve the neighbouring Parts, and keep it warm.

This agrees with what Galen himself observed of the Injection of a *Hydromel* into a Wound in the Breast, that the sick Person vomited up again with a Cough: To which Mr. Boyle adds, that a strong and vigorous Man being strangled, it was believed upon it, that there was observed in him no other Indisposition than a little dry Cough, that he found some putrefaction in one of the Lobes of his Lungs; but that he found them very healthful, and only in one place of the *Pleura* there was white purulent Matter about the breadth of a Crown, shut up between the *Pleura* and the Sides; which gave them occasion to suppose, that the corrupted Humour had penetrated the *Pleura*, and produced in the Branches of the Lungs the Irritation that had caused this little dry Cough.

The two following Matters served also as Proofs to Mr. Boyle. The first is, That a Person that had the Dropsy, attributed his Sickness to a *Schirrus* in the Spleen, having been counsell'd by a Surgeon, to whom he complain'd, to apply upon it a Sponge dip'd in Lime-Water, and afterwards squeeze'd out, was cured in a little time by this means. And the second, That *Mercury* has been found in the Bones of some of those that have been cured of the Venereal Distemper, by the Frictions of Quick-Silver; and even in the Teeth, which a certain Person had caused to be drawn out, after he had used some of the same Remedy.

A Treatise of the Loadstone, divided into two Parts: The first, containing Experiments; and the second, the Reasons that may be given for it: By M. D. At Amsterdam, in Twelves, 1687.

AS the Effects of the Loadstone were discover'd before the Reasons thereof were sought after, so the Author of this Treatise believ'd he ought first to relate the most considerable Experiments that have been made concerning the Vertue of the Loadstone; and afterwards proposes the

most probable means that may be made use of to explain these Effects. He had no design to give us a new Hypothesis for this, nor to shew us any new Proprieties in the Loadstone; but only to relate with as much clearness and brevity as he could, the most curious and likely Arguments that have been hitherto Written by all the Philosophers that have treated on it. Indeed we have not yet seen any Treatise upon this Matter, so short, compleat, and clear all at once.

* After some Reflections upon the Names that the Greeks, Latins, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, English and French, have given to the Loadstone, it is observed, altho' it is to be found where-ever there are Iron Mines, yet it is not every where of the same Colour. He saw some which had the Colour of Iron before it is forg'd, some reddish, and some that were blackish, but 'twas very rare to find any which had much Power. The Ancients had some Knowledge of it, and agreed that it joyn'd it self to the Iron, but were entirely ignorant of the Propriety it had of turning towards the Pole, because they never spoke a word of this Propriety, and often made mention of the first. He affirms also, that the Inventor of the Needle was one *John Goia de Melphi*, a Citizen of the Kingdom of *Naples* near *Salern*; that he lived about the year, 1300. Others attribute the Invention thereof to the Chinese, from whom *Paul Venetian*, a famous Voyager, that lived in the year, 1260. brought it into Europe.

* This is what is known concerning the Original of the Compass; he afterwards passes to the propriety of the Loadstone, which shall be related here in brief. 1. The Loadstone's uniting it self to the Iron, which is falsly call'd its Vertue of attracting the Iron, since this Union is made by a true Impulsion, and that properly speaking there is no Attraction, as the Author proves. But that is not true that *Protony* said, * that there were Isles in the Indies, where Vessels, which have in some Parts been joyned together with Nails, have stop'd, because of the great quantity of the Stone of *Hercules* (a Name that is given to the Loadstone in Greek) that is there to be found. The Author reprehends *Gonzales d' Oviedo*, & *Olaus Magnus*, with many others, that have said something like it. 2. The Loadstone can keep Iron or Steel suspended at a certain distance, altho' it never touches it. Its false however, that the Mosque wherein *Mahomet's* Body is kept, is incrust'd with a Loadstone; and that his Tomb is suspended in the middle, as some fabulous Voyagers have related: Whereas on the contrary, this Tomb is placed upon a piece of Earth in the middle of this Mosque. The Author believes what gave Birth to this Fable was this, that in the

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same Mosque there is a great Loadstone fasten'd to one of the sides of the Wall, to which hangs a piece of Silver across, that's kept there by a Chain of Steel. 3. That the Union of the Iron to the Loadstone is reciprocal, and that one may as properly say that the Iron unites it self to the Loadstone, as that one piece of Loadstone unites it self to another. He proves it by divers Experiments, that he makes very clear and sensible by Figures, which he has taken care to give, as often as he relates any Experiment. 4. The Loadstone always presents one side to the North, and the other side to the South. It seems this Property of the Loadstone had not been discovered, only by chance, leaving it floating upon the Water in a little Gondula. Having thus observed the Poles of the Loadstone, he confirms himself in his Thought, by throwing upon it the Filings of Steel, which are otherwise dispos'd towards these places than others; and by other Experiments, whereof the Author relates some. 5. The Poles of the Loadstone are ordinarily unequal in respect to their Power, and also very often diametrically opposite, altho' it sometimes happens that they are situated irregularly enough. 6. The Loadstone communicates its Vertue to Iron that it is rubbed with, altho' removed from it to a certain distance. The Author shews what Method must be taken to touch a piece of Iron well with the Loadstone. 7. The Loadstone does not only communicate to Iron its Property of drawing other Iron, but also gives it Poles which direct it towards those of the World, as is clearly seen by the Compass: Upon which he observes, that these Poles differ from those of the Loadstone, that is, that the point of the Needle which should be touched on that side of the Loadstone, which they call the North, as the Loadstone does, but towards the South, and so the other on the contrary. 8. When a Loadstone is cut in two Parts following its Axis, when they joyn it together again, one part turns almost perfectly to a Situation opposite to what it did before it was cut, and when it is cut perpendicularly to the Axis, new Poles are made in the Faces of the Section. 9. Having presented to the Poles of one Loadstone the Poles of another Loadstone, they joyn themselves together, offering the opposite Pole it seems to shun it; this happens also in respect to Needles touched with the Loadstone. 10. A Needle being in Equilibrio before it be touched, it loses this Property, after having been touched by the Loadstone. Of this side the Line the Point which respects the Northern Pole is inclined towards the Earth, and the contrary happens as soon as it is passed the Line: Which obliges Pilots to add to that side which appears to be the lightest, a little Wax, to render the Needle in Equilibrio, and for the augmenting or diminishing the weight of the Wax, as they are nearer or more distant from the Line where the Needle hath no need of Wax to keep it in Equilibrio. The Author gives some Methods to find out how many degrees the Needle is

inclined, and observes that in Countries that are 49 or 50 degrees of Elevation, the Needle is enclin'd to the Horizon about 70 Degrees. 11. The Power of the Loadstone may be augmented or diminished, by divers means which the Author observes, but if it is entirely lost it cannot be re-established. 12. In fine, altho' the Needle always turns one of its ends towards the North, 'tis observed that they often decline in some degrees towards the East or the West. 'Twas above a hundred years that it declined six degrees towards the East; sixty years after, its Declination was hardly one degree of the same side. Mr. De la Hire of the Royal Academy of Sciences, and Royal Professor in the Mathematicks, observed at Paris, towards the end of the year, 1684. that it declined four Degrees ten Minutes North-West: Now it declines there but a little more than one Degree.

2. These are the Experiments which he relates concerning the Loadstone, here follow the chief Generals by which he explains * all these Effects. 1. That the Earth is made after such a Ch. 1, 2. manner, that out of its Poles continually issues a very subtle Matter, both impalpable and invisible, which circulates within and about it self, till it re-enters by the opposite Pole to that which it went out of, and passes by parallel Pores into its Axis. 2. That the Pores by which this Matter passes, are furnished with certain Particles like small Hairs, which are so disposed as easily permits this Matter to pass over after a certain manner, but which stands upright and stops the Pores, if the Matter presents it self to pass over after a contrary manner. 3. That each Loadstone hath two Poles like the Earth, and is disposed after the same manner as it is.

Those who have any knowledg of the manner whereby the Cartesians apply their Supposition of an effluvious Matter to the effects of the Loadstone, may without any trouble apply the Principle of the Author to the Phenomena's that have any relation thereto; and those who are not sufficiently acquainted with this Matter, to be able of themselves to make an Application of this Principle, may in less than two hours time read all that the Author hath said of it. As the Chapters of the second part answer to that of the first, so Things are there more at large explain'd than in the first, with an addition of divers new Experiments concerning the same things. For Example, there is in the XIII Chapter the particular manner of arming the Loadstone, that is, the furnishing each of its Poles with a little plate of Iron, to augment the force thereof. "From this place also may be learnt something of the Configuration of the insensible parts of Iron and Steel. "The Author observes, that when the Iron is forged, the little parts whereof it is composed, dispose themselves at length, and range themselves like little Needles "all of the same manner the length of the "Iron,

"Iron, and that they must take the Armour of the Loadstone, in such a manner that the length of its little parts answer to the extremity of the Armour, which must lift up the other Iron that they shall present unto it. The Author having made one after this manner, and taken an other and applyed it directly contrary, that is, in which the little parts were travers'd, found that the first rais'd up a fourth part heavier than the other. * He also observed
* p. 97. "that a Blade of Iron which is not soak'd in Water, breaks very difficultly, and when it is broken the place where it breaks, look'd upon with a Microscope, appears like the small points of Needles, which pierce the Hand with the least touch. The other on the contrary (adds the Author) is easily broke, and the broken place resembles little Balls or Cubes, and is not sharp at all. He afterwards gives Philosophical Reasons thereof, which is best read in the Original.

As the declination and variation of the Loadstone can only be perceived by the means of a Meridional Line, so the Author hath in the XV Chapter given six different manners of tracing it. The first is, to cut a Body of a Tree that has been much exposed to the Wind and the Sun horizontally, and to observe in what place the Excentrick Circles are closest, and the place where they are the most distant one from the other. The last notes the South, and the first the North. But as one cannot always rely upon this Experiment, so he only relates it by the by; and says also, that those who concern themselves with Agriculture ought to observe it, and that when they transplant a Tree, care must be taken to place it in the same Situation as it was in before in respect to the North and South. The three following ways of finding out the Meridional Line, are done by the Points of the Shadow. The fifth manner is practised by two Shadows of a Threed raised perpendicularly; and taken with two equal Lights from the Sun. And in fine, he shews how the Meridional Line may be found, by two equal Heights of two Stars.

He finishes this Work, by the Description of some Curious Machines made with the Loadstone; and those who desire to know more thereof, he sends them to *Bettinus, Kirker, Schotus*, and some others, that have treated of this Matter. I shall say no more of this Book, only that the Author endeavoured to proportion it to the Capacity of all sorts of Persons. He has not taken it for granted, that every one that reads his Book, should be a Physician or Geometer; on the contrary, he has endeavoured to render himself Intelligible, to those even that are Ignorant both of Physick and Geometry too.

An Extract of an English Journal, containing an Estimation of the quantity of Vapours that the Heat of the Sun exhales from the Sea: By Edmond Halley.

THE quantity of Vapours that the Earth is charged with, is very considerable, since the Rains and Snows fall sometimes in so great an abundance, that 'tis observed, that this Water descending from the Intervals, which the Particles of the Air leave among themselves, make a very sensible part of the Weight of the Atmosphere. But no Person that I know of, has examined to the purpose the proportion that is between the Sea and these Vapours, which are the original, not only of Rains, but also of Fountains. This Search is nevertheless one of the most necessary, of that part of Philosophy that treats of Meteors, and deserves to be examined by the Royal Society. I believe none will be sorry to know the manner how I essay'd to determine the quantity of Vapours which are exhale by Heat.

'Twas thus: I took a Vessel full of Water, the depth of four Inches, the Diameter whereof was seven Inches $\frac{1}{2}$, in which I placed a Thermometer. Afterwards, by the means of a Chafing-Dish full of hot Coals, I brought the Water to the same degree of Heat as we feel in the hottest Summer, as appeared by the Thermometer. That being done, I ty'd this Vessel, without taking any thing out of it, to one end of the Beam of a Ballance, and put on the other side Weights exactly of the same heaviness. It was easy to preserve the same Degree of Heat in the Water, by the Chafing Dish of Coals, either drawing it nearer or putting it at a farther distance. I soon observed, that the Weight of the Water sensibly diminished; and in about 2 Hours space 233 Grains of Water was evaporated, altho' no Fume was observ'd to ascend, and the Water appear'd not hot to the touch. This quantity of Water evaporating in so small a time, seems very considerable; for it follows from thence, that in 24 Hours it wou'd evaporate six Ounces of Water from so small a Surface, which was a Circle of 8 Inches Diameter.

To draw an exact Computation from this Experiment, and to determine the greatness of the quantity of the Water that is thus evaporated, I made use of the Experiment that Doctor *Bernard* affirmed to have been made at *Oxford*. It is, That the quantity of Water of the bigness of a Cubic Foot, weighs 76 Pounds of Troy weight. This Number being divided by 1728. which is the Number of the Cubic Inches contain'd in this Foot, gives 253 Grains and $\frac{1}{3}$ or one $\frac{1}{2}$ Ounce, 13 Grains $\frac{1}{3}$ for the weight of a Cubic Inch of Water. The weight then of 233 Grains, is $\frac{233}{253}$ or 35 parts of a Cubic

Cubic Inch divided into 38. Now the Area of a Circle, the Diameter whereof is 7 Inches, $\frac{7}{16}$ contains 49 Inches square, by which dividing the quantity of the evaporated Water, viz. $\frac{3}{8}$ of an Inch, the Quotient is $1\frac{3}{8}$ or $\frac{11}{8}$; from whence it appears, the quantity of this Water is the 53 part of an Inch; but for the facility of the Calculation, we will suppose it is but the 60 part. If then the Water (as hot as the Air is in Summer) exhales the 60 part of an Inch in two Hours from the Surface described; in twelve Hours it will exhale the 10 part, a sufficient quantity to furnish all Rains, Fountains and Dews. This Calculation may even suppose the Sea without its diminishing or overflowing, like the *Caspian* Sea, which is always of an equal height; and supposing also the Current, which they say is always in the Straights of *Gibraltar*, altho' the Mediterranean Sea receives a great number of considerable Rivers.

To make an estimation of the quantity of Water which is exhaled by Vapours from the Sea, I believe one need only consider it during the time the Sun is up; for as for the Night, as much Water falls in Dews or even more, than it draws up in Vapours during that time. It is true, that the Summer days are above 12 Hours, but this length of the day is counter-balanced by the weakness of the action of the Sun when it is up, and before the Water is hot. Thus if I suppose that if it raises every day in Vapours $\frac{1}{60}$ of an Inch (the Extent already observed) from the Sea, this Supposition cannot be rejected.

According to this Hypothesis, 10 Inches square from the Surface of the Water, will furnish every day in Vapours a Cubic Inch of Water; each Foot, the square whereof, produces half a Pint; 4 Feet square a Gallon; a Mile square, 6914 Tuns; and a Degree square, supposing it to be 60 English Miles, will exhale in Vapours 33 Millions of Tuns. If we give to the Mediterranean 40 Degrees in length and 4 Degrees in breadth, in respect to those Places that are broader and those that are narrower, the least without doubt that can be given, will be a 160 Degrees square; and by consequence, all the Mediterranean Sea, in a Summers day, will emit in Vapours 5280 Millions of Tuns. This quantity of Vapours, altho' very great, is however the least that can be supposed, according to the Experiment that I have related. It is true, there is another thing that one cannot reduce to certain Rules; it is the Winds, which from the Surface of the Water, take more Particles than the Heat of the Sun evaporates; as may be easily conceived, if we do but reflect on the Winds which sometimes blow.

It is very difficult to make a true estimation of the quantity of Water that the Mediterranean Sea receives from the Rivers that fall into it; unless one had some way to measure the Mouths of the Rivers and

their Rapidity. All that can be done in this Affair, is, rather to give 'em a greater quantity of Water, than indeed they have, than to take from them; that is, to suppose 'em greater than they are, according to all appearance, and afterwards to compare the quantity of Water that the *Thames* carries into the Sea, with that of those Rivers which we shall calculate.

The Mediterranean Sea receives these nine considerable Rivers; the *Eber*, * the *Rhone*, *Tyber*, the *Po*, the *Danube*, the *Nester*, the *Boristhenus*, the *Tanais* and the *Nile*, others being neither so celebrated, nor so large. We'll suppose that each of these nine Rivers have ten times as much Water as the *Thames*, not that there are any that have really ten times as much, but to comprehend in our Calculation other Rivers that are less, which discharge themselves into the Mediterranean, the bigness of which we can no otherwise make any estimation of.

* The Author says nothing of the Rivers of Greece and of Asia, which are in as great number, altho' they are not so big nor celebrated, as those he names.

To measure the Water of the *Thames*, I take it at *Kingston Bridg*, where the Reflux never happens, and where the Water always runs downwards. The breadth of it is 100 Yards, and its depth 3, supposing it every where equal; in which computation, I am certain I give it rather more Extent than it really has. The Water is then in this place 300 Yards square, that multiplied by 48 thousand (is I believe the quantity of Water that is drawn up, admitting 2000 each Hour) or 84480 Yards, give 25344000 Yards of Water which will be drain'd in a day, that is 2030000 Tuns each day. I am persuaded that by what I have added more to the Channel of this River than it really hath, I have sufficiently compensated, by comprehending therein the Rivers of *Brent*, *Lea*, *Wandal* and of *Darwent*, which are of some Consideration, and which discharge themselves into the *Thames* below *Kingston Bridg*.

Now if every one of these nine Rivers had ten times more Water than the *Thames*, it wou'd it follow that from each River wou'd every day run into the Sea, 203 Millions of Tuns; and that the whole will be but 1827 Millions of Tuns, which is but a little more than the third part of what I have shewn is evaporated out of the Mediterranean Sea, in 12 Hours time.

The Knowledge is still wanting what becomes of these Vapours when they are rais'd in the Air, and from whence comes that Current which always appears at the entrance of the Straits of *Gibraltar*; but Mr. *Halley* sends us back once more to examine it; only advertises the Reader, that to make the Experiment which he hath spoken of, he must make use of Water which hath been Salted, to the same Degree that the common Sea Water is, dissolving therein one fortieth part of Salt.

Next to this 3d. Alphabet must be placed the 5th, beginning with Page 321. for the 4th. being the beginning of this Book, is therefore placed there, and should have been Letter A, had it not been for the Printer's Mistake.

על קדמות הנקודות והטעמים אשר ללשון הקדש :

S E U,

De Punctorum Origine, Antiquitate & Auctoritate :

O R, A

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

ANTIQUITY,
DIVINE ORIGINAL

AND

AUTHORITY

OF THE

Points, Vowels, and Accents,

That are placed to the

HEBREW BIBLE.

In TWO PARTS.

By a Member of the ATHENIAN SOCIETY.

Quod superest de Vocalium & Accentuum Antiquitate, eorum sententiæ subscribo, qui Linguam Hebræam tamquam, &c. — i. e. *As for the Antiquity of the Vowels and Accents, I am of their Opinion who maintain the Hebrew Language, as the exact Pattern of all others, to have been plainly written (with them) from the Beginning ; seeing that they who are otherwise minded, do not only make Doubtful the Authority of the Scriptures, but (in my Judgment) wholly pluck it up by the Roots ; for without the Vowels, and Notes of Distinction, it hath nothing firm and certain.*

Anton. Rodulph. Cevallerius Rudimenta Hebraicæ Linguae, cap. 4. pag. 16.

L O N D O N,

Printed for John Dunton, at the Raven in the Poultry, MDC XCII.

HERREW BIBLE
That are placed to the
Points, Chapters, and Verses
OF THE
AUTHORITY
AND
DIVINE ORIGINALITY,
Concerning the
DISCOURSE
OR, A
De Theodorum Origine, Antiquitate & Auctoritate :
SEU

THE PARTS

By a Member of the Athenian Society.

L O N D O N

על קדמות הנקודות והטעמים אשר ללשון הקדש:

O R, A

Discourse concerning the Antiquity and Original of the Points, Vowels and Accents that are placed to the Hebrew Bible. In Two Parts.

The FIRST PART.

WHEREIN

The Opinions of *Elias Levita*, *Ludovicus Capellus*, *Dr. Walton*, and Others for the Novelty of the Points, are considered, their Evidences for the same examined; and the Improbability of their Conceit, that the *Masorites of Tiberias* Pointed the Text, is at large discovered from the Silence of the Jews about it, their Testimonies against it; the Unfitness of the Time, Place and Persons of late assigned for the Invention of the Points, from the Nature of the *Masora*, and of the *Masoretick* Notes on the Verses, Words, Letters, Points, Vowels and Accents of the *Old Testament*: Their Observations on all the Kinds of the *Keri*, *U*, *Ketib*; the Words written Full, or Defective; the *Ittur Sopherim* the *Tikkun Sopherim*, and the rest of the Parts of the *Masora*, and from other Considerations.

The SECOND PART,

Containing the Principal Testimonies and Arguments of Jews and Christians, for the Proof of the Antiquity, Divine Original and Authority of the Points, Vowels and Accents: Wherein the chiefest Objections of *Elias*, *Capellus*, and Others, are either Obviated, or briefly Answered.

The Cause, Occasion and Method of the ensuing Discourse is declared in the Prooemium, or Introduction.

AMongst our Abstracts of Books, that have a more particular Relation to *Ecclesiasticks*, such as the various Editions of the Bible, *Jurieu's System of the Church*, &c. we have thought fit to insert this our own following Collection; which perhaps may more particularly treat of the Parts of the *Masora*, than any Piece yet extant. It will be of great Use to all Scholars that are design'd for the Study of the Original Tongues; and will help to make good our Title-page, **The Young Students Library**. We have herein endeavoured to remove some Prejudices, and reconcile the Differences of the Learned on this great and weighty Subject; which is of no less Consequence than the receiving or rejecting the Bible

it self. We must not enlarge in Prefacing to any Work, where the Works themselves are to be Abstracts, but refer you to the Subject it self.

Advice to the Young Students of Divinity,

Recommending the Study of the Scriptures in their Original Languages; together with the Writings and Commentaries of the Rabbins thereupon; with Directions for the Knowledge thereof.

Men and Brethren,

YOUR Work is the greatest, as *St. Paul* saith, *Who is sufficient for these things?* Consider what Knowledge the Work you must account for at the last Tribunal, doth most

A a a

require,

require, and attend it, *Hoc age*: You are to have the Care of Souls, and to your Trust are committed the Oracles of God. Your great Concern therefore is, to know the Mind of God, as it is revealed in his Word, that you may teach it others, and defend it against all Opposers: This is all you are entrusted with, and shall be judged by, to wit, the Bible. This Word or Mind of God is contained perfectly in the Hebrew Bible, and Greek Testament only. Translations are no further God's Word, than they do express the sense thereof; which in all places they cannot perfectly do, without more words than are allowed to be in a Translation: These Sacred Originals are the Standard and Rule of our Life, Worship and Doctrine; and the Fate of all Translations depends on their Preservation. If therefore the Teachers need not know, nor be able to defend the Original, none else need: Then were the Translation of it needless, and so the Scripture it self, and thereby all Religion and Ministry to boot; if any of these things are needful, they are all so; for they stand or fall together.

Now that we may know the Mind of God in his Word, we must first know what the words themselves do signify, and properly and literally mean: This we cannot do in many places, without the help of the Rabbins, or of those who have been taught by them, which is much the same, and that on several Accounts; which renders their Work needful, as *Leusden* in *Philologus Hebraeo-mixtus*, pag. 115, &c. and others do manifest: As,

1st. Because many words, as to the Grammar and sense of them, could not be known without the help of those Masters of the Hebrew Tongue; as *לשון* Joel 2. 5. *לשון* Joel 2. 8, &c.

2nd. There are many words but once used in Scripture, especially in such a sense, and are called the *Apax legomena*, or *ein lo chober bemikra*, which we cannot know the meaning of without their help; and herein they are singular, though they lament the loss they have been put to about them; *vid. Kimchi* in his Preface on *Miklol*. Also *Kimchi* in his Preface on *Sepher Sherashim*, tells a Story, how they knew not the meaning of that word a *Besom*, in the Prophet's sweeping with the Besom of Destruction, till in Arabia a Rabbin heard a Woman say to her Daughter, Take the Besom, and sweep the House. So Joel 2. 8. *חלף*, a Sword. To conclude, There are very many such words but once used; which, as they cannot be known by the Bible alone, so neither can the sense of the place be known wherein they are, till they are first known; and this is in many places.

3rd. Many Phrases, and divers ways of Speech, are very dubious in the Old and New Testament, which are well illustrated and explained by the Rabbins, as Joel 1. 20. *Jonah* 1. 5. *Judg.* 12. 7. *Gen.* 2. 2, &c. And in the New Testament, *Mark* 9. 1. *Mat.* 16.

19. & 11. 11. & 10. 25. *John* 3. 5.

4. Many Rites and Ceremonies, Ordinances and Customs but slightly mentioned in the Scripture, are fully explained by the Rabbins; as Circumcision, *Gen.* 17. & 1 *Cor.* 7. 18. *becoming uncircumcised again*. So *Anathema Maranatha*, 1 *Cor.* 16. 22. So the *Frontlets*, *Deut.* 6. 8. *Phylacteries*, *Numb.* 15. 38. *Mat.* 23. 5. their *zizith fringes*. So the *Pasover* and *Lord's Supper*, *Mat.* 27. 34. *Korban*, *Mat.* 15. 5. 39 *Stripes*, 2 *Cor.* 11. 24. So for the Manner of their Sacrifices, which typify the Grace of the Gospel, and the like.

5. To be able to Answer and Convince the Jews, requires good skill in their Writings, and thereby great advantage may be made of their own Concessions; as the Apostle doth frequently practise in his Epistle to the Hebrews, where he oft argues from their Concessions. And they had need know the Jews Principles, who would Expound that Epistle.

6. Many difficult and very obscure places of Scripture, whose Explication is sought for in vain among other Commentaries, are clearly explained by the Rabbins, as *Numb.* 3. 39. compared with *ver.* 22; 28, 34, 43, 46, 49. *vid. Pref. Cartwright* and *Menasseh* in *Concil. Quest.* 3. on *Numbers*. And indeed the Books of *Psalms*, *Joh.* *Proverbs*, *Isaiah*, &c. are in many places so elliptical, that render them inaccessible to any that are not well acquainted with the Language: And in explaining these Difficulties the Rabbins are most excellent, having spent all their time therein: As for Instance, *Numb.* 24. 17. 'tis said, The Star that shall arise out of Jacob, shall destroy all the Children of Sheth. Now Noah was of Sheth's Posterity, and thereby all the World since the Flood are Sheth's Children. But 'tis hard to think, Jesus Christ will destroy all Mankind, good and bad. *Abarbinel* in *Mashmiah Jeshuah*, fol. 7. says the word is *Unwall*, not *Destroy*; and says the sense is, that the Governments of the Nations shall be unbinged, that the Lord's Rule over all Nations may be established.

So *Deut.* 32. 36. the Lord saith he'll help his People, when he seeth that their power is gone, and there is none shut up or left. Now what is meant by none shut up or left, *Abarbinel*, *ibid.* fol. 6 & 7. sheweth; where he says, that the word *Shut up*, ought to be read *Ruler*; and the word *Left*, is to be read *Helper*; and proves the sense of the word is, That when God sees his People are brought so low, that they have no Ruler to head them, and no Helper to defend them, then God himself will arise for their help.

So *Mat.* 27. 9. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the Prophet about the thirty pieces of Silver: Which was not spoken by Jeremiah, but Zachariah, cap. 11. *ver.* 12. The Talmudists divide the Bible into Three Parts; viz. 1. The Law: 2. The Prophets: 3. The Cetubim, or Hagiographi, *vid. Masorer Hammasoret*, pag. lat. 40. The first of the

the latter Prophets the *Talmud* makes to be *Jeremiah*; and the *Masorites*, *Isaiah*: and when they alledge a thing out of any of the Prophets in that Volume, as the twelve minor Prophets, they say, *So saith Jeremiah*; though not *Jeremiah*, but *Zachariah* saith it: For so the *Masorites*, who put *Isaiah* first, say such a place is in *Isaiah*, which is not in *Isaiah*, but in some other of the Prophets that are in that Volume, which begins with *Isaiah*: As for Instance, The seventh *Keri u lo Ketib*, *haim*, is twice said to be in *Isaiah*; which it is not, but in *Jeremiah* 31. 38. *vid.* the *Masora* on the first word of *Deuteronomy*: And on *Lam* 3. 13. So *Luke* 24. 44. *All that is written in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms.* And why the *Psalms* only, and no more of the *Hagiography*? Because, as *Elias* observes, some place the *Psalms* first in the *Hagiography*, and so the whole Volume is intended thereby, *vid.* *Ortho Lexicon Rabbianico Philologicum*, p. 261. *Lightfoot*, *Kimchi's* Preface on *Jeremiah*. So *Psal.* 118. 27. *Bind the Sacrifice with Cords unto the Horns of the Altar*: As *Kimchi* saith, 'tis, *Bring the Lamb that is bound with Cords, the Blood whereof is sprinkled on the Horns of the Altar*: But never is Sacrifice bound with Cords to the Horns of the Altar. So *Rom* 9. 3. the Apostle's wishing himself *curst* from *Christ* for the *Jews*, is supposed only to be the common Expression of Affection used by the *Jews* to Persons departed: *Anu Cipperoti kai*; *Would we were an Atonement for thee*, *Masecat Sanhedrim*, cap. 2. ver. 1. So to bind or to loose, is no more than to forbid or permit. The Kingdom of Heaven, the Days of the Messiah, to walk with *Christ* in White, alludeth to their searching the Persons of the Priests: If they were perfect, and approved for the Priesthood, they were sent forth apparelled in White; if not, they came forth in Black, *vid.* *Masecat Middoth*, cap. ult. So, *Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his Garments*; alluding to the Rulers of the Temple, who went the Round at Night; and if they found a Priest asleep on the watch, they beat him, and burnt his Garments: *vid.* *Middoth*, cap. 11. also the Good Eye and the Evil Eye; alluding to those that gave bountifully or niggardly in their Offerings. So *Isa.* 12. 3. to the Feast of Booths: *Psal.* 116. 13. to the Passover; and the like.

7. Hence, Seventhly, The Commentaries of the Rabbins have been a great help to all that Translate or Expound the Text: As *Munster* saith in his Preface on the Bible, *That no one can well Explain the Scripture, without the Commentaries of the Rabbins.* And *Jerom* saith, *He therefore hired a Jew to help him in the difficult places, (which he durst not attempt without.) And the best Commentaries amongst Christians, are those who have plowed with the Rabbins Heifer.* What were the Criticks on the Bible, but Men best skill'd in the Rabbins? as *Munster*, *Mercer*, *Fagius*, and the rest.

8. Many Parts of the History of the New-Testament are well explained by the Rabbi-

nical Writings; as *2 Tim.* 3. 8. *Jannes* and *Jambres*, mentioned by *Jonathan's* Paraphrase on *Exod.* 7. 11. and the like.

9. Many Proverbial Speeches are best explained by them, even of the *New-Testament*; as *Mat.* 19. 24. *Mark* 10. 25. *Mat.* 10. 25. & 7. 2. *2 Thes.* 3. 10. &c.

10. Many Names of Places, Sects, Monies, Weights, Measures, even in the *New-Testament*, are best explained from their Writings: They have indeed many Traditions very foolish, but still they know their Language best, and their own Affairs.

11. The Law of *Moses*, Moral, Judicial and Ceremonial, is fully explained by them only, as to many Laws.

12. To conclude: As they are helpful to explain the Text; so is the Knowledge of the Rabbins very needful to defend and maintain the Purity, Perspicuity, and Divine Authority of the Text it self, as to the true Copy, the Character, the Points, Vowels, and Accents, and the like. Without some knowledge of the Rabbins, Persons will find themselves very unable to judge of the Arguments themselves that are used on such Subjects: Nay, they'll be little the better for the very places of Scripture we most frequently alledge; because they most commonly respect the *Masoretick Bible*, which we have not room to explain to those who know nothing of these things. If therefore such Subjects are fit for Divines to understand, then must the Knowledge of the Rabbinical Writings be so likewise.

'Tis peculiarly incumbent on the Ministry by their Office, to defend the Doctrines they teach, by the Scriptures: But if they are unable to defend the Scriptures, the only Evidence and Proof of their Doctrines, the Christian Religion, with the Doctrines thereof, must fall to the ground. And yet this Position, That the present *Hebrew Bible*, and *Greek Testament*, in the Words, Letters, Points, Vowels and Accents we now enjoy, is the same uncorrupted Word of God which was delivered of old by the holy Pen-men of it to the Church: This, we say, cannot well be defended against all Opposers, without the Rabbinical Knowledge we speak of.

And so much for the need of this Knowledge: We shall only give some Directions about this Study.

First, He must well understand the *Hebrew Bible*, in the first place, who would know the Rabbins, before he look after them: And for this, if he hath no *Latin*, he must get *William Robertson's First and Second Gate to the Holy Tongue*; His *Key to the Bible*: *Jessy's English Greek Lexicon*, &c. But we suppose most have the *Latine Tongue*, and such have Grammars and Lexicons enough, as *Buxtorf's Epitome*; his *Thesaurus*; His *Lexicon*: And many other Authors, especially *Bythner's Lyra Prophetica in Psalmos*: *Leusden's Compendium Biblicum*, *Arius Montanus* his *Interlineary Bible*, &c. Let him read the *Hebrew Bible*

much. And then for the *Rabbins*, take this brief Account and Direction: The ancient *Chaldee* Paraphraſts are moſt of them tranſlated, and thereby eaſie to learn: The ancient *Cabalistical* Writings, as the *Zohar*, *Bahir*, &c. are both moſt difficult, and leaſt uſeful: Their Oral Law, or Traditions, were collected, after the Deſtruction of the Temple, A.D. 150. by *Rabbi Judah the Holy*, as they call him: This they prefer before the Scripture, and ſuppoſe it was Orally delivered by *Moses* to *Israel*, and unlawful to be written; but when *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, they were conſtrained to write it, leſt it ſhould be loſt; but yet 'twas ſo written, as that none but themſelves might underſtand it: This Book is called *Miſhnaioth*, comprizing all their Religion with the Bible: 'Tis divided into Two Parts; each Part, into Three *Seders*, or Books; each *Seder*, into many *Mafecats*, or Tracts; each *Mafecat* into Chapters and Verſes. A brief Account of the Contents of the *Miſhna*, and all the Parts of it, is given by *Martinus Raimundus*, in his *Proœmium* to his *Pugio Fidei*, a very Learned and Uſeful Book; which alſo gives an Account of the *Toſaphot*, the *Gemara*, and the Commentaries thereon; which compleat the *Talmuds*, both that of *Jeruſalem*, A.D. 230. and that of *Babylon*, Five hundred Years after Chriſt; which *Gemara* is but a Comment and Diſpute on the *Miſhna*, which is the Text of the *Talmud*. There are ſeveral *Mafecats*, or Tracts of the *Miſhna*, tranſlated, as the Nine firſt *Mafecats*, viz. *Beracoth*, &c. So alſo *Mafecat Middoth*, by *Le Empereur*, *Sanhedrin* and *Maccoth*; by *Cock*, *Megillath*; by *Orho*, *Codex*, *Joma*, and others: But as the very Learned *Ludovicus de Campeigne du Veil* obſerves, He that would know the *Miſhna*, muſt learn *Maimonides*: This *Moses Maimonides*, Phyſician to the King of *Egypt*, about Five hundred Years ago, wrote his *Jad Chafeka*, or *Miſhna Torah*; wherein he hath comprized the Subſtance of the *Miſhna* and *Talmud*, in a pure, pleaſant, plain and eaſie ſtyle, if compared with the *Miſhna* and *Talmud*; and yet he that has read him, may with eaſe and pleaſure underſtand all the *Miſhna*. And then for the *Talmud*, There is *Clavis Talmudica*, *Cock's Excerpta*, &c.

This *Maimonides*, of whom the Jews ſay, from *Moses* the Law-giver, to *Moses Maimonides*, there was never another *Moses* like this *Moses*. Several of his Tracts are tranſlated alſo, as *Jeſudee Hatorah*, the Firſt *Mafecat* of all: and *Deoth*, *Aboda Zara*, the 1ſt. entitled, *De Fundamentis Legis*: 2. *Canones Ethica*: 3. *Idololatria*: 4. *De Jure Pauperis*: 5. *De Pœnitentia*, &c. But moſt are tranſlated by the excellent *Ludovicus de Campeigne du Veil*; as, *De Sacrificiis*, one of the fourteen Books which he hath divided this Work into; and *De Cultu Divino*, another of the fourteen Books, comprizing ſeveral Tracts: Alſo his Tracts about *Unleavened Bread*, about the *Paſſover*, about a *Faſt*, &c. As to other *Rabbins*, ſeveral are tranſlated,

as *Cofri*, &c. and that on various Subjects; as *Logick*, by *R. Simeon*; *Phyſick*, by *Aben Tibbon*; with *Maimonides's* *Epistle* againſt *Judiciary Astrology*. So of *Arithmetick*, and *Intercalating the Month*, by *Munſter*, and that of *Maimonides*, by *Duveil*; with many other Books, as *Jeſirah*, *Bachinath Olam*, &c. And of *History*, as *Seder Olam*, *Zutha* and *Seder Olam Rabba*, *Tſemach*, *David*, &c.

And as to *Rabbinical Commentaries*, the beſt and chief are *R. Sal. Jarchi*, or *Isaac*; *R. Aben Ezra*; *R. David Kimchi*; all theſe upon the *Proverbs* are tranſlated by *Antony Giggeius* upon ſeveral minor *Prophets*, by *Mercer*; viz. on *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, &c. on *Joel* and *Jona* by *Leuſden*, (as alſo a *Mafecat* on the *Miſhna*, called *Pirke Abbot*.) *Kimchi* on the *Pſalms* is likewiſe tranſlated. Theſe *Rabbins* lived about Five hundred Years ago, and do excellently explain the Text, where *Grammar* and *Jewiſh History* are neceſſary.

But ſeveral of the above-mentioned Books being ſcarce, we ſhall be ready to Tranſlate and Print in two Columns, the one *Hebrew*, the other *Engliſh*, either any *Mafecat* of the *Miſhna*, or any *Hilcoth* or Tract of *Maimonides*, or the Commentaries of the *Rabbins* on any part of the Bible, if our Bookseller receive Encouragement; which with *Buxtorf's* *Great Lexicon Talmudicum*, and his Book *de Abbreviationibus*, would no doubt enable one that hath read the *Hebrew* Bible, to underſtand the *Rabbins*: Which is all the Direction we have room to give here, and therefore conclude with our hearty Wiſhes, That our Young Students may be mighty in the Scriptures, *Acts* 18. 24. 2 *Tim.* 3. 15, 16. and thereby they will, by the Grace of God, become Able Divines; according to the Old Proverb, *Bonus Textuarius, Bonus Theologus*.

The PROEM.

Containing the Cauſe, Occaſion and Method of the enſuing Debate.

IN this Introduction we ſhall take notice of Three things; wherein are contained the Cauſe and Occaſion of the following Diſcourſe, with the Method of proceeding therein.

1. The Weight and Moment of the Subject in Controverſie.

2. The many Circumſtances that render its Conſideration at this time neceſſary and ſeaſonable.

3. The Method and Order of managing the ſame.

Fiſt, As to the Weight and Moment of the Matter in Controverſie, it is ſmall in quantity, about no more than a Point or Tittle; but great in quality, about no leſs a Cauſe than the Keeping or Rejeſting of the Bible. For,

1ſt. The Old Teſtament being Originally written by the Holy Pen-men of it in the Hebrew

Hebrew Tongue, in and by the same God hath made and preserved the whole Revelation of his Will, from the Beginning, unto the coming of Jesus Christ; and it hath been received as the only Foundation, Rule and Standard of all Translations, by Jews and Christians.

2. The Hebrew Bible is so received, and doth so reveal the Mind of God according as it is at present pointed; for without Points, it is either mute, and speaks nothing, or else speaketh whatever Men please to have it say, or is most dubious, having divers and contrary senses. Hence the Jews say of it, That the Points are to the Letters, as the Soul is to the Body, (the one without the other hath neither Life nor Motion,) and as Garments to a Person, without which none can come forth in publick. And so are Vowels to Consonants; with them they may sound and signify; without them they cannot: And as they say, *He that reads without Points, is like one that rideth a Horse without a Bridle, and knoweth not whither he goeth.* And as *Marcus Marinus Brixianus* saith, in his Preface to *Arca Noe*, *There would be more Confusion in this one Book without Points, than was at Babel.* The Oracles of *Apollo* were not more dubious, nor any *Lesbian* Rule more crooked. It would be a meer Nose of Wax, whereby Men may make *quidlibet ex quolibet*, what they please of any thing in it. For the Vowel letters, א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת, are omitted in innumerable places, where their Presence is indispensably necessary, if there were no Points; the like is no where found in any Language or Book besides: And in many places where they are used, they are to signify quite contrary to what they import, as כ for ב &c. And yet the Matter is most sublime, consisting of Divine Revelation; the Style more ellyptical, concise, and abstruse, in *Job*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Isaiah*, &c. and in many places, without any Connexion of Antecedents and Consequents, as in *Proverbs*, &c. that there is left no means to understand the Mind of God in it without Points. On this Account the *Papists* tell us, we must fly to the Infallibility of their Pope; and the Atheistical profane sort say, that we may live as we list, there being no certain Rule of Faith at this day amongst us.

Now the Opinion under debate leaves the Bible in this confused Condition, by assigning the Invention of the Points to such an Original as render them fitter to be blotted out of the Bible, than kept in it any longer, as being the work of the blind hardned Jews of *Tiberias*, A. D. 500. For it is impossible that the whole Pronunciation of the Bible could be preserved so long as a Thousand Years from *Ezra*, until A. D. 500. under that calamitous state of the Jews, whilst the Tongue ceased to be vulgarly pronounced or known amongst them. The *Rabbies* themselves (the only supposed Preservers of it) lamenting they had so lost it in this time, that they found great difficulty to explain the *Apax Lego-*

menon, or words that are but once used in Scripture; of which there are many, as *Kimchi's* Preface to *Miklol*, and to *Sepher Shereschim* declares, the most being kept by the *Mishna*; which was unlawful, in their Opinion, to have been written, being their Oral Law of unwritten Traditions, but only to prevent its being quite lost by the Calamities of those Times. How then was it possible to keep, from Age to Age, the true sound of all the Points, Vowels and Accents of the *Old-Testament*, without the Shapes, when multitudes of them cannot be distinguished by their Sound at all? and no memory of Man is able so much as once to receive the very Pauses or Notes of Distinction, nor yet the very Anomalies of the Punctuation; nor can the greatest *Rabbi*, by all his Skill and Custom to read by Points, be able to Point an Unpointed Bible truly, from end to end, without a Copy before him.

Therefore, to suppose that for a Thousand Years before they had the Shapes of the Points, they could infallibly and perfectly preserve all the Pronunciation of it by Oral Tradition, or Use and Custom, is to build Castles in the Air: And therefore *Dr. Broughton* saith of this Opinion, pag. 169. that *Elias Levita* lyeth for the Whetstone, when he saith, *That the Jews of Tiberias, and their Ancestors, were so cunning, that from Age to Age, they remembred how Moses pronounced all the fourteen Vowels; as though God would have a dull People to torment their Souls with the memory of Sounds.*

2. But Secondly, If that were possible, that the Pronunciation might be so long preserved true, even until A. D. 500. what Trust or Belief is there to be had in these *Masorites*, not only for their Ability at this time, but especially for their Fidelity, which at best could be but Humane? Nay, what Evidence is there that these *Masorites* of *Tiberias*, A. D. 500. were the Inventors of the Points, if they could be trusted? For no History says so of them; the Jews universally deny it of them, *Elias* only excepted: The Work of the *Masorites*, which is the *Masora*, proves the contrary. The absurdity of this Opinion is compendiously expressed by *Dr. John Owen*, in his Considerations on the *Prolegomena* to the *Polyglott Bible*, pag. 243. 'Of all the Fables that are in the *Talmud* (saith he,) I know none more incredible than this Story, That Men who cannot by any Story, or other Record, be made to appear that they ever were, in *rerum natura*; Men obscure, unobserved, not taken notice of by any Learned Man, Jew or Christian, should, in a time of deep Ignorance, in the place where they lived, amongst a People wholly addicted to monstrous Fables themselves, blinded under the Curse of God, find out so great, so excellent a work, of such unspeakable usefulness, not once advising with the Men of their own Profession and Religion, who then flourished in great abundance at *Babylon*, and the places adjacent;

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and

and impose it on all the World (that receive the Scriptures,) and have every tittle of their work received, without any opposition or question from any Person or Persons, of any Principle whatever; yea, so as to have their Invention made the constant Rule of all following Expositions, Comments and Interpretations; *Credat Apella.*" And as Dr. Lightfoot saith, in his *Centuria Chorograph.* cap. 61. pag. 146. "If you can believe the Points of the Bible to proceed from such a School, believe also all their *Talmuds*: The Pointing of the Bible favours of the work of the Holy Spirit, not of wicked, blind, and mad Men."

To conclude: The Unpointed Bible hath not that plainness, perspicuity and agreement with it self, which is indispensably necessary to render it meet to be a Rule of Faith and Worship; and the present Punctuation would deservedly be rejected, if it had no better Original than to be the Invention of some Post-Talmudical Rabbies. It is therefore of the greatest moment, to discover the improbability and absurdity of this Novel Opinion, which so directly tends to the Overthrow of the Divine Authority of the Scriptures. And though some of the Patrons of it do not themselves reject the Bible, yet they well know others of them do on this Account: So that we must defend the Divine Original of the Points, as we desire to maintain the Divine Authority of the Bible. And so much for the weight and moment of the Matter in controversy.

Secondly, As to the seasonableness of debating this Controversie at this time, there are Six Circumstances that in Conjunction attending it, do render it seasonable. The First is, the Place of it, that it is brought home to our own door. We concern not our selves with the Controversies of Foreign Countreys; but our own Nation is the Stage where this Opinion of the Novelty of the Points hath been more publicly espoused, than would have been suffered in any other Protestant State. And therefore, Secondly, It doth not creep in corners, as in other places; but hath received the publick Approbation of the Nation, so far as to be solemnly espoused in the *English Polyglott Bible*. Wherein, Thirdly, We have not faint Motions of it, but powerful and mighty Efforts by the most Learned among them. And this, Fourthly, is attended with answerable success, the generality of the springing Youth embracing it. And Fifthly, Yet not content with this Victory, Success and Credit in England, the Patrons of it have of late put forth their greatest strength afresh for the promoting of their Cause, in the *Vindicie* of *Ludovicus Capellus*, lately published in Answer to *Buxtorf de Origine Punctorum*. And, Sixthly, Notwithstanding this Opposition to the Truth, by the great Champion for the Novelty of the Points, and its suitable Success, yet there has been no Answer

returned to this Treatise as yet, that we hear of: And it is fit it should be Answered, lest this *Vindicie* do as much mischief as the former Treatise, entituled, *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*, whereof this last is a Defence, that being justly accountable for the Success this Opinion hath had in England, as by a brief Narrative of the Rise, Progress and Issue of this Controversie amongst us will appear: Which in short is this: One *Elius Levita*, a learned Grammarian and Jew, about the beginning of the Reformation, fell upon this Conceit, That certain Jews at *Tiberias*, A. D. 500. placed the Points as they had received them by Oral Tradition. This he defendeth in his *Masoret Hammasoret*, Preface 3d. But herein he is contrary to all the Jews, either in his time, or before, or after him: And therefore he was answered by them, as in particular by *R. Sam. Arugath*, in his *Arugath Habbosem*, c. 26. And also by *R. Azarias*, in his *Meor Enaim in Imre Binah*, cap. 59. And out of the Rabbins, by *Buxtorf* the Elder, in his *Thesaurus Grammaticus*, Printed in 1609. And in his *Tiberias*, 1620.

Thus amongst the Jews the Errour ended where it began, even in *Elius* himself, none being left of his Opinion amongst them. But it will not so end with Christians; several Reformers, whether moved by the Authority of *Elius* the famous Doctor and Master of the Hebrew Tongue of their time; or else, it may be, at first not well examining of it, embraced it. This Advantage the Papists lay hold on with both Hands; for they find their Accounts in it, and improve it accordingly.

Amongst Protestants, *Ludovicus Capellus* becomes the main and greatest Champion for the Novelty of the Points, and *ex professo* defends the same in his Treatise, entituled *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*, published by *Erpenius*, the Author for some Reasons concealing his own Name at the first. This Book was fully Answered, and the Truth amply defended by *Buxtorf* the Younger, in his Treatise entituled, *De Punctorum Origine & Antiquitate*, published A. D. 1648. But at length, in the *Prolegomena* to the *Biblia Polyglotta*, we have this Opinion of *Capellus*, which did but slyly creep before, publicly owned by Dr. *Walton*, the Compiler of that Bible, and defended with *Capellus's* Arguments; whereby *Capellus* is deservedly answerable for the Success of this Opinion, by its Station in the *Polyglott Bible* upon his Shoulders.

Hereupon Dr. *J. O.* writes some Considerations on the *Prolegomena* aforesaid; and by the way, Answers the Heads of Arguments brought for the Novelty of the Points. But hereunto Dr. *Walton* returns a Reply, entituled, *The Considerator Considered*, A. D. 1659. But in the Year 1661. Dr. *J. O.* in his Treatise *De Natura Theologiae*, doth concisely defend his Opinion of the Divine Original of the Points. The like doth Mr. *William Cooper* defend the Antiquity

quity of the Points, in his *Domus Masaiica Clavis*, 1673. And so doth *Wasmuth*, in his *Vindicia S. Hebrae Scripturae*, 1664.

And thus stood the Cause for some time, until now at last *Ludovicus Capellus* his *Vindicia* comes out, in Answer to *Buxtorf's* Treatise, *De Origine Punctorum*; as also his former Treatise, *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*, is reprinted with it, together with other Critical Discourses, in a large Folio, published A. D. 1689. and dedicated to the then Archbishop of Canterbury, the rest of the Bishops, and all the Clergy of the Church of England: By which Dedication is made as bold a Challenge, and earnest Invitation to the Defence of the Truth in Controversie, as could well be made; and, together with the foregoing Considerations, render it seasonable at this time, as the weight and moment of the Subject do make the present Defence thereof necessary.

Thirdly, As to the Method of the ensuing Discourse, we have divided the same into Two Parts.

In the First Part, we examine the Evidences for the Opinion, that the Points were invented, A. D. 500. Or since that time by the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*, or Others, and discover the Improbability thereof.

In the Second Part, we Prove and Maintain the Antiquity and Divine Original of the Shapes of the Points, Vowels and Accents, against the Cavils and Objections of *Capellus*, and Others.

But the First of the Two is what we begin withall, for several Reasons.

First, Because we are in Possession of the present Punctuation, as being of Divine Original, and have peaceably enjoyed it in all Ages to this time, all Translations amongst us being taken out of it: 'Tis our Inheritance, and therefore unfit to call the Antiquity of the Points into question, until we first see sufficient Evidence, or at least great Probability that they were a Novel Invention: Which if of so late date, may be more easily proved than what was a Thousand Years before that time: And the Rejecting or Answering of the Arguments for their Novel Invention, is a Proof of their Antiquity, and Divine Original; for the Points were placed either since A. D. 500. or between the time of *Ezra*, and A. D. 500. or else by the time of *Ezra*. But we shall here prove in the First place, that they were not placed since A. D. 500. and there are none that pretend they were between the time of

Ezra and A. D. 500. Therefore the Points were placed by the time of *Ezra*, which is all we contend for.

Secondly, The Old Foundation must be removed, before a New Structure can be erected. Many have been so prepossessed with so high a conceit of the Novelty of the Points, that 'twould be bootless to prove their Antiquity, until the improbability of their late Invention be discovered: for they admire that any Learned or Judicious Person should believe their Antiquity, (altho' all the Protestant States and Churches in the World (except what hath been lately suffered in England) do religiously maintain it.) *Scaliger* saith, *That nothing can be more foolishly spoken, than to say the Points were coævous with the Letters*, Ep. 243. *Grotius*, on *Mat. 5. 18.* affirmeth, *That 'tis nothing but pertinacious Obstinacy in any, to deny that the Scriptures were used to be written without Points after Ezra's time.* And *Schikard*, in his *Jure Reg. Heb. lib. 2. pag. 41.* asserteth, *That he greatly wonders that any can seriously believe the Antiquity of the Points.* Vid. *Considerator* Considered, pag. 234, 235. So that till the Absurdity of their beloved Opinion be manifested, 'tis in vain to prove the other whilst they disdain to consider it.

3. Our Antagonists spend their greatest strength in opposing our Opinion, to render it but Improbable; and 'tis but quit with them, to shew the Improbability of theirs; and more fair, seeing 'tis easier for them to prove a Fact done but a Thousand Years ago, than for us to prove what was done at Two Thousand Years distance from the present time.

4. This Discourse being principally designed to Answer *Capellus*, *Dr. Walton*, &c. who take this method, first defending their own Opinion, and then Replying unto the Arguments for ours, it is convenient to follow them herein, and keep their Order so far.

And for these Reasons, we observe the Method here propounded, and begin with the First General Head; which is, The discovery of the Improbability of the Opinion, That the Shapes of the Points, Vowels and Accents of the Hebrew Bible, were first invented and placed to the Text, A. D. 500. or since that time, either by the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*, or Others; and for the Reasons aforesaid, we shall largely insist hereon, according to the best of our poor Ability, and that small Reading which frequent Avocations from Study on necessary Occasions would permit.

A Discourse concerning the Original and Antiquity of the Hebrew Points, Vowels and Accents.

The FIRST PART.

Containing the Discovery of the Improbability of their Novel and Humane Invention and Original.

CHAP. I.

The Question stated. The Four different Opinions about the First Period of Time whereunto the Invention of the Points is assigned, are enumerated. The Three several Opinions of those who suppose the Points were a Novel Invention, related. The Two last examined.

THE Question under Consideration, is, Concerning the Time when the Shapes of the Points, Vowels and Accents were first invented, and placed to the Hebrew Bible.

There are Two periods of Time particularly fixed unto the one or the other, of which all Parties do in some respect ascribe their Original.

The one is, the Time of Ezra; the other is, A. D. 500. The one makes them of Divine the other of Humane Original and Authority.

So that the Question is, Whether the Shapes or Figures of the Points, Vowels and Accents which are joyned to the Text of the Hebrew Bible, were invented and placed to the Text as early as the time of Ezra, or else not until the Talmuds were finished, A. D. 500?

1. Those that place them to the First Period, viz. that say they were as ancient as the time of Ezra, are all the Jews, one (only Elias) excepted, though they differ as to the positive precise time of their first Invention, as R. Samuel Arkivoltri reckons them up. For, 1st. Some say they are coævous with the Letters. 2. Others, That they were given to Moses on Sinai with the Oral Law, and kept by Tradition till Ezra's time. 3. Others say, That they were placed to the Law, and the rest of the Scriptures, as they were first written. 4. But all the rest, except Elias only, say that Ezra, and the great Sanhedrim of his time, first invented and placed them to the Text. So that in this they all agree, That by the time of Ezra, at latest, they were invented and placed to the Scripture; and thereby they own their Divine Original and Authority, as do the generality of Christians likewise.

2. Those that place their Original to the Second Period, affirm that they were not

invented before A. D. 500. though they also differ as to the precise time of their first Invention: About which they hold Three different Opinions. 1st. That they were began and ended, simul & semel, A. D. 500. as Elias saith was his Opinion, in Tob raam letter page 1stade, cap. 2. I think (saith he) that those who found out the Points, found out also the Accents, and placed both of them to the Letters at one time. Which in his Masoret Hammasoret, Pref. 2. he declares was about the Year 500. The Evidences which he brings for his Opinion, and the Testimony he produceth out of Aben Ezra, Cosri, Kimchi, and Tsak Sephataim, shall be at large examined in the following Chapters, and the Improbability and Absurdity of his Opinion fully discovered afterwards in its proper place. A brief Relation of the Two other Opinions, and Examination of them (by the way,) is the Work of this Chapter: And they are these.

2. The Second different Opinion about their Novel Invention, is that of Ludovicus Capellus, who supposeth they were began A. D. 500. and ended A. D. 1030: by Ben Asher, and Ben Naphthali, Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum, cap. 17. But for this Opinion he brings no Testimony nor Reason, as Buxtorf observes, de Punct. Orig. pag. 267. Hanc vero cum in libris & authoribus nullis reperiret suapte mente, & ingenio eam hoc pacto nobis proculd. And all that Capellus pretends to alledge, is only what Elias Levita mentions out of Maimonides on another account, about Ben Asher's Copy, the Jews leaning upon it, because he spent many Years in Correcting of it: The words of Maimonides are these: 'And the Book that we lean upon in these things, is a Book that is known in Egypt, comprizing the Twenty four Books of Scripture, which was in Jerusalem many Years ago, to Correct Books by it; and all lean upon it, because Ben Asher Corrected it, who was exact therein many years, and Corrected it many times as he Transcribed it; and and on him I lean in the Book of the Law, which I have written after his manner.' This Elias repeats, and addeth, 'And so we lean upon his Reading in all these Countreys; and the Men of the East lean on the Reading of Ben Naphthali; and the

the differences between them are only about little Accents, as *Merheg* and *Mak-kaph*, and *Munach*, and *Pashia*, single and double: And the divisions about the Points, are only about *Holem* and *Kamets*, *Katuph* and *Kamets*, *Gadol* and *Pathak*, and *Sheva*, and *Kateph Pathak*; and so of *Dagesh*, and *Raphah*, and *Milbill*, and *Mitrah*, &c. But doth *Elias* suppose these in whole, or in part to be the Authors of the Punctuation? Nay, he saith the quite contrary is evident in the words immediately before these of *Maimonides*: And thus saith *Elias*, 'But as to the Divisions that are between *Ben Asher* and *Ben Naphthali*, being only about Points and Accents, there is no doubt but that they were written after the Points and the Accents were founded: And this (saith he) is easie to understand.' *Masoret Hamasoret*, Pref. 3. pag. 73. as indeed it is; for the differences being about the several Parts of the Punctuation, both Points, Vowels and Accents, all those Parts must needs have been before in being, or they could not have been the matter of division or difference between them.

Obj. What made *Ben Asher* so long about it, if he only Corrected it?

Sol. The Nature and Weight of the thing, to make it a Standard; by which, to try all Copies of their only Rule of Faith, wherein it was needful to observe exactly, and compare faithfully, by the best Copies, every Letter, Point and Accent of the Scripture; and after that, to write it over, until that there neither wanted, nor yet abounded one Letter, Point or Accent of all the Bible; was a work wherein many Years might be taken up, without supposing him to be the Author of any part of the Punctuation, because he was long in exact Correcting of it.

So that here, as *Elias* leaveth *Capellus*; so also the Testimony doth not help him at all, and others he hath none.

2. As *Capellus* leaves *Elias*, about the Sence of *Maimonides*; so they differ greatly in the Method and Order wherein they suppose the several parts of the Punctuation were invented. *Capellus* conceiteth they were 500 years in compiling, after this manner: (1.) They distinguished the Verses by two thick strokes, for *Soph pasuk*. (2.) Next to that, they placed the five long Vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*. (3.) Then the Pauses, or great Stops, by the Accents. (4.) Then the lesser Stops, &c. — But he brings no Testimony to prove it, and 'tis no more than his own single Conjecture. Now *Elias* saith they were all made at one time, *A. D. 500*. and that in another manner: For *Elias* saith, that next unto the placing of the Period, they placed the Colon, or *Athnack*; and then the Sakeph: And it was necessary (saith *Elias*) that they should do all this before they placed the Points, because that many of the Points are changed, by reason of *Athnack* and *Soph pasuk*; as *אָ* to *אֵ*, &c.

And indeed, on this Account, *Capellus* his Opinion is absurd; for the Vowels

could not be placed before *Athnack*, and the other Accents (which change the Vowels one into another) were fixed.

And that the Points cannot be 500 years in composing (*viz.* from *A. D. 500*. until *A. D. 1040*. as *Capellus* thinks they were,) the Nature of the *Masoretick* Notes, and the Time unavoidably to be allotted for the same, do evince.

For the *Masorites* have made their Notes on the Anomalies of all the parts of the Punctuation: So that the whole of the Punctuation must needs have been finished long before their time; who yet must needs have been before the time of *Ben Asher*; because the Grammarians succeeded him, and take no notice of any *Masorites* of their time; which they could not have omitted, if there had been any such Criticks in Grammar-learning among them, as the *Masorites* were. And yet 'tis as absurd to suppose these *Masorites* to be before *Ben Asher*, as it was to suppose them since his time. Because,

(1.) They had then been Contemporary with the Authors of some part of the Punctuation, and before the Authors of the last part of the Punctuation: Which is most absurd, as shall be made to appear from the Nature of the *Masoretick* Notes, which do manifestly shew that the whole of the Punctuation was long before those Observations: For else we must suppose there were several sets of *Masorites* that did successively arise after every Set of Authors of each part of the Punctuation, as it was gradually invented and placed. But this we cannot imagine: Because,

1. The First Set of *Masorites* must then have been so near the Authors of that part of the Punctuation which was invented before their time, as to have been able to know the Reasons of the Anomalies; which if they had known, no doubt but they would have mention'd them, there being no way like it to restrain Posterity from altering of them: Which was the main End of all their Observations, so to keep them even as they found them: And the same may be said of every Set of *Masorites* successively.

2. Then the First Set of *Masorites* must have been Authors of the Punctuation it self, rather than bare Annotators on it, being much more fit than after Ages so to be: For if they durst only observe the Anomalies of that part of the Punctuation which was before them; how then durst any who came after their time become Authors, who had no more, nor yet so much skill and ability for the same? For the succeeding Authors must place the parts of the Punctuation, of which they were the Authors of the Shapes thereof, according as they had received the knowledge of the Force, Sound or Pronunciation thereof, from these *Masorites*, who were their Predecessors, who yet durst not attempt any such things themselves.

13. If the *Masorites* were of such distant and divers Ages, there would then be a proportionable difference in their Style and Dialect; and those who made Notes on the First Part of the Punctuation, would have been known by their Style, Dialect, or Authority, from those who made their Notes on the Last Part of it. But there is no Mark or Means left whereby we can discern who were first, or who were last, by any difference of Style, Dialect or Authority, in any one part of the *Masoretick* Notes, from another part of it: So that these *Masorites* could not be before the whole of the Punctuation was finished, nor yet since *Ben Asher's* time; and therefore the Punctuation must needs have been finished before *Ben Asher's* time: Which holds good against the Third Opinion, which is, That they were begun and ended by *Ben Asher*. As also doth what *Elias* hath said before about it: And therefore no Testimony being brought by any for this Opinion, and few or none at this time contending for it, we need not enlarge upon it.

But seeing *Capellus* would be accounted to be, for the main, of *Elias* his Opinion, though he differs from him in these Particulars, as to the time taken up in Composing the Punctuation, and the like; yet seeing he pleads for his Opinion with all *Elias's* Arguments, which *Elias* brings for his own Opinion, and chideth *Buxtorf* for stating his Opinion, as if it were different from that of *Elias*, seeing he agrees with him, that they might be begun by the *Masorites*, A. D. 500. Therefore we shall examine the Arguments and Objections of *Capellus* more at large, together with the Opinion and Arguments of *Elias*, which we shall begin to take in hand in the following Chapter.

C P A P. II.

The Evidences for the Novelty of the Points considered, in the Examination of the Opinion of *Elias Levita*, and of the Testimonies produced by him and his Followers, *Capellus* and Others, for the same; in General.

WHereas there is no Testimony produced by any, for the Proof of the Time, Place and Persons, when, where, or by whom the Points were invented or placed, A. D. 500. or since that time, but only those Expressions that *Elias Levita* hath gathered out of *Aben Ezra*, *Cosri*, *Kimki*, *Isak Sephataim*, &c. as he supposeth, in favour of his Opinion, That the Points were invented, *Simul & Semel*, A. D. 500. and then placed by the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*: It will be convenient therefore to examine the Evidences for the Novelty of the Points, under this Opinion of *Elias*, seeing they were first brought by him for the Proof of his own Notion. But we must distinguish

between the Arguments which are brought, or Objections made against the Antiquity of the Points; and the Evidences for the *ubi, quando, & à quibus*, when, where, and by whom precisely they were invented: For most of the strength of *Capellus*, and Others, is placed in making Objections against the Antiquity of the Points, which we intend to consider in the SECOND PART: And such are the Objections: (1.) Of Reading an Unpointed Copy of the Law in the Synagogue: (2.) The Samaritan, and other Eastern Languages, being without Points: (3.) The LXX. and other Versions, not following the present Punctuation: (4.) The Silence of *Jerom*, and the Fathers: (5.) The Silence of the Caballistical Writers: (6.) The Silence of the Talmuds, the Mishna, and Gemara, about the Points: (7.) The Novelty of the Names of them: (8.) The Redundancy, Superfluity and Anomalies of the Punctuation, and the like, do only conclude a bare Conjecture against their Antiquity, but do not so much as touch the Time, Place and Persons, when, where, and by whom positively the Punctuation was invented and placed; which alone is our present Enquiry. Nay, indeed they tell us they do not insist much, when, where, and by whom the Points were invented, whether A. D. 500, 600, 700, or 800. whether by the *Masorites*, or Others at *Tiberias*, or elsewhere, so it be granted the Points be not of Divine but Humane Original. Vid. *Considerator Considered*, p. 219. *Capellus Arcanum & Vindicie*, in the Proæmium; and yet do say that *Elias* hath proved they were invented, A. D. 500. by the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*, Prol. 3. §. 42.

But we say we'll not be so served; for before we quit the Punctuation, we'll know when, where, and by whom it was invented within this last Thousand Years, then we'll yield it. But if they can't prove this, we'll abide by our own: For if it were invented so lately, they might be able to shew us when, where, and by whom it was invented, and placed to the Text; for it is impossible the whole World of Jews and Christians should universally receive it, without taking notice when, where, and by whom it came. So that will they or nill they, we must examine what they can say to this Point, When, where, and by whom the Points were first invented, and placed to the Text. Now if they were placed since A. D. 500. it must be done by the Jews; they would never have received it at the Hands of Christians, had any been able to have done it.

This must then have been best known to the Jews; and none of them would have done more, to gather up the Evidences hereof, than *Elias*, the first and last of this Opinion among them. This he hath done as well as he could, which we shall now examine, seeing his Followers have added nothing to what he hath produced in this Matter: Which amounts to no more than some dubious Expressions of

four Rabbins about the Punctuation, viz. *Aben Ezra, Kimki, Cofri, and Tsak Sephataim*; and what they say in Commendation of the Skill of the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*. Now we shall examine the Quotations out of the four Rabbins, about the Punctuation: And we say in General,

1. We deny that any one of these Rabbins do speak one Word for the Novelty of the Points: But if they did all four speak positively for it, what could be thence concluded more than this, That four Jews were of this Opinion, contrary to the universal Belief of all their own People.

2. Our Adversaries say the Jews are not fit to be heard, when they speak in the Praise of their own Nation; for they are partial to their own Glory. But nothing could be said more to their own Honour than this, That they were enabled by the Lord to perform so great, so useful and admirable a Work as the present Punctuation is; even then when the Christians said they were under the Curse of God, for Crucifying of Christ. The Time of *Ezra* needed not the Honour, it had as much besides as this was, there being several Books of Scripture then written by Men divinely inspired; but the poor ignorant Jews, *A. D.* 500. despised of all the World, and rejected of God for their Unbelief, wanted such an *Encomium*. So that by their own Argument, their Testimony is to be rejected; because it is in their own Cause, and for their own Glory, of which they are too ambitious.

3. But we deny that *Aben Ezra, Kimki, Cofri*, and the Author of *Tsak Sephataim*, do suppose the Points to be a Novel Invention. For,

First, We shall produce plainer Testimonies out of these very Authors, wherein they plainly express themselves for the Antiquity of the Points.

Secondly, We shall prove they have wrested those places they have collected; and that the genuine Sense of the Authors, in those very places they have alledged out of them, is very consonant unto, and doth well agree with what the same Authors say elsewhere for the Antiquity of the Points.

We shall begin, in the First place, with *Aben Ezra*; who, by *Elias* and his Followers, is esteemed *Instar Omnium*; none being, in their Opinion, so fully of their mind in this Matter.

CHAP. III.

The Opinion of *Aben Ezra* for the Antiquity of the Points, particularly considered.

IN the Consideration of *Aben Ezra's* Opinion, we shall, First, Produce plain Testimony out of him, for the Antiquity of

the Points. And then, Secondly, Discover the Frauds and Violence which *Elias* and his Followers have used to wrest his words, in the places they alledge out of him.

First then, We shall produce what he saith for the Antiquity of the Points; and to this purpose we shall translate a full Testimony out of his Book, entituled, *Mozenee haleshon hakkodesh*, towards the beginning of it, as it is delivered by *Buxtorf*, *De Punct. Origine*, pag. 13. The words are these, or to this effect, viz. 'The words of the Lord are pure Words, or Sayings; preserved by the hands of holy Men, one Generation after another: For they were sanctified from the Womb; they heard the holy words at the Mouth of him who is most excellent in Holiness; and they were Interpreters between him (viz. the Lord,) and between *Jacob*. The holy People and these were before the building of that holy House (viz. the Temple,) and when it stood upon its Basis, or Foundation; and after it, until the Vision and Prophecy was sealed up. But after a few years, about the time of the building of the holy House the second time, at that time the Spirit of the Lord, the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding rested upon the Men of that House that were called, *Anashee kenefet haggadolah*, 'The Men of the great Synagogue, or Sanhedrim, to explain all that was sealed up in the Command.' And the words that are translated by the Mouth of the Just Men from the Mouth of the former and latter Prophets, (that is, delivered by Oral Tradition, from hand to hand.) Also they were rendring a Reason, (or restoring the Accent *Meshebe taam*, Prov. 26. 16.) and taught their Posterity, *Chephets Colimian*, the sense of every word or thing; *al jad taamee hamikra*, by the hand or means of the Accents of the Scripture: And the Kings and the Ministers they taught their Posterity; and the closed Sections, and the open Sections: And what continues, carries on the sense (in opposition to the Pause,) and the Verses or Pauses that stop the sense; and they were Eyes to the Blind; therefore we go in their steps, and follow after them, and lean upon them in all the Expositions of Scripture: And after the Captivity of our Fathers from the Holy City, the Lord stirred up the Spirit of his Saints; and the Chief of them was our holy Rabbi (viz. *Judah*,) to compose what was noted in loose Writings of the Commands of our God, and that is the *Mishna*; whereunto nothing may be added, nor may any thing be taken away from it. Also after them, came other holy Princes, and pious Hero's, and they are the Men of the *Talmud* (viz. the *Gemarists*,) and they went on in their paths (viz. of the Masters of the *Mishna*,) and they took up the Stones out of the High-ways of the Testimony, and they removed every Stumbling-stone out of the

paths of the Lord. And after this, stood up in *Israel*, according to the good Hand of our God upon us, two great Rows, or Orders, (*Neh. 12. 31.*) the one keeping the Walls of the Sanctuary of Strength, (*Dan. 11. 31.* founded by the Hand of our God,) that no Stranger may be able to destroy it. Now this Sanctuary, is the Holy Books of Scripture; and the Men of this Row or Order, are the Men of the *Masora*, or the *Masorites*, who separated all the mixed Multitude from the holy People, (alluding to *Nehem. 13. 3.* and meaning what is Humane from what is Divine, in Correcting the Copy :) And they numbred the Men of the Sanctuary, from Two to Eleven, to the end that no Stranger might draw near to the Gates of Righteousness. Blessed be the Lord our God, who hath put such a thing as this in the heart of the rest of the Kingdom of his Priests, to beautifie his House, which is a House of Wisdom; as *Solomon* saith, *Wisdom hath built her House.* And the second Row, that goeth over against it, *And I go after it, Neh. 12. 38.* are those that are expert in War, alluding unto *Cnat. 3. 8. in the Law, or about the Law;* and they are the Grammarians. — Thus far *Aben Ezra*.

In this place (saith *Buxtorf*) *Aben Ezra* doth elegantly and discreetly Expound in what manner, and by whom the holy Word of God was preserved from the Beginning, quite down to the Time of the Grammarians; and what was done in every Age about the Preservation thereof, and by whom it was done.

For, *First*, he saith, The true and genuine Sence of the Word of God was preserved (without Points) by holy Men, such as *Moses*, and the Prophets, unto the time of the Second Temple, and the time wherein Vision and Prophecy were sealed up.

Secondly, After the building of the Second House, about the ending of Prophecy, or the Prophetick Gift and Ministry, God raised up other holy Men, to wit, the Men of the Great Synagogue, (that is to say, *Ezra*, with his Council,) who preserved the Word of God, which was brought to them by Oral Tradition. This Holy Scripture they did by other means than Tradition, with great care and study deliver down to Posterity: But how they did this, and what in particular it was that the Men of the Great Synagogue did about the Preservation of the Scripture; this he doth teach particularly, and by Parts;

For, *First*, he saith, That this was done, *Al jad taamice hamikra*, By the means of the Accents of the Scripture.

Secondly, By the *Kings* and *Ministers*, that is the Vowels. The *Kings* he calls afterwards seven, viz. *Holem*, *Shurek*, *Chirek*, *Pathak*, *Segol*, *Kamets*, *Tfere*: And the *Ministers*, *Sheva*, *Mute*, *Mobile*, and *Com-*

pound: And he doth not mean the Accents which the Grammarians divided into *Kings* and *Ministers*. (Vid. *Balmes*, cap. 3. of the *Points*, more of this.)

Thirdly, By the Doctrine concerning the Sections that are close, open, or continued; *Hafetumim*, *Upetuchim*, *Udebikim*.

Fourthly, By *Hafesukim*, the Verses, or the Distinction of the Scripture into Verses; by these helps he saith they are like Eyes to the Blind, and in their Steps we go, in Reading and Expounding the Scripture at this time: He saith, we every where lean on their Exposition of the Scripture, and therefore not of the *Tiberian Masorites*.

Thirdly, In the Third place, after the Men of the Great Synagogue, he proceeds to the Masters of the *Mishna*, and to them he chiefly ascribes the true Explication of the Precepts of God.

Fourthly, He makes the *Talmudists*, or *Gemarists*, succeed the Masters of the *Mishna*; and to these he ascribeth the Illustration and Explication of the Doctrine of the *Mishna*, and their Disputations.

Fifthly, He saith, By the good Hand of God to *Israel*, he raised up Two other Orders of Men, labouring profitably for the Preservation of the Scripture. The First Order he ascribeth to the *Masorites*; but unto these he ascribeth no Invention, either of the Points, or of the Accents, or of the Distinctions. But he principally commends these, for Two things.

First, That they did separate every thing that was strange (that is, Foreign or Humane) from the Books of Scripture, if any thing had by hap crept into it.

Secondly, That they numbred the Words and Letters of the Books of Scripture, that so there might be no way left whereby the Text could be corrupted in time to come. And agreeing to this, is what he writes of the *Masorites*, in his Book entituled, *Jesudee Mora*, — Truly there is a Reward to the Works of the *Masorites*, who are like those who keep the Walls of a City: For by reason of them, the Law of the Lord, and the holy Books of Scripture, do stand in their Form, without any Addition, or Diminution. This is the sum and substance of *Aben Ezra's* words: From whence it appears (saith *Buxtorf*) as clear as the Noon-day:

First, That he did not make the *Tiberian Masorites*, but the Men of the Great Synagogue (the Head of whom was *Ezra*) to be the Authors of the Invention of all the Points, Accents and Distinctions: For he reckons up the *Tiberian Masorites* long after the Authors of the Points, Accents and Distinctions. Nor is there left any room for that Exception, That he speaks only of the Power and Force of the Points and Accents: For his Words are too manifest, and the order of his Speech will not allow this; for he shews what was done in every Age, for the Preservation of the Scripture: But if he had spoken here of the Oral Explication of the Scripture only, what then did the Men

Men of the Great Synagogue do, other than those before them? Did not they do this, and for this were commended by him? And if he thought the Masorites invented them first, why did he not expressly ascribe it to them, when he made mention of them? In vain therefore doth *Capellus*, in his *Vindicia*, make the Objection, That the Sound, and not the Shapes, were meant by him of *Ezra*, when he knew *Buxtorf* had already Answered it. Moreover, *Capellus* says, *Aben Ezra* is as much for him elsewhere, and so no witness against him.

Resp. This we deny: But if he were, he is for us here, and therefore can be no Witness against us: We can spare him, having all besides him for us; better than they can, who have not another for them.

Secondly, He saith, *Why did not Ezra as well Write the Oral Law, as Point the Text?*

Reply: Because the Scripture is the only Rule of Faith, and so esteemed by them; but the Oral Law was but Humane Tradition, of no account then, however it were afterwards admired; and it then became needful to Point the Text, that it might be plain, seeing they had in part forgotten their Tongue in Captivity, and was never since restored to be Vulgar.

Capellus asks, *Why might not Ezra deliver the Sounds of the Points to Israel, as well as the Oral Law, by Tradition?*

Resp. We deny the Oral Law was delivered by *Ezra* to Israel; but if it were, as the Jews imagine, yet was there not that need to write one as the other: They could keep their Oral Traditions, notwithstanding any Alteration of their Language; but so could they not preserve the true Punctuation of the Language, when it ceased to be vulgarly spoken or understood. But when through their many Dispersions they were in danger of losing their Traditions, then they wrote them; as *R. Samuel Arcuvolti* declares in *Arugath Habosem*, who says also, *It was necessary that the Points were placed in Ezra's time, though it had been unlawful before; because the Sound could not be preserved longer than that time without them.*

Capellus Vindicia, lib. 1. cap. 1. §. 11. objects, *Was not Ezra enough, with a Prophetic Spirit, what need of the Sanhedrin?*

Resp. (1.) The Sanhedrin was instituted. (2.) Others were Prophets, as *Haggai*, &c. and why must they be excluded? (3.) This is the General Opinion of Jews and Christians, That *Ezra* and the Prophets did act in Conjunction with the Great Sanhedrin, in the Reformation of the Church, as they were commanded. But of this more elsewhere may be spoken.

Capellus Vindicia, lib. 1. cap. 1. §. 9. says, *What Aben Ezra says of Ezra, is no more than is due to any skilful Grammarian.*

Resp. Not so. For, First, as *Cosri* says, 'Tis a Work Divine, and requires Divine Aid, to give the true Sence of Scripture infallibly and truly.

2. That might be done by *Ezra*, by Humane Ability, whilst the Language and the Text was rightly read and pronounced, that could not be done, after the Tongue ceased to be vulgarly understood, without Divine Aid: And therefore, though it were no more than Humane Skill, yet none since *Ezra* could be supposed to have that, and therefore it might well enough belong to him on that account.

So that here is an express Testimony of *Aben Ezra* for the Antiquity of the Points, notwithstanding all the Exceptions made by *Capellus* against it.

CHAP. IV.

The several places of Aben Ezra wrested by Elias and his Followers, considered: Their genuine Sence declared.

WE are now to discover the Fraud and Violence used by *Elias* and his Followers, to wrest the places of *Aben Ezra*, in the places they alledge out of him, in favour of their Opinion; and to shew, that what he saith in those places, doth well enough agree with what he hath elsewhere said for the Antiquity of the Points.

The First place we shall take notice of, is in his Book, entituled, *Tsafgoth*, alledged by *Elias*, and after him by *Capellus*: Wherein *Aben Ezra* saith, *There are many Interpreters, who charge the Author of the Distinction of the Text into Verses, with Error therein, but they do not speak what is right, and Rabbi Moses the Priest is one of them, &c. But I admire at this greatly, how the Author of the Stops or Verses should err, ve aph ki im hu Ezra hafopher, seeing he was Ezra the Scribe.* The Novelists read it, *And if he were Ezra the Scribe.* This in general he saith, *That there hath arisen no Man so wise as the Author of the Pauses since his time; for we see that throughout the whole Scripture he hath made the stops no where but where they should be placed.* Thus far *Aben Ezra*.

Here *Elias* owneth, that *Hamaphsik*, the Author of the Stops, is meant the Punctator; but he wonders why he is called so in the Singular Number, being elsewhere in this Book mentioned in the Plural. But this *Buxtorf* denies is any where mentioned in the Plural in this Book, though the Matter is small, whether the one, or the other; for the Singular might mean *Ezra*, as the Head of the Sanhedrin; and the Plural might mean *Ezra*, in Conjunction with the Sanhedrin.

Elias inferrs from this place, *That Aben Ezra did not believe the Points were given by Moses on Sinai.*

Resp. We grant it: For we say it was his Opinion that *Ezra* placed them: And that Opinion doth well agree with this place.

Capellus objecteth, 'Tis too mean a Commendation of the Author of the Points, to suppose

pose he meant Ezra, when he says, There has been none so wise since him, and that it was done perfectly right.

Resp. 'Tis Praise enough for Ezra or Moses either, to say, That none has arisen like him: And, That the Punctuation is exactly according to the Mind of God, and in all the Parts of it true and right. And as to Others, who charge the Punctator with Error, he reproveth them for the same, seeing (as he says) that Ezra the Scribe made it.

Capellus infers hence, That some, as this R. Moses, &c. had no such esteem for the Points, and did not think they were made by Ezra.

Resp. First, But *Aben Ezra* is not of that mind; which is the thing that is to be proved: For he reproveth it in them, and they want Witnesses who seek after those who are convicted of Error therein. But they might charge the Punctator with Error, and yet allow *Ezra* to be the Author of it, by supposing, as *Capellus* himself doth, that there might be crept into the Text some Mistakes, through the length of Time, and humane Frailty of the Scribes, who wrote the Bible from the Copies that were before them: And 'tis more likely, that both *Aben Ezra*, and these Persons, owned *Ezra* to be the Author of the Points, because he makes that an Argument, seeing *Ezra* made it, or if *Ezra* made it; either way shew it was a received Principle among them, and therefore goes not to prove it, but improves it, and infers from it, as a thing acknowledged, especially by those he reproves.

Secondly, That *Aben Ezra* doth call the Punctator *Hamaphsik*, and meaneth *Ezra* thereby, appears by what he saith elsewhere, as on *Esther* 9. 27. on the words *Keketabam*, according to their writing: 'The sence is (saith he,) that the Volume of *Esther* should be read even just as it was written, without Points; and that because *Ezra* the Scribe, *Hiphsik* *Haphsikim*, distinguished the Verses, which was not done till many years after the writing of this Volume: Therefore, our Wise Men, of happy memory, commanded, That he that reads this Volume of *Esther*, should not stop at the end of a Verse.' Hence *Buxtorf* observes, He saw the Volume of *Esther* Unpointed.

Now in this place he expressly nameth *Ezra* the *Hammapesik*, or Pauser, or Punctator: And in other places it is manifest, that the *Hammapesik*, or maker of the Verses, was also the Maker of the Points, Vowels and Accents: Which *Elias* himself alloweth, saying, *Upeerush hammapesik mishefem hapesikat hattaamim*: And the meaning of *Hammapesik*, the Pauser, the Punctator, is he that placeth the Pausing of the Accents.

Hence *Dr. Walton* and *Capellus* are mistaken, who suppose that by *Hammapesik*, no more is intended, than he that placed the two thick Strokes, or divided the Text

into Verses; which they allow to be much more ancient than the Points, Vowels and Accents: For, as *Buxtorf* observeth, *Aben Ezra*, in *Tsakoorh*, doth often use the Verb *Hiphsik*, not only to distinguish the Verses by two Points or Strokes, but also to distinguish Verses by distinguishing Accents and Pauses: As he saith in *Tsakoorh*, before the words last alledged, Behold (saith he) we see that he (viz. *Hammapesik* the Punctator) hath put the Accent in the word *Sham*, Gen. 21. 33. which joyneth that with the word *Shem* that followeth: But in *Exod.* 34. 5. there *Hiphiko* he makes a Stop, (that is, makes an *Athnak*;) which distinguisheth it from the following words. So that *Hammapesik* the Accentator, or Punctator, is the same with *Baal Hattamim*, the Author of the Accents or Punctuation. For so *Aben Ezra*, in his Commentary on this very place, *Exod.* 34. 5. calls him there *Baal Hattamim*, the Author of the Accents; who is here called *Hammapesik*, the Punctator.

Capellus in *Vind. lib.* 1. cap. 1. §. 5. would suppose *Hamaphsik* to be he that placed the Sounds and Force, but not the Shape.

Resp. But, First, *Elias* plainly affirms that it is he that placed the Shapes: And so doth *Capellus* himself allow the same elsewhere, viz. in his *Arcanum*, lib. 1. cap. 2. §. 5. he saith there, 'That none may think, because 'tis said *Maphsik* in the Singular Number, the Punctator; therefore it was *Ezra*, and not the *Masorites*, that Pointed the Text: Saith he, *Aben Ezra* doth elsewhere call them *Maphsikim*, the Punctators, in the Plural, in his Book *Mozenaim*.' So that here he allows *Maphsik* to be the Placer of the Shapes, where he can but bring it to the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*.

Capellus objects, 'Tis not said, Which was not done till many years after the writing of *Esther*; but, Which was done not many years after the writing of *Esther*.

Resp. First, It matters not which way it be read, as to the Point in debate; 'tis brought to prove that *Ezra* was the *Maphsik*, the Punctator; which it proveth plainly, whether way it be read, long after, or not long after; *Ezra* Pointed it after both sences allow.

Capellus would fain suppose the Sound might be kept by Tradition, or Custom, to the time of the *Masorites*. But this we have elsewhere shewed cannot be.

Secondly, The rest of the places alledged by *Elias* and his Followers, out of *Aben Ezra*, for the Novelty of the Points, are principally Two that commend the Skill and Fidelity of the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*, about the Punctuation. We shall therefore,

First, Consider the scope of the places themselves, to find thereby whether he esteemed the *Masorites* to be the Inventors, or Reformers and Correctors of the Punctuation. And,

Secondly, We shall consider what *Aben Ezra*, and Others say, in Commendation of

of the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*; wherein lyes all the strength of the Evidence that *Elias* or his Followers do bring for the precise Time, Place and Persons, when, where, and by whom it is supposed the Points were first invented: And we shall here consider, whether what is spoken in Commendation of them, do belong to them as Inventors, or as Restorers, or Correctors of the Punctuation.

Thirdly, We shall shew that *Aben Ezra* doth not ascribe the Invention of the Points to the *Masorites*; because he oft differs from them, and opposeth them; but always follows the Punctuation, and enjoyns all others so to do.

First then, We are to consider the places themselves, and the scope, and true meaning of them.

The First is this, taken out of *Aben Ezra's* Book, *Tsafkoth*, pag. 138. col. 2. alledged by *Elias Masoret Hammasoret*, Prefat. 3. pag. 76. The words are these: *And this is the Custom of the wise Men of Tiberias, and they are the Foundation; for from them were the Men of the Masora, and we have from them received all the Punctuation.* The place more at large is this: *The Punctators (saith Aben Ezra immediately before the words alledged) are used to point Sheva under Tau, in the word אִשִּׁי, Asit, which is the Second Person Feminine, that it might not be confounded with the Masculine.* Then he brings an Objection, saying, *If any one objects, What need was there to place Sheva there? for seeing that Kamets was not under the letter Tau, was it not easily understood that there was to be a quiescent Sheva, because it was the last letter of the word; (for the last letter of every word that is without its own proper moveable Vowel, Sheva, belongs to them, whether it be expressed or not.)* Now the Answer to this Objection contains the words of the Quotation; viz. *And thus the Wise Men of Tiberias have used; or thus is their Manner or Custom: And they are the Foundation; for from them were the Men of the Masora, and from them have we received all the Punctuation.* He goes on further, and saith, *Perhaps they did so, that no Man might think that the Punctator had forgotten, (that is to Point that Tau,) and doubted about it, (that is to say, how he should read it.)* This is the place at large; we are now to examine the fence and meaning of it.

First then, he saith, *That there were certain Punctators that had a custom to place Sheva under Tau, at the end of a word.* Then he tells who these were that did use so to do; and they were not all the Punctators, but those of *Tiberias*, the same also who were the *Masorites*; Ergo, there were others who did not use so to do, (though not of the like esteem for Skill herein as the *Masorites*.) Therefore, Thirdly, He shews what value this *Tiberian* Punctuation ought to be of with us; which is by him expressed to be of such worth, as that we ought to follow

them in all things, as being the most diligent of the Punctators.

What *Capellus* objects here, is, That *Buxtorf* translates, מְקַדֵּשׁ, *There are some Punctators*: And thence infers, there were other Punctators than the *Masorites*.

Resp. He doth not translate the word, nor doth he infer from that word; but what he saith, *There are some Punctators*, relates to the scope of the place; and from the same he draws this Inference, as very well he may; as might easily be plainly demonstrated, were it worth while to enlarge upon the Point: But to proceed:

Fourthly, He shews the End why the *Masorites* did thus: Which was this, lest the Reader should think that here was something wanting, and might stick in doubt how it should be read: Lest (saith he) any one should think that the Punctator had forgotten something. This certainly he doth not say of the same *Tiberian Masorites*, but of some other former Punctator: For if he had meant the same *Masorites* here, he should have said, *Shelo jakshob Adam ki shakachu*; That no Man might think that they had forgotten: And not *Shakach*; That He had forgotten. So that *Aben Ezra* did not reckon the *Tiberian Masorites* to be the Authors of the Punctuation, but the Correctors and the Preservers thereof in its Original Purity, as we may perceive by the scope of the place.

The Second place, the fence whereof is to be considered, is what *Aben Ezra* saith in his Commentary on *Exod. 25. 31.* on the word אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁעֶה, *Teaseh raiti Sepherim shebedakom Chokmee Tiberia, &c.* 'I have seen (saith he) the Books which the Wise Men of *Tiberias* searched, examined, corrected, and swore their fifteen Elders; that they had thrice considered every Word, and every Point, and every word that is written full or defective, and behold, *Jod* is written in the word אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁעֶה, *Teaseh*; but 'I have not found it so in the Books of Spain, France, or beyond the Seas, &c.'

Now as to the fence of this place, what is more plainly spoken by these words than this, That they had three times searched or examined the Pointed Copies? Therefore the Pointed Copies must be in being before their time, which they took and examined others by, and not their own invented Shapes of the Points examined, as *Dr. Walton* supposeth: For *Aben Ezra* (saith he) saw the Book which the *Tiberian Masorites* *Badaku*, searched or examined: He doth not say, which they made or invented. Of these Books he saith, they swore the fifteen Elders; that they had thrice considered every Word, and every Point, and every Word that was written full or defective. Here we see their Consideration was as much on the Words as the Points; and of the words written full or defective, as either; and they can be no more thought hereby to be the Authors of the Punctuation, than of the Letters and Words, and of the Words full and

and defective ; for as much is said of the one as of the other. If therefore they only searched, examined, or tried the one, they did no more to the other.

Again, What is it that *Aben Ezra* found in these Books thus examined by the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*? Why it is this, That the letter *Jod* is there written in the word *Teaseh*, which he did not find in other Copies, in Spain, France, or beyond Sea. Can we hence suppose that *Aben Ezra* did reckon that the *Masorites* were the Inventors or Authors of the letter *Jod*? Or of the placing it to the word? No one will say we can. No more can we suppose it of the Points, nor yet so much, seeing the Instance alledged is a Letter, and not a Point. So that the only thing that appears by his words, is, That he accounted the Books or Copies which they had examined by the best they had, to be the most exactly corrected, and therefore fittest to be the Standard: And on this account he might well say of them, they were, עקר *The Foundation*, or *Standard*; for we still keep to their Copy, and all our Bibles now have *Jod* in *Teaseh*, as the *Masorites* have, without supposing them to be the Authors of any part of the Scripture.

CHAP. V.

What Aben Ezra, and other Jews, do say of the Masorites Skill, That they did not suppose them to be the Authors of the Points, is proved.

WE come now to the Second thing to be discussed: And that is what *Aben Ezra*, and the rest of the *Rabbins*, do say of the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*, in Commendation of their Skill and Accuracy in the Pronunciation of their Tongue, and about the Punctuation. And here we are to enquire, Whether what they speak concerning them, doth belong to the *Masorites*, as Authors, or Correctors and Restorers only of the Punctuation.

The Testimonies which *Buxtorf* collects, in Commendation of the *Masorites* Accuracy, are these:

First, *Aben Ezra* saith, in his Book *Tsakooth*, fol. 136. col. 1. where speaking of long *Kamets*, he saith, *The Men of Tiberias*, also the Wise Men of Egypt and Africa, knew how to read *Kamets Gadol*. And fol. 135. col. 1. and saith that wise Man before-mentioned, (viz. *R. Judah Ching*, the first Hebrew Grammarian,) That the Men of *Tiberias* read *Sheva Mobile*, if *Jod* follow after it, with the Vowel *Chirek*, as *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ* *Jeheshahu Fermiahu*: And if *Kamets Gadol* follow *Sheva*, as in *בְּרָכָה* *Barakah Shammarim*, &c. In his Book *Mozenaim*, fol. 221. col. 2. *Rabbi Judah* the Grammarian, whose rest (saith he) be in *Eden*, saith, That *Daleth* in the word *דְּעוּ* *Deu*, is read as if with *Shurek*; because it

hath after it a Guttural letter with *Shurek*, and so is *דְּעוּ*, *Deeh*; or *דְּי*, *Dei*; and so are all like unto it: And they say that so the Men of *Tiberias* did pronounce.

Ephodens, in his *Grammar*, cap. 5. fol. 35. col. 2. speaking of the true Pronunciation of the Hebrew Tongue, and that it is unknown at this time, he saith, 'And *Rabbi Jonah* (the next Grammarian to *R. Judah*) hath already written, that *Resh* hath certain peculiar Properties, according to the way of the Men of *Tiberias*; for they are more clear (or elegant) in the Holy Tongue, than all the *Hebrews*.' The same he repeateth, cap. 32.

Balmesius, in his *Grammar*, under letter *F* 3. pag. 2. writeth thus: And the *Tiberian Readers* read it like the Pronunciation of *Aleph* with *Shurek*; but I know not the reason (saith he) why they so read it; speaking of *Vau* in the beginning of a word before a letter, with *Sheva Mobile* marked, which should be pronounced with *Shurek*, but here hath no other sound than a gentle *Aleph*.

And of this Pronunciation of *Vau* as *Aleph*, *Aben Ezra* saith, fol. 135. col. 2. *Tsakooth*. So have we received of our Fathers, one age after another, that it should be so pronounced. So *Kimchi* in *Miklol*, fol. 62. a.

Again, *Balmesius* saith, in letter *F* 1. pag. 1. speaking of the letters *ח* and *ב*, *Cheth* and *Ain*, in the end of words, he saith: For many Grammarians which I have seen, lean upon the Readers of *Tiberias*, who pronounce it as if there were *Aleph*. For Example: They read *מִבְּרָחַ*, *Misbeach*; as if it were written *מִבְּרָאחַ*.

In the Book entituled, *Keneh binah*, fol. 33. a. And in all the Variations (or divers Pronunciations of the Points,) which are often-times divers ways pronounced, The Men of *Tiberias* are clear, more accurate and skilful, *צוּרִים וְבָקִיִּים* than all the *Hebrews* that are in other Countreys.

In the Book *Leviath Chen*, whose Author is *R. Immanuel*, Son of *Jekutiel*, איש בנימין *Benevontine*, cap. 2. fol. 5. 'And although there doth not appear any difference in our present reading between *Koph* and *Caph* with *Dagesh*, and between *Teth* and *Tau* daggesh'd, and between *Vau* and *Beth* raphated; the Men of *Tiberias*, which were in those days, were more expert in our Language than all the Jews: They made a difference between them; and so they made a difference between the reading of *Pathak* and *Kamets*, and between *Segol* and *Tfere*, and between *Kibbuez* and *Shurek*.' — Again, cap. 18. fol. 19. col. 1. where treating of the Pronunciation of the letter *Resh*, he saith, In the reading of this letter *Resh* daggeshed and raphated, the Men of *Tiberias* were expert (*bekiim*, skilful,) in those days, and in that time. And in fol. 105. col. 2. treating of the difference that is between divers Letters and Vowels in Verse, he saith, 'And we are not skilful in the difference of their Sound (or Pronunciation,) like the Men of *Tiberias*, who were of old time more clear or skilful in the Language than

than all the Hebrews, even as the best Grammarians have testified concerning them.

Rabbi David Kimchi in *Michlol*, fol. 108. col. 2. treating of the letters *Begadkephat*, saith, 'That the Author of the Book *Jeremiah*, hath written *Resh* with them: For he saith there are seven Letters that double, as *Begadkephat*; but the pronouncing of *Resh* raphated and dageshed, we do not hear or sound: But I have found (saith Kimchi) in a Book of one *Eli*, the Son of *Judah Hannasir*, who saith, That the sign or difference between *Resh* dageshed or raphated, or hard and gentle, belongs only to the Sons of *Mesiah*, which is *Tiberias*; for they speak them in their Talk, and read them in reading the Scripture; and it is in the Mouths of Men, Women and Children; it departs not from them, and without any difference they read and speak *Resh*: Where it should be pronounced hard, there they use to speak or read it with *Dagesh*, and where it should be gentle or soft with *Rapha*, &c.

Rabbi Jehudah Mustatus, in his Commentary on the Book of *Cofri*, part 2. sect. 80. fol. 130. a. on those words of the Author *Cofri*, Or to hasten the reading, he saith these words, Teach the properties of right Reading, which were known to him, although they are now strange to us; as also many the like are in the reading of the Men of *Tiberias*, which is different from our reading. Vid. *Buxt. de Punct. Orig.* par. 1. pag. 24, 25.

From all which Testimonies, it appears, saith *Buxtorf*, pag. 25. That the Men of *Tiberias* were no otherwise famous among the Jews, who were but Five hundred, or Six hundred years at most after them. Then,

First, For their skill at decently reading and pronouncing the Hebrew Tongue.

Secondly, And also for their study and care to preserve the true reading of the Scripture.

For if they had believed them to have been the Authors of the Points, doubtless they would not have passed over that with such negligent silence, as not to speak a word about it, when they speak of them, and of their Commendation.

Nor can their being praised for Skill and Accuracy in the Punctuation, suppose them the Authors of it: For none need be told, that the Inventors of any Art are well acquainted with their own Invention; and 'tis a slender Encomium to say of such, That they understand their own Invention: For if they should not well understand their own Device, how should others? or who else should?

Of their Skill and Accuracy *Jerom* seems to have knowledge, alluding thereunto on *Gen.* 49. 21. and that he hired a Jew of *Tiberias* to teach him to read: And as neither He nor the Rabbins ascribe the Invention of the Points to them; so the Pointed Bible of *Hillel*, in being long before their time, proves the contrary. And so much for the Second thing; that is, What

Aben Ezra, and the rest of the Rabbins say in Commendation of the Skill and Accuracy of the *Tiberian Masorites*, in the Pronunciation of the Hebrew Tongue; and whether what they say of them, doth belong unto them as Authors, or as Correctors of the Punctuation.

Thirdly, The Third thing to be proved, is, That *Aben Ezra* doth not ascribe the Invention of the Points to the *Masorites*; because he often differs from them, and opposeth them, but always follows the Punctuation, and enjoyns all others so to do: As may be seen not only in the places before alledged; where he reproves those who charge the Punctator with Errour; and saith, *He hath Pointed right in every place*: And not only in his Comment on *Exod.* 34. 5. but also in other places he expresseth the same esteem of the Authority and Perfection of the Punctuation: As for Instance: in his Book *Tsakooth*, pag. 179. where he brings *Hosea* 4. 10. *They left off to take heed*; he there saith, 'If we should say so, we should thereby accuse *Hammappesik*, *Happesukim* the Punctator, that he did not know the reason of the Accents; but far be it from us so to do: *Chalilah, Chalilah*. And in his Comment. on *Exod.* 6. 28. where our Translation ends that Verse, as also *Deut.* 2. 16. with a Comma, the sence not making a Period: About which matter he saith, 'It is to be admired, that the Orderer of the *Parasha's* should here divide into two Verses, that which by the sence seems to be but one: And the like is done, *Deut.* 2. 16. We know not why 'tis done; but (saith he) 'tis like *Baal Hahappesukorb*, the Punctator, did know the reason why he did so; for his Knowledge is larger than ours.— Hence he adviseth us to follow the Punctator always, as in his Book *Mosénaim*, fol. 19. b. 'And before I expound unto thee all these things already mentioned (saith he,) I must admonish thee, that thou dost go after *Baal Hataamim*, the Punctator: And whatsoever Exposition is not according to the Exposition of the Accents, do not agree to it, nor hearken to it; and do not mind the words concerning the Ten Verses that one of the *Geonim* saith do belong to the Verses following, or coming after them; for they are all right, and they are distinguished or divided according as the sence requireth.— And pag. 198. col. 1. disputing against some, he saith, 'And moreover, if their words were true, *Lo hajab baal hateamim maphsik beathnak, besoph bemillath vejiphol, &c.* the *Baal Hateamim*, who is *Hammappesik*, the Punctator, would not have made the Stop or Pause with *Athnak* in the end in the word *Vejiphol*, *Gen.* 45. 14.— So pag. 200. b. He knoweth (saith he) the Secret of *Baal Hateamim*, the Punctator.— And elsewhere saith *Buxtorf*, He saith 'tis of great moment to keep the way of the Accents.

Now that *Aben Ezra* doth not suppose the Punctator, or Punctators, to be

the *Masorites*, appears by this, That he treats the *Masorites* quite otherwise than he hath done the *Punctator*.

For, First, When he speaks of the *Masorites*, he doth not call them, *Baal hateamim* and *hammapesik*, the *Punctator*; but he calls them, *The Wise Men of the Masora*; *The Men of the Masora*; and *Baal Hammasoret*, the *Author of the Masora*. And,

Secondly, He often differeth from, and opposeth the *Masorites*, but he never opposeth the *Punctator*. And that he oft differs from the *Masorites*, appears by these Instances:

In *Tfakooth*, 149. concerning the word *וְהִינֵהְּ*, *Vehinnebbu*, Jer. 18. 3. which the *Keri* reads, divided into two words, *וְהִינֵהְּ*, *Vehinneb hu*, with *Aleph* added: As he reckons by the *Masorites*, he saith, This is not defective of *Aleph*, (that is, wanting *Aleph*;) for it is one word, though the *Men of the Masora* do say it is defective.

And fol. 150. col. 2. *Ve taam anisbee hammasoret eno taam*; And the Reason of the *Men of the Masora*, is no Reason.

So fol. 190. he saith concerning a *Masoretick* Observation, *Ein tserik*; There is not need of it. And so of others, fol. 191. 2. fol. 192. 1. and elsewhere.

In the end of the Preface prefixed to the great Bibles, thus he saith, speaking of the Fifth way of Expounding Scripture, which he followeth himself: 'And I will not (saith he) mention the Reasons of the *Men of the Masora*, why this word is written full, and why the other word is written defective; for all their Reasons are allegorical, their Reasons are only good for Children; for sometimes the Writer writeth a word full, which he doth to make it plain; and sometimes he writeth a word more obscurely, by the defect of a letter, for brevity sake, &c. but their Reasons are only good for Children.' — So that we see he contemneth and oft opposeth the *Masorites*; but we shewed before, he honoureth, and always followeth the *Punctator*: Therefore we conclude that *Aben Ezra* doth not suppose the *Masorites* to be the *Punctator* or Authors of the *Punctuation*.

Capellus Vind. lib. 1. cap. 1. sect. 10. objecteth, There might be two sorts of *Masorites*: First, the *Tiberian Punctators*; and long after them, those that numbred the Letters, and counted the *Keri Uketib*.

Resp. (1.) Neither *Aben Ezra*, nor any other Jew, make any such distinction. (2.) *A posse ad esse non valet consequentia*. (3.) 'T would injure the former *Masorites*; for he opposeth and despiseth the *Masorites* in General; and if the *Punctators*, whom he reverenceth so much, were *Masorites* also, he would no doubt have excepted them particularly. (4.) *Capellus* hath hereby lost his Cause, by supposing the Authors of the *Punctuation*, or Shapes of the Points, were

long before those that numbred the Letters, seeing the *Talmuds*, made before A. D. 500. do call those that numbred the Letters, the *Ancients*, as being long before their time; whereas *Capellus* his Opinion, is, That the Authors of the Points were not till after the *Talmuds*.

Capellus Vind. cap. 1. sect. 12. saith, If the *Masorites* restored and corrected the *Punctuation*, our Faith is humane, if built thereon, as much as if they invented it.

Resp. Not so: For no more is required to preserve the Text uncorrupt, from Age to Age, than humane Care and Industry, under the conduct of Divine Providence; but the giving forth of the Scripture, and the ascertaining the Sense of Scripture, requires Divine Assistance, and Evidence of Divine Authority.

Capellus objecteth, *sect. 13. ibid. Vind.* The *Masorites* had few Pointed Copies to correct by, or many: If few, how came they to differ? And if many, they were either about great Matters, or small: If about great Matters, then we stand on Humane Authority; if about small, then 'twas not worth their labour.

Resp. (1.) Themselves say nothing can be certainly spoken of those Times, by reason of the darkness of the History thereof, and therefore they should not press us in this Point. (2.) How many Pointed Copies were then, we matter not; but that there were very great and many differences in the Copies, we deny; the Providence of God watching over his Word, to preserve it to the end of Time: The Superstitious care of the Jews, and the Religious Care of the Christians, would not consist with it; but some small difference might be suffered, to quicken the diligence of those whose duty and concern it was to preserve it; which might be well worth their time to Correct, and justly deserve the Praise of Posterity for the same.

Capellus objecteth, They must destroy all other Copies besides that which they corrected; and this was impossible to be done.

Resp. No more need for this, than for to burn Hereticks, and destroy all that differ from us: No, Truth is Light, the shining whereof dispelleth Darkness; and so is their Copy universally embraced as the Standard.

Capellus Vind. cap. 1. sect. 17. saith, How know we that the *Masorites* did correct the Copies, seeing there is no History of it? And if they did correct them, (2.) It might be fallacious, and stuffed with many things in favour of their own Nation. (3.) Who can believe that these Men chose the best and most genuine sense always, and never mistook, either by Error, Negligence or Design? (4.) Who can believe that our present Copies are the same as those which the *Masorites* corrected?

Resp. They must need to Answer these Questions themselves, who say they are the Authors of the *Punctuation*: We allow them no more than to be Examiners or Correctors of it; which their superstitious Care

Care of the Text, and the general Esteem of the Jews of those *Masorites*, is enough to evidence the Truth of, as much as we need to lean on them for. But how do they solve these Doubts? Why, they say the Punctuation yields generally a genuine and right Sense. If therefore this be strong enough to satisfy those who make them the Authors of the Punctuation, that they were able and faithful in Pointing the Text; much more may it be a sufficient Satisfaction to those who allow them no further hand about the Punctuation, than barely to examine the Copies, and follow the most and best Approved in their time. These are the faint Efforts of Persons engaged in a desperate Cause.

And thus we have proved at large, that *Aben Ezra* is not of the Opinion that the *Masorites* Pointed the Text; and all that he saith about the Points, and the Punctuation, proves the contrary: As also all that *Aben Ezra*, and the other Rabbins, say in Commendation of the Skill and Accuracy of the *Tiberian Masorites*, proves no more than that they were skilful and faithful Correctors, or Collaters and Examiners of the Copies of their time; and doth not at all belong to them as Authors, or Inventors of the Punctuation.

We are nextly to consider what other Rabbins, *Elias* and his Followers, bring to countenance their Opinion; though not one of the places they alledge speak one word about the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*, much less of their being the Inventors of the Punctuation.

CHAP. VI.

The Testimonies of Cofri, R. David Kimchi, and Tsak Sephataim, considered. Inferences from the Silence of the Jews, and the Insufficiency of the Evidences for the Novelty of the Points.

2. The Testimony of Cofri considered.

Elias in *Masoret Hammasoret*, 2. col. 2. saith, 'Thus saith the Author of *Cofri*, Without doubt it was kept in their Hearts, (that is, the Points from the time of *Moses* was,) with *Pathak*, and *Kamets*, and *Sheva*, and *Chirek*, and the Accents, &c. And they put seven Kings and Accents, which were Signs to express those Sounds which they had received of *Moses* from *Sinai*. And what thinkest thou of their ordering the Scripture first with Verses, and after that with Points, and then with Accents, and then with the *Masora*, with the Observation of the Words that are full or defective, until they had numbred the Letters? &c.

Now, *Quid sibi vult Elias?* What doth *Elias* infer from hence? Why saith he, Behold, it was not his mind that *Moses* wrote

them. We grant it: What then? Why saith *Elias*, 'Oh that the Author of *Cofri* had explained to us who he meant, when he saith, *Vesamu!* and they put, or placed them (*viz.* the Points,) whether he meant the Men of the *Great Synagogue*, or the *Masorites!* But I think he meant the *Masorites*, saith *Elias*. But why he thinks so, he says not. Well, be it so, the Jews think otherwise: And We think otherwise, that he meant the Men of the *Great Synagogue*, both by the sense of the place in *Cofri*, and by the Exposition of *Muscatus* upon the place.

First, As to the sense of the place, the Author of *Cofri* saith in the place alledged, 'That the Punctuation was certainly made by Men divinely assisted, or it had never been so universally received as it is, and else Men of like ability might be able to do the like: And it was done (saith he) with admirable Wisdom; for it appears that in the fixing of the Points and Accents, there is such an Order therein, that cannot be done but by Divine Assistance; which is far otherwise than our Wisdom can attain unto, in every respect, &c.

Now all the Jews acknowledge that none have been Divinely Inspired, and Infallibly Assisted, since the time of *Ezra*, that Prophecy ceased: And therefore *Cofri* must needs mean the time of *Ezra* by *Vesamu*, And they put them. And Secondly, so *R. Judah Muscatus*, upon the place, *Vesamu*, And they put them, doth expound it, where he saith, 'It appeareth to me, that by this indefinite Speech, he meaneth the Men of the *Great Synagogue*; for unto that time the Antecedents and Consequents, or what is spoken before it and after it, doth agree.

And thus we see the Father-in-Law, *Cofri*, is of the same mind with his Son-in-Law, *Aben Ezra*, that the Points were as ancient as *Ezra's* time.

3. R. David Kimchi's Testimony examined.

Elias in *Masoret Hammasoret*, 7 7th. 2d. alledgeth what *Kimchi* saith in *Miklol*, pag. 69, 70. וְהַמְּסֹרֶת הַזֶּה 'And the Orderers of the Pointing have put a difference between the Third Pers. Sing. of the Preterperfect Tense of *Niphal*, and the Participle *Benoni* Sing. for their reading is the same, *viz.* *Niphkad*, alike in both; and they have Pointed the middle radical letter of the Preterperfect Tense with *Pathak*, and the Participle *Benoni* with *Kamets*.

Now all that is hence objected, is, That if *Kimchi* had thought that *Moses* or *Ezra* had Pointed the Text, he would not have spoken in the Plural Numb. *Metakkenim*, the Orderers; but in the Singular.

Res. (1.) That doth not follow; for he might mean *Ezra*, in Conjunction with the Men of the *Great Synagogue* collectively.

(2.) Other places of *Kimchi* shew what his Opinion is herein; though, as *Buxtorf* observes, the Jews speak of *Ezra*, and the *Sanhedrin*, in the Singular or Plural Number indifferently: *Ezra* is called the Head of the Scribes; and *Aben Ezra*, speaking of the 18. *Tikkun Sopherim* on *Numb.* 12. 12. He calls them there, *Tikkun Ezra*.

But to find *Kimchi's* Mind plainly, we shall view the places where he speaks his Thoughts about it: As,

First, In his Preface on *Iosua*; where speaking of the *Keri* and *Kerib*, he saith, 'It appears that these words were found thus, because that in the former Captivity the Books were lost, and the Wise Men were dispersed; and they that knew the Law, were dead: And the Men of the Great *Sanhedrin*, who restored the Law to its old Estate, they found some difference between some Copies; and they followed the agreement of the majority of Copies, according to their knowledge; and in the place that they could not well understand clearly which was the rightest and truest, there they wrote one, and did not Point it; or else they wrote it without, and did not write it within: That is, in the line; and so they wrote one way in the Line, and another in the Margin.

Now (saith *Buxtorf*) in that *Kimchi* saith of the Men of the Great *Sanhedrin*, that restored the Law to its pristine state, That the one of these words that have a different reading, they did not Point: Doth it not plainly follow then, in his Opinion, that they Pointed the other? Or else how was the not Pointing the one, a Mark to distinguish it from the other? And so by Consequence the Points were then in use.

Capellus Vind. lib. 1. cap. 1. sect. 27. saith, What if he say *Kimchi* here contradicts what he saith elsewhere?

Resp. Then he should prove it: But this he doth not attempt to do.

He objects, The words, And they did not Point it, are not necessarily to be understood of the Great *Sanhedrin*.

Resp. But they are necessarily to be understood of them; for none else are spoken of but them only.

Capellus, after all his Cavils, saith, *Sed esto fuerit & Kimchi, & Aben Ezra, & Autor Cosri, in ea sententia Esdras Autorem esse & Inventorem Punctorum; id nihil Officit Sententia mea eorum enim testimonia eo tantum Adduxi, ut probarem Mossem non esse eorum Autorem:* But be it so, that *Kimchi*, *Aben Ezra*, and the Author of *Cosri*, were of that Opinion, That *Ezra* was the Author and Inventor of the Points; that nothing hurts my Position; for I brought their Testimony to this intent only, that I might prove that *Moses* was not their Author.

Resp. And this we do not here debate: In vain then are all his Cavils, and all the Evidences for the Time, Place and Persons,

when, where, and by whom the Points were invented; for they have no other, and no other doth *Elias* bring to prove the *Masorites* of *Tiberias* Pointed the Text. And yet *Capellus Arcanum*, cap. 1. sect. 2, 3. cap. 2. sect. 2. cap. 3. And after him *Walton*, *Proleg.* 3. Consider. pag. 228. stick not to affirm that *Elias* hath proved this; and therefore, whilst our hand is in, we'll produce one place more out of *Kimchi*, to shew his Mind about the Authors of the Points; which *Elias* hath curtail'd, to signify the Sound, and not the Shape, but very unfairly: the place is in *Miklol*, pag. mibi 96. For also our *Rabbi's*, of happy memory (saith *Kimchi*), when they say, that it is necessary to give a space between words that are joyned together, (that is, apt to sound as one word, though they are two,) as *Gnal-lebabeke*, be *Col-lebabeke*; they do not speak this, to make a Stop or Pause, so as that *Makkaph* should not be put between the two *Lameds*, as it is put: But although that he do read them with *Makkaph*, yet he should put such a space between them, in pronouncing them, that it may sound as if he read two *Lameds*: For behold, *Becol-lebabeke*, *Becol* is pointed with *Kamets*, because of *Makkaph*; and if it were read without *Makkaph*, it should be pointed with *Holem*: But this our *Rabbi's*, of happy memory, do not say; as if thereby they intended to change the Vow. els which were given to *Moses* on *Sinai*. So that here he speaks of the Shapes of the Points, *Cholem*, *Kamets*, and *Makkaph*: And saith, They were given of *Moses* on *Sinai*, and must not be changed therefore.

4. The Author of *Tsak Sephataim* considered.

The last Testimony of *Elias*, is in these words of the Author of *Tsak Sephataim*: We must know (saith the Author) that the Punctuation was given at *Sinai*; not that the Tables were Pointed, but as the Holy Blessed God spake the Holy Tongue, those that heard it, did understand all the Motions and Sounds, little and great, even exactly as they were pronounced out of the Mouth, whether it was hard or gentle; so they could discern out of the Mouth of him that read, between *A Kamets* and *A Pathak*, between *E Tseré* and *E Segol*, and between *O Cholem* and *O Kamets Kataph*; and between *U* with *Van*, and *U* without *Van*; and *J* with *Jod*, and *J* without *Jod*, &c. *Masoret Hammasoret*, ¶ 2.

Now seeing neither *Elias*, nor yet *Capellus*, do infer from hence, either that *Ezra* did not Point the Text, or that the *Masorites*, A. D. 500. did Point it, we need say no more about it, and therefore shall draw our Conclusions from the Premises.

The Inferences from the Silence of the Jews, and the Insufficiency of the Evidence for the Novelty of the Points.

First, then, we say, If the Punctuation were invented and placed, A. D. 500. or since to the Text, by the Jews, as they say it was, then without doubt the Jews would have frequently taken notice of it, being a thing so much for their Honour.

But there is not one Jew that taketh any notice of it, *Elias* only excepted; and all those he alledgeth, appear to be silent in the Case.

Therefore the Points were not invented, and placed to the Text by the Jews, A. D. 500. or since that time.

This Argument they cannot refuse, seeing it is of the same kind with what they rely most upon: For they say, if the Points were before A. D. 500. then certainly the *Talmudick Jews* would have taken notice of it; and therefore we may well say, if the Points were since A. D. 500, the succeeding Jews must needs have taken notice of it; which they have not done, though the Commentators and Grammarians had better ability, and more frequent occasion so to

do, than the *Talmudists* had of *Ezra's* Punctuation.

Again, We will not believe the Points were placed by the *Masorites of Tiberias*, A. D. 500. or since that time; because the Evidence thereof is insufficient, and mute. For,

That Opinion doth not deserve to be embraced, the Evidences whereon it is built being destroyed, and discovered to be insufficient, and totally silent in the case.

But such is the Opinion, That the Points were Invented by the *Masorites of Tiberias*, A. D. 500. For all the Evidence that *Elias* and his Followers bring to prove the Time, Place and Persons, when, where, and by whom the Points were invented, is no more than a few Expressions of the *Rabbins*, in Commendation of the Skill and Accuracy of the *Masorites of Tiberias*, in the Pronunciation of the *Hebrew Tongue*, and in examining the Punctuation; which say not one word that the *Masorites* invented or placed the Punctuation, or that the *Masorites* they speak of lived A. D. 500.

And thus have we finished the First thing that we undertook to discuss; having at large examined the Evidences that are brought for the Novelty of the Points, and proved them to be against their late and Novel Invention.

The Second Part of the First Part of this Discourse.

Consisting of

Arguments against the Novelty of the Points, discovering the Improbability and Impossibility of their Novel Invention.

C P A P. VII.

The Improbability of the Time and Place assigned for the Invention of the Points.

WE are now to prove, That it is very unlikely the Punctuation was invented and placed to the Text by the *Jewish Masorites of Tiberias*, A. D. 500. which may be made to appear from several Considerations.

FIRST, From the several Circumstances of that People of the Jews, at and before A. D. 500. in the Land of *Judeah*, which render them very unfit for such an Undertaking, then and there, as the Punctuation is.

Now these Circumstances relate to the state, either, (1.) Of their Learning, and its decrease at that time, as *Buxtorf* describes it in his *Tiberias*. Or, (2.) Of their Civil and Temporal Calamities, at and before that time, as *Dr. Owen* relates them. Vid. *Considerations*, pag. 224.

First, As to the state wherein their Jewish

Learning stood at that time, it was briefly this:

First, The Jewish Historians have kept the Succession of their Learned Men for a Thousand Years, from the time of our Saviour; and by their Account, as well as all other History of those Times, there remained neither Learning, nor Learned Men of any Eminency, in *Judeah*, any longer than A. D. 340, or thereabouts; for about the Year of Christ, 340. in the Person of *R. Hillel*, ceased the Promotion to the Dignity of *Rabbi* in the Land of *Israel*, *Tsemach David*, fol. 47. And if the Dignity ceased, 'tis unlikely the Profession should flourish any longer; and from that time and onward they give us an Account of their Learning and Learned Men in *Babylon*.

Secondly, Seeing the Jewish Writers have been so carefull to preserve the History of the *Mishna*, of the *Jerusalem* and *Babylon Talmuds*, it is very unlikely they should pass over so great and glorious an Invention as was this of the Authors of the Punctuation, in so deep silence, had there been any such. And the rather, because,

Thirdly, The Jews flourished at that time in *Babylon*, whilst those of *Palestine* were

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very

very low; and therefore 'tis most improbable to imagine that the Wealthy and Famous *Babylonian* Jews should leave the eternal Praise of this Work to the poor Jews of *Tiberias* only. And that because,

Fourthly, The Jews *Talmud* of *Babylon* hath not only obscured, but even extinguished that of *Jerusalem*; so that the Jews, to this day, are governed by the *Babylonian Talmud*. It is therefore very unlikely that any such *Masoretick* Curiosity as might oblige all their Nation, should not have the Honour drawn to those of *Babylon* also.

Fifthly, It is very unlikely, that what required the Approbation of the whole Nation, should be so silently imposed on them all by some Men of *Tiberias*, at such a time, when for that present, and many hundred years after, the flourishing Schools of the Jews were at *Babylon*.

Elias Levita confesseth the *Masorites* were of divers Ages, as in pag. 13. And the truth is, the *Masorites* were Hundreds, and Thousands, for many years, one Generation after another; and we know not the time of their beginning, nor the time of their ending.

How likely then is it to be, that those of *Tiberias*, A. D. 500. must invent and place all the Punctuation; when all he brings to prove it, is no more than this, That some *Rabbins* commend the Skill and Accuracy of the *Masorites* of *Tiberias*; but proves not what time those *Masorites* of *Tiberias* lived in, whether A. D. 500. or before.

Secondly, As to the state of the Jewish Nation, with respect to their Calamities, at and before A. D. 500. rendring them unfit for such a work as the Punctuation; which requireth such Leisure, Ability and Learning, as is only produced under a prosperous state.

Now these are briefly the Scenes of their Misery, before A. D. 500.

First, From A. D. 68. until A. D. 72. were hundreds of thousands of Jews destroyed, as the Translator of *Eusebius* reckons up out of *Josephus*, (*Euseb. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 8.*) And that the Captives, at the taking of *Jerusalem*, were Ninety seven thousand. And the number of all that died during the Siege within *Jerusalem*, were Ten hundred thousand. (*Vid. Josephus's Wars, lib. 7. cap. 17.*)

Secondly, Another Scene of Misery was under *Adrian*, A. D. 136. (*Euseb. Chron. ad Ann. 136.*)

Of this *Euseb. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 6.* saith, 'When the Jewish Rebellion waxed vehement and grievous, *Rufus*, Lieutenant of *Judea*, being sent with a great Power from the Emperour, forthwith slew an innumerable multitude of Men, Women and Children, destroying their Regions and Countreys. (With a Destruction, saith Dr. Owen, seeming equal to that of *Jerusalem* under *Titus Vespasianus*.)

This was most violent at the City *Bitter*, not far from *Jerusalem*, and belonging to it; which when taken, and *Barchochaba* their Seducer destroyed, 'This whole Nation (says *Eusebius*) was banished, and ge-

nerally the whole Countrey of *Jerusalem*, by the Laws, Decrees and Appointment of *Adrian*: So that by his Commandment it was not lawful for these silly Souls to behold their Native Soyl; no, not afar off, from the top of an Hill. This City (viz. *Jerusalem*;) then, to the utter Ruine of the Jewish Nation, and the manifold Overthrow of the ancient Inhabitants, being brought to Confusion, began to be inhabited of strange Nations; and after that it was subdued to the Roman Empire, the Name was quite changed; for unto the Honour of the Conquerour *Elias Adrianus*, it was called *Elia*. By this Second Desolation, (as Dr. J. O. observes) they were brought very low, made weak and contemptible; unspeakably diminished in their Numbers, and driven into obscurity all the World over.

Now (saith Dr. J. O. pag. 224.) that there was formerly a School, and Learned Men at *Tiberias*, is granted; *Jerom* hired one Learned from thence: But that they continued there in any Esteem, Number, or Reputation, unto the time designed by our Authors for this Work, is not made to appear from any History of Jews or Christians: Yea, it is certain, that about the time mentioned, the chiefest flourishing of the Jewish Doctors was at *Babylon*, and some other Cities in the East, where they had newly compleated their *Talmud*, the Great Pandect of the Jewish Laws, as themselves every where declare. That any Persons considerably learned were then in *Tiberias*, is a meer Conjecture; and it is most improbable, considering what Destruction had been made of them at *Diocæsaria* and *Tiberias*, about the Year of Christ 352. by *Gallus*, at the Command of *Constantinus*, (*Socrates Scholasticus, lib. 2. cap. 27.*) by whom the Jews were overthrown in Battel, and the City *Diocæsaria* laid level with the Ground. Now that there should, after all these Destructions of the Jews, be such a Collection of them, so Learned, so Authorized, as to invent this Work, and impose it on all the World, no Man once taking notice that any such Persons ever were, is beyond all belief, pag. 224.

Object. 1. *Capellus* answereth, First, He is not precise, when, where, and by whom the Points were invented.

Resp. Then he should not insist on those words of *Aben Ezra*, [From them we have all the Punctuation;] nor should he so oft contend for it, and suppose it proved.

Object. 2. *Capellus* saith, They might come from all Parts to *Tiberias*.

Resp. This is said, without and against all History or Testimony of those Times. 2. But the Argument is, That so Noble a Work is not mentioned in History: And he does not attempt to prove it is.

Object. 3. He saith, Yet there may be some one learned Man or other there, to begin this Work unobserved.

Resp.

Resp. But how could the private Work of one Rabbi be forthwith embraced by all the World that receive the Scriptures? And placed through all Bibles, and yet no notice taken of the Author in the History of those Times?

Object. 4. But there were Schools at Tiberias, A. D. 374.

Resp. 1. And yet there might be none by A. D. 500.

2. And if there were Schools then, yet no History saith they pointed the Bible.

Object. 5. Jerom hired a Jew from Tiberias, learned in the Tongue, who died A. D. 400.

Resp. 1. There might be a learned Jew there, and yet no School there.

2. There might be a School, A. D. 400. and yet none A. D. 500.

3. Or if there were a School, still they might not be in a condition to be able to Point the Bible.

Object. 6. Jewish Histories are late, fabulous, and to be suspected.

Resp. Unless they are for Capellus: But what's this to the Point? We say there's no History takes any notice of these things, and they are the Dreams of Elias and Capellus; which we have no reason to embrace, were the Jewish History worse than it is.

Object. 7. Why was there no History of the Tiberian Masorites Reforming or Correcting the Punctuation, as well as of their being the Authors of it?

Resp. 1. There was more need to have the Authors who de novo Pointed all the Bible, to be very well known and approved too, before their Work was universally received, than there was need of having those who did only Collate and Compare the Copies that were received, to be so much known. But,

Secondly, There is notice taken of the Skill and Accuracy of the Masorites of Tiberias, about the Correcting the Punctuation, though there be none about their being Authors of the Punctuation; as was observed from the Testimony of Aben Ezra, and Others.

Object. 8. 'Tis not strange, that the first Inventors of Noble Arts have been unknown; as the Use of the Load-stone, the Mariners-Compass, Bells, Guns, Printing; the Greek Accents; the Stops, such as Comma, Colon, &c. the New Greek and Latin Letters, &c.

Resp. 1st. Our Wonder is not barely, That the Author of this Noble Work of the Punctuation is unknown: But our Wonder is, That if they were known to be the Masorites of Tiberias, A. D. 500. as Elias saith they were, that all the World should receive it from them, and yet no History give any Account of them. And,

2dly. If, as Capellus fancieth, it were 500 Years in composing, 'tis the more a Wonder, that none of these Artists, for Five hundred Years successively, should be taken notice of, and yet their Work uni-

versally received, as they did compleat it gradatim.

3dly. His Instances are not to our Point; for our Reasons do principally shew who they were not, rather than who they were: And our Arguments tend to shew, that whoever invented them, whether the Authors were known or unknown, 'tis very unlikely that the Masorites of Tiberias, A. D. 500. were the Authors.

4thly. Men are more ready to receive a Gift in the dark, than they are to Obey, without knowing who Commands them, and what is Commanded them: The Arts instanced in, are of real profit and advantage; and who refuseth their Profit till they know the Author? Nay, many are so ungrateful, as to forget their Master, and would be thought to be the Authors of what they have learnt from Others: But the Punctuation renders the Scripture to be a Law, a Rule of Obedience; and all Men will know who commands them, before they will obey; and will see what 'tis they are commanded too.

Object. 9. Capellus saith, The Usefulness of it might introduce it.

Resp. Then were the Jews better than Capellus would have had them; for he wants to be rid of it, that he may have room for his Critical Amendments of the Text: However, it remains very improbable, that it was Invented at the time and place assigned for it, as we have shewed; which was the business of this Chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

The Improbability of the Persons to whom the Invention of the Points is assigned, manifested from several Considerations.

First, From the Nature and Principles of the Masorites of Tiberias, the supposed Authors of them, compared with the Nature of the Punctuation it self.

THE Jewish Masorites are said to be the Authors of the Points: But this, we say, is very improbable, if not impossible to be; which appears, by comparing the Punctuation it self with these Masorites.

The Punctuation is certainly a most Divine and Excellent thing, and what was far above the Wit of Man to make since Ezra's time: Nothing less than the Infallible Influence of the same Spirit by which the Scriptures were first given forth, being able to produce the certain sence of all the most obscure Prophecies, and difficult places of Scripture, as we shall manifest in the Second Part: We are here only to enquire who, and what kind of Men these Masorites were, and how they could be thought meet or able for such a Work; an Account hereof being already given to our hands by Dr. F. O. on the Integrity of the Hebrew,

brem, &c. pag. 240, 241, 242. And by Dr. *Lightfoot*, in his *Centuria Chorograph.* We need only collect in brief the Substance of them.

First, 'Men they were, (if any such were, saith Dr. *J. O.*) who had not the Word of God committed to them in a peculiar manner, as their Fore-Fathers had of old, being no part of his Church or People; but were only outwardly Possessors of the Letter, without just Right or Title to it: utterly uninterested in the Promise of the Communication of the Spirit, which is the Great Charter of the Churches Preservation of Truth, *Isa.* 59. 21.

Secondly, 'Men so remote from a right understanding of the Word or Mind of God therein, that they were desperately engaged to oppose his Truth, in the Books which themselves enjoyed in all Matters of Importance, unto the Glory of God, from the beginning to the ending: The Foundation of whose Religion was Infidelity, and one of their chief Fundamentals an Opposition to the Gospel.

Thirdly, 'Men under the special Curse of God, and his Vengeance, upon the account of the Blood of his dear Son.

Fourthly, 'Men all their days feeding themselves with vain Fables, and mischievous Devices against the Gospel, labouring to set up a New Religion under the Name of the Old, in despite of God.

Fifthly, 'Men of a profound Ignorance in all manner of Learning and Knowledge, but only what concerned their own Dunghil Traditions; as appears in their Stories, wherein they make *Pirrhus*, King of *Epirus*, help *Nebuchadnezzar* against *Jerusalem*; with innumerable the like Fopperies.

Sixthly, 'Men so addicted to such monstrous Figments, as appears in their *Talmuds*, as their Successors of after Ages are ashamed of, and seek to palliate what they are able; yea, for the most part, Idolaters and Magicians.

And to the same purpose, Dr. *Lightfoot*, in his *Cent. Chorograph.* (speaking of this Opinion, That the *Masorites* pointed the Text,) saith, 'I do not admire the Jews Impudence, who found out that Fable; I admire Christians Credulity, who applaud it: Recount, I pray, the Names of the *Tiberians*, from the first Foundation of a University there, to the Expiring thereof, and what do you find but a sort of Men, being mad with, or above the *Pharisees*, bewitching and bewitched with Traditions, Blind, Crafty Raging; Pardon me if I say Magical and Monstrous? What Fools, what Sots, as to such a Divine Work! Read over the *Talmud* of *Jerusalem*: Consider how *R. Judah*, *R. Chanina*, *R. Chajia*, *Bar Ba*, *R. Jochanan*, *R. Jonathan*, and the rest of the great Doctors among the *Tiberians*,

'do behave themselves: How seriously they do of nothing? How childish they are in serious things? How much Deceitfulness, Froth Venom, Smoak, nothing in their Disputations, &c. If you can believe the Points of the Bible to proceed from such a School, believe also all their *Talmuds*: The Pointing of the Bible favours of the Work of the Holy Spirit, not of Wicked, Blind, and Mad Men.' — Thus far Dr. *Lightfoot*. This Account is full and sufficient at present; we shall only consider the Exceptions to this Argument.

Object. Tis said, They do not ascribe the Punctuation to the *Masorites*, but only suppose they placed the Shapes of the Points, &c. according as they had received the true Sound of all the Punctuation, by Tradition, Use and Custom, by which they might have been able to Point it truly. (Vid. *Considerator Considered*, pag. 200, 206, 207, 210, 211, 212.)

Resp. (1.) We have briefly shewed already in our *P R O E M I U M*, that this was impossible to be done; for multitudes of the Shapes are not distinguished by the Sounds at all.

(2.) No memory of Man can once receive or take up so much as the very Anomalies of the Punctuation: How much less all the Pauses, and the whole Punctuation? And how could all this be kept, from Age to Age, without Points, when now we have Points, no one is able to Point the Bible without a Copy? The *Rabbins* acknowledge they have lost the knowledge of the sence and meaning of many words in the Bible, in that time; and how was it possible they could preserve the true Sound of every Point in the Bible, when they had so lost their Tongue, and the true Sence and Meaning of many words in it?

2dly. We Answer them out of their own Objections: For they say,

First, The *LXX.* and *Chaldee* Paraphrase, read otherwise than we or the *Masorites* do read; which they do not, as to the Shape, but the Sound of the Points, &c. and hence conclude the Points were not in their time.

Now we may better conclude from hence, that the Sounds which the *Masorites* expressed by the Punctuation, were not in the time of the *LXX.* or the *Chaldee* Paraphrase; but since their time they are very greatly altered.

Again: When *Buxtorf* says, as to the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, 'That that on the Law, agrees well with our Punctuation; but those on the Prophets, go off most from the present Punctuation:

Capellus replies, The Reason of that might be, because, First, They were more used to read the Law, and it was written plainer; but it was more difficult to understand, and so rightly to sound, the words of the Prophets being more dark.

Resp. But if the true Sound had been kept, there had been no difference; and yet

yet we see the present Punctuation does all alike true; but if through such difficulty in the Prophets they had missed the right Pronunciation, and lost it in many places by that time, it was then impossible it should be preserved to the time of the *Masorites*, so pure and entire as it is pretended.

In vain therefore is the Succession of their Learned Men alledged, and that the Bible was constantly read by them: For 'tis known, the Language had ceased to be vulgarly spoken or understood for a Thousand Years; the *LXX*, &c. (as themselves say) had lost the Pronunciation long before. The Learned Men of each Countrey differed from each other in the Sound of Vowels and Letters too, as those of *Galilee*, &c. in Christ's time: And we see, where a Language is vulgar, the Pronunciation and Sound used in one Age and County, differs from that of another, as here in *England*, &c. And so in *Scotland*, though the *Scots* do read our *English Bible*, yet they give it a very different Tone or Sound than we do; how much more when a Language is lost, the first part of it that departs, is the Tone or Sound: It is fabulous therefore to imagine that that part should continue longest, which always is gone first; and to suppose that a few Priests, that esteemed the *Mishna* above the *Bible*, should or could preserve the true Sound of the Text for a Thousand Years; when nothing is more unconstant in all Nations, than the sameness of sounding their Vowels, and wherein every Age and County makes an Alteration.

So that after all these Evasions, if the *Masorites* invented the Shapes of the Points, &c. the Sounds could have no better Original than the Shapes have, or their variable Custom, which is equivalent; and the Punctuation it self, on that account, could have no better Foundation than their Reputation: Which how unfit they were for such a Work, and how unsuitable the Work it self (to wit, the Punctuation) is to such Workmen, let all Men judge.

CHAP. IX.

The Improbability of those Persons Pointing the Text, to whom the Invention thereof is assigned, further manifested from the Nature of the Masora, and the Design of their Masoretick Observations in General: And in Particular, from the Nature of their Notes on the Verses of the Bible.

HAVING discovered the Improbability of the Opinion of the Novelty of the Points, from the Insufficiency of the Evidence that is brought for the same, from the Silence of the Jews about the Matter; and from the Improbability of the Time and Place assigned by this Opinion for their In-

vention; as also of the Persons compared with the Nature of the Punctuation it self: We are now to consider the Improbability of the Persons to whom the Invention of the Points is ascribed, they being supposed to be the *Masorites*, from the Nature of the *Masora*, and their Notes on it.

Now these *Masorites* are the Authors of the *Masora*, or the *Masoretick Notes* and Observations on the Text of the *Old Testament*; which is their Work, and all that is left concerning them whereby they may be known; so that such as this their Work is, such are they themselves; and no otherwise can we conjecture of or concerning them, but only according to and by this their Work, the *Masora*.

Our *Second Reason* therefore, for the Improbability of the Persons to whom the Invention of the Points is assigned, is taken from the Consideration of the Nature of the *Masora*, which is their Work; and the Design of their *Masoretick Observations* on the Text of the *Old Testament*, compared with the Punctuation, and the attempt of intruding the same upon the Scripture; and this in General we say, and shall prove by an Induction of particular Instances throughout all the Parts of the *Masora*.

That the *Masora*, and all the Parts of it, consists only of Critical Notes or Observations about the Text of the *Old Testament*, and the Form of writing the same as they had found it received by the Jews in their time, with this single end or design, That no Persons whatsoever in time to come, should presume to make the least Alteration of the Text, on any Pretence, or for any Reason whatever: (And hence the *Masora* is said to be *Sig Letorah*, An Hedge to the Law:) And this shall be made appear by Instances throughout all the Parts of the *Masora*. On the other hand, the Punctuation determines the sense of all the Scripture; it speaks what that makes it say, and nothing else: This might be placed by *Ezra* well enough, while the right Sound was known, and Men divinely inspired were among them: But for the *Post-Talmudick Masorites* to presume to introduce the Shapes of innumerable significant Points upon the Text, thereby determining the sense of every word in the Bible, is a thing more contrary and opposite to the whole Nature and only Design of all the *Masora*, and of all their *Masoretick Notes*, than ever was done: And therefore it is altogether improbable that the *Masorites*, or the Authors of the *Masora*, should be the Inventors of the Punctuation, and the Intruders of the same upon the Text.

Now to prove the Truth of what is here asserted in General, about the Nature and Design of the *Masora*, we shall produce Instances out of all the Parts of the *Masora*; the very Proposal whereof will evince what we affirm, That as they do no where own themselves to be the Authors of the Points, so their work was only to observe what

de facto they found the Text to be; and their only design thereby, was to preserve it from being altered in any thing.

As to the matter of the *Masora*, wherein it consisteth, *Buxtorf* in *Tib. cap. 12.* saith, *They are Critical Annotations concerning the Hebrew Text of Sacred Scripture.*

The Text is considered, (1.) As to the Verses, (2.) The Words, And (3.) The Letters of it.

First, As to the Verses.

(1.) The Verses are all numbred through every Book of the Bible, and the middle Verse of each Book is noted. Also the Verses in every Section of the Law, and of every Book of Scripture, are numbred by themselves: As for Instance,

Genesis hath 1534 Verses: The middle Verse of it is in *cap. 27. ver. 40.* And thou shalt live by thy Sword.

Exodus hath 1209 Verses: The middle Verse of it is in *cap. 22. ver. 28.*

Leviticus hath 859 Verses.

Numbers 1288.

Deuteronomy 955.

All the *Pentateuch* 5845. Tho' the precise numb. is question'd. — And so of the rest. Vid. *Buxtorf. Tib.* and *Parkhurst's Canon of Scripture*, part 1. pag. 88. According to which Account the *Masorites* reckon the Verses in all the Bible to be 23206. Hence they are called *Sopherim Numberers*, and are herein a *Hedge to the Law*, that not a Verse should be lost: So that in this part of the *Masora* their Work is only to note what they found the Text to be *de facto*. And (2.) Their Design is to preserve it entire from Alteration. And (3.) We may observe, that the Verses were distinguished before their time, or they could not have been numbred by them, as being found by them so to be.

Secondly, The Verses are considered with respect to some Words and Letters that are found in them.

As for Instance; one Verse is noted, consisting of 42 Words, and 160 Letters; and that is *Jer. 21. 7.* Which Note, if they had made the Verses themselves, had been no very wise Observation.

And they note two Verses only in the Law that begin with the letter *Samech*, viz. *Exod. 32. 8.* *Numb. 14. 19.* And two Verses end with *Samech*, viz. *Gen. 32. 14.* *Numb. 19. 33.* And there are two Verses, they say, wherein *Vajomar* is four times used, viz. *Gen. 22. 7.* *1 King. 20. 14.* with many such like: The Nature and Design of which, is, as we have observed on the number of the Verses, to observe what they found the Text *de facto* to be; and to preserve it from Alteration, the Verses themselves being distinguished before their time; for 'twere absurd to make such Notes on Verses of their own making.

CHAP. X.

The Improbability of the *Masorites* Pointing the Text, further discovered, from the Nature of their Notes on the *Keri U Ketib*, and the seven kinds of them.

AS the *Masorites* consider the Text, as to the Verses of it; so they consider it with respect to the words of it likewise. And their Observations herein also are only about what they found the Text *de facto* to be, with design to preserve it from any Alteration in time to come; which appears by a view of the several sorts or kinds of Observations about the words of the Text of the *Old Testament*.

The first sort of Observations about the words of the Text, is concerning their genuine and true Writing and Reading, called *Keri* and *Ketib*: These *Elias* reckons in all to be 848; viz. 65 in the Law, 454 in the Prophets, and 229 in the *Hagiography*. But *Buxtorf*, and Others, reckon more of them.

The Antiquity of these *Keri* and *Ketib* are not only expressly owned to be as ancient as *Ezra's* time, by *R.D. Kimchi*, in *Pref. on Joshua*; *Abarbinet* on *Jeremiah*, and the rest of the Jews, but also by *Elias Levita* himself, and therefore needs not be here proved.

We shall therefore, for our present purpose, only consider the several sorts of the *Keri* and *Ketib*, as the *Masorites* have sort-ed them, and summed them up under each sort severally by themselves.

Now these *Keri* and *Ketib*, *Elias Levita* hath divided into Seven Sorts or Kinds, as the *Masorites* have summed them up, and noted how they found them, that they might not be altered hereafter. (Vid. *Elias* in *Maamar* 2. or his First Section.)

The First kind is of Letters that are read in words, and not written; and written in words, and not read: And these are mostly the Letters *jehv*, *a*, *h*, *u*, *j*, which are so found at the beginning, middle and end of words: Only it is to be observed, saith *Elias*, that *Vau* and *Jod* are not to be found so when they are quiescent in the midst of a word; that is to say, *Vau* after *Holem*, and *Shurek*, and *Jod*, after *Chirek* and *Tfere*; for these are in the Order of *Chesrim* and *Melaim*, viz. words Defective and Full. But *Vau* is often written, and not read after *Kamets*, or *Kateph Kamets*: As *אֶבְרָתָא*, *Jos. 9. 6, 7.* *אֶשְׁקִיטָה*, *Isai. 18. 4.* and many the like. And *Elias* saith, that the letter that is written, but not read, there that letter is not Pointed in the word wherein it is written; as *Jer. 50. 8.* from the Land of the *Chaldeans*, *בָּבֶל*, They came forth. And also *Ezek. 46. 9.* there *Jod*

Jod is written, but not read: As the *Keri* faith, *Jod* is not read: And so *Baal* בַּאֵל, *He* is not read, faith the *Keri*, therefore it is not Pointed in the *Ketib*, Eccles. 10. 20.

And as to the *keri u lo kerib*, *Elias* observeth, That all the words in which a letter is read, but not written, that letter is Pointed in the line without writing the letter at all; and the same letter is written in the *Keri*, or *Margin*, without any Point at all; as Lam. 3. 7. Our fathers sinned, are not, we, וְאֲנֵנוּ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂנוּ. In the *Keri*, וְאֲנֵנוּ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂנוּ. And they are not, and we, &c. And of such as these there are twelve in number.

Now these Unpointed Letters they either made so, or found them so: If themselves made them so, their Notes thereon were very silly, and would not have been valued by any without Reasons alledged for the same, having Pointed all the rest: And if they found them so written, as no doubt but they did, then the Points were in being before their time.

Moreover, had they ventured to Point all the Bible, they would never have scrupled either to have Pointed these individual Letters, or have left them out of the Text. But the truth is, by the not Pointing these Letters, the *keri* and *ketib* of them is preserved, which hath been kept since *Ezra's* time; and therefore the means whereby they are preserved, (and that is, the Pointing the one, and not the other, hath been as ancient likewise, as *R. D. Kimchi* in *Pref.* on *Joshua* observes.)

Secondly, The Second kind of *Keri u Ketib*, is of Letters that are changed one into another; and these are mostly the Vowel Letters, *jehu*, *a*, *h*, *u*, *j*: As for Instance, there are fifty two words that are written with *Jod* at the beginning of the word, and read as if with *Vau*, as in *Job* 10. 20. *Fachedal* and *Fashit* in the *Ketib*; and the *Keri*, 'tis *Vachedal*, and *Vashit*. And there are Fifty six words contrary; that is, with *Vau* in the line, and *Jod* in the *Keri*; as in *Psal.* 10. 10. 'tis written *Videke* and *Vashuak*, and read *Fidekeh* and *Fashuak*. And there are seventy words written with *Jod* in the midst of words, and read *Vau*; and all these *Jods* are Pointed with *Holem*, or *Shurek*; when 'tis written with *Holem*, then the *Holem* is Pointed upon the letter which goeth before *Jod*; as in *Psal.* 77. 11. *Azcir* is read *Ezcor*; and in *Gen.* 23. 23. But *Shurek* is Pointed in the midst of *Jod*, in *Gen.* 24. 33. and in *Num.* 1. 16. And so in the end of words, as in *Jer.* 6. 25. But words that are written with *He* in the end, and read with *Vau*, they are Pointed with *Kibbuz* in the letter before *He*; as in *Lev.* 21. 5. They shall not make baldness, &c. And *Deut.* 21. 7. And there are fourteen such. And faith *Elias*, There are many letters *Ehevi*, *jehu*, *a*, *h*, *u*, *i*, that change the one into the other.

And there are other letters that change one into another; but they are only of letters that are either, *First*, Of like Shape; as

כ into ק, ק into כ, ח into פ, פ into ח, ט into צ, צ into ט, ו into ו. Or else, Secondly, of like Sound; as כ into ק, ח into פ, ט into צ, ו into ו, ק into ח, פ into ט, צ into ו. As for Example of all these, *First*, There are eleven words written כ, and read ק, as in *Ester* 3. 4. And three, on the contrary, are written ק, and read כ; as in *Prov.* 21. 29. *Ezra* 8. 14. Where also ח is read פ; as also in *Jer.* 2. 20. And there are four words written with ח, and read with ק; as in *Jer.* 31. 40. And of words that change ח into פ final; as *Jak Nabhagar* read *Jad*, and ח into פ; *Song* 1. 17. ult. Of these are four. And so ו into ו, 1 *Sam.* 14. 32. ח into ח, Eccles. 12. 6. כ into ק, *Jos.* 3. 16. And of these are six, ח into ח, *Isa.* 65. 4. ח into ו, 1 *Sam.* 17. 7. ו into ו are two. ח into ו, 2 *Sam.* 21. 18. ח into ח, *Isa.* 66. 17. and are three and two contrarily; 2 *Sam.* 17. 12. 1 *King.* 19. 4. ח into ו are two, as *Jer.* 49. 30. ח into כ, and ח into כ, *Ezek.* 3. 15. ח into ח, *Ezek.* 25. 7. & 47. 13. ח not is put for ח to him in fifteen places, say the lesser *Masora* on 1 *Sam.* 2. 2. that ח is fifteen times writ for ח, viz. (1) *Exod.* 21. 8. (2) *Lev.* 11. 21. Here the greater *Masora* reckons them up. (3) *Lev.* 25. 30. (4) 1. *Sam.* 2. 3. (5) 2 *King.* 8. 10. (6) *Ezra* 4. 2. (7) *Job* 13. 15. (8) *Job* 41. 12. (9) *Prov.* 19. 7. (10) *Prov.* 26. 2. (11) *Psal.* 100. 3. (12) *Psal.* 139. 16. (13) *Isa.* 9. 3. (14) *Isa.* 63. 9.

Now certainly, had these Men ventured to place all the Punctuation, they would have made bold to take the letter that best agreed with the sence of the place; and left the other, as most Translations do, who dare not Point the Bible; this were to strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel: Not to alter one Vowel Letter, and yet place all the Punctuation. And the same may be said of all the other sorts of *Keri u Ketib*.

Thirdly, The Third kind of *Keri u Ketib* is of letters transposed.

There are words wherein one letter is written beyond its place out of Rule, and read in its due place by Rule; and these are sixty two, but not one of them in the Law.

Fifty one of them are of the letters *jehu*, *a*, *h*, *u*, *i*, as *Judg.* 16. 26. וְשִׁמְשֹׁן בֶּן-דָּלִיָּה וְשִׁמְשֹׁן בֶּן-דָּלִיָּה read וְשִׁמְשֹׁן בֶּן-דָּלִיָּה with the first *Jod* transposed; so *Josh.* 6. 13. and in 2 *King.* 25. 16. (But I find it not so.) And there are eleven words wherein other letters are transposed, besides *a*, *h*, *u*, *i*; as, (1) Eccles. 9. 4. (2) 1 *Sam.* 27. 8. (3) 2 *Sam.* 15. 28. (4) 2 *Sam.* 20. 14. (5) 1 *King.* 7. 45. (6) *Ezek.* 42. 16. (7) *Prov.* 23. 26. (8) *Ezra* 2. 46. (9) *Ezra* 4. 4. (10) *Ezra* 8. 14, 17. (11) 1 *Chron.* 27. 29.

Of these sixty two, the final *Masora* directeth to the place where they are reckoned up under *Caph* at *Kerib*.

What was said under the former kinds of the *Keri* and *Ketib*, may be said under this

this and every other of the seven kinds that follow; viz. That the *Masorites* would never have observed and kept these little Niceties as a Law upon their Posterity, not to add, alter, or rectifie so much as a Letter, where our Printers, and all Translators, make no scruple to do as the sence directs, if they had added all the Punctuation.

Fourthly, The Fourth kind of *Keri* and *Kerib*, is about placing the letter *He* $\aleph$: That is to say, where there are two words so joyned, that the first word taketh for its last letter the first letter of the second word, being $\aleph$, *He*; or on the contrary, the second word taking to it self for its first letter the last letter of the foregoing word. And, *First*, Where the first word takes to it self the first letter of the following word, being $\aleph$ pointed in the line with *Pathak*; and in the *Keri* is $\aleph$ *Emphatick*, or $\aleph$ *Hajadajah* at the beginning of the word: And of these there are three in all, thus written; viz. 2 Sam. 5. 2. Job 38. 12. Ezek. 42. 9. And in two places 'tis contrarily used; that is, the second word taking for its first letter the last letter of the word before it; as 2 Sam. 21. 9, 12. Ezra 4. 12. Of this Fourth kind, the *final Masora* directeth to the summ under *Caph* on *Kerib*. And of this Fourth kind, the same may be said as was observed on the Third kind before it.

Fifthly, The Fifth kind of *Keri u Kerib*, is of perfect words which are written and not read, and read and not written.

First, The words which are read and not written, *Elias* counts Eight: But the *Masora* round the first word of *Deuteronomy* reckon Ten; viz. (1) Judg. 20. 13. (2) 2 Sam. 8. 3. (3) 2 Sam. 16. ult. (4) 2 Sam. 18. 20. (5) 2 King. 19. 37. (6) 2 King. 19. 31. (7) Jer. 31. 38. (8) Jer. 50. 29. (9) Ruth 3. 5. (10) Ruth 3. 17.

Secondly, Eight words are written, but not read, as the *greater Masora* on *Ruth* 3. 13. have collected them; viz. (1) 2 King. 5. 18. (2) Jer. 38. 16. (3) Jer. 51. 3. (4) Ezek. 48. 16. (5, 6, 7, 8,) in four times written and not read: (1) Ruth 3. 13. (2) 2 Sam. 15. 21. (3) 2 Sam. 13. 33. (4) Jer. 39. 12. The *final Masora* under *Caph* on *Kerib* directeth to the places where the *Keri u lo Kerib*, and the *Kerib u lo Keri* are reckoned up. The words written, but not read, have no Point at all; and the words read, but not written, have no Letters, but Points only in the line. So that this sort of *Keri* and *Kerib*, as indeed all the rest, are preserved by the help of the Points, and not without them.

And this *Keri u lo Kerib*, and *Kerib u lo Keri*, is not only owned by *Elias* himself to be as ancient as *Ezra*; but the *Talmud* it self saith of it, That it was of *Moses* from *Sinai*: that is, of Divine Original, and thereby as Ancient as *Ezra*; and therefore the Points whereby alone it is preserved, must be as Ancient likewise.

Sixthly, The Sixth kind of *Keri u Kerib*, is of words that are written one word, and read two; or written two words, and read one.

First, Of the words written one word, and read two, are Fifteen, as *Elias* and the *lesser Masora* on *Gen.* 30. 11. reckon them up: (1) *Gen.* 30. 11. (2) *Exod.* 4. 2. (3) *Isai.* 3. 15. (4) *Ezek.* 8. 6. (5) *Jer.* 6. 29. (6) *Jer.* 18. 3. (7) *Psal.* 10. 10. (8) *Psal.* 55. 15. (9) 1 *Chron.* 9. 4. (10) *Psal.* 123. 4. (11) 1 *Chron.* 27. 12. On this 1 *Chron.* 27. 12. the *greater Masora* reckon up the words foregoing, and the four following: (12) *Deut.* 33. 2. (13) *Job* 38. 1. (14) *Job* 40. 6. (15) *Neh.* 2. 13.

Secondly, The words that are written two words, and read but one, are Eight, saith *Elias*, and the *final Masora* under *Caph* in *Kerib*; and says that they are reckoned up in the *greater Masora* on 2 *Chron.* 34. 6. as they are; viz. (1) 2 *Chron.* 34. 6. (2) 1 *Sam.* 9. 1. (3) 1 *Sam.* 24. 8. (4) 1 *King.* 18. 5. (5) *Lam.* 1. 6. (6) *Lam.* 4. 3. (7) *Isa.* 9. 7. (8) *Isa.* 44. 24. (9) *Judg.* 16. 25. Of this kind, the same may be said as was before spoken on the former.

Seventhly, The Seventh kind of *Keri u Kerib*, is of words that are used for Modesty sake: As, *First*, *Shegel* is four times to be read as *Shacab*, says the *final Masora*, under *Shegel* in *Shin*; and reckons them up in the *greater Masora* on *Isai.* 13. 16. viz. (1) *Deut.* 28. 30. (2) *Isai.* 13. 16. (3) *Jer.* 3. 2. (4) *Zech.* 14. 2.

Secondly, The word *Ophelim* is read *Techorim* five times; as the *final Masora* mentions on *Techorim* in *Teth*, and directeth to 1 *Sam.* 5. 12. where they are found, (1) 1 *Sam.* 5. 12. (2) 1 *Sam.* 5. 6. (3) 1 *Sam.* 5. 9. (4) 1 *Sam.* 6. 9. (5) 1 *Sam.* 6. 5. (6) *Deut.* 28. 27. And 1 *Sam.* 5. 11, 17. 'tis written as 'tis read, as the *Masorites* observe.

Thirdly, The word *Chrihem*, their Dung, is read *Tsoihem*; their Excrement; and *Seenthem*, their Piss, is read *Mee regleebem*, the Waters of their Feet. As, (1) 2 *King.* 18. 27. (2) *Isa.* 36. 12. (3) 2 *King.* 10. 27. (4) 2 *King.* 6. 25.

Now 'tis very improbable that these Men, who dare not leave out an Immodest word, when there is one Modest in the place of it of the same Antiquity; nor make the least Omission of any one usefless letter that they found in a former Copy, and yet cannot tell what it signifies to retain it: It is, I say, very Improbable, that these very Men should dare to Invent and Intrude all the Shapes of the Points, Vowels and Accents, upon the Text of Scripture, whose business is to observe every little difference of a letter or word; and to preserve the same, that no Alteration might be made in time to come.

Again, *Elias* himself, in *Masor. Hammaf. Pref.* 3. owns the *Keri u Kerib* to be as ancient as *Ezra*. So doth *Kimchi* in *Pref.* on *Joshua*; and *Abarbanel* on *Jeremiah*: And the

the Eight hundred forty eight words are preserved by the help of the Points, as *Kimchi* Pref. on *Joshua* observeth; for the Points under the word in the Line, are not its own, but do belong to the word in the Margin; so that without the Points the *Keri* and *Ketib* could not be preserved, but it is preserved as we see: Therefore the Points were as ancient as the time of *Ezra*, seeing the *Keri* and *Ketib* which they preserve, is so ancient. And so *Kimchi* on *Joshua* says, that *Ezra*, and the Men of the Great Synagogue, put the *Keri* in the Margin and did not Point it to distinguish it thereby from the word in the line: And as *R. Sal. Arnavelti* saith, cap. 26. The *Keri* lieth hid in the Points of the *Ketib*.

And so much for the Original, Nature and Kinds of the *Keri* & *Ketib*, and the *Masoretick* Notes thereon.

CHAP. XI.

The Improbability of the Masorites Pointing the Text, further discovered from the Nature of their Observations on the words written Full or Defective, called Meleim and Chaserim: And also from their Notes on the Ittur Sopherim seu ablatis Scribarum; that is, what the Scribes have taken away: And from the Tikkun Sopherim seu correctio scribarum, or the eighteen places amended by the Scribes: And from other Masoretick Notes on the words of the Bible; and their Sibbirin, or Conjectures.

THE Second sort of *Masoretick* Observations upon the words of the Text, is about the words that are written Full or Defective; the Original whereof, *Elias* himself, in Pref. 3. with the rest of the Jews, owneth to be Divine, and thereby as ancient as *Ezra*.

The Nature of these words *Elias* describes in *Masoret Hammasoret Dibbur Haroshon*, 1. As also doth *Buxtorf*, in his *Tiberias* from him; which is this: 'Know (saith *Elias*, that the chief and most of those words which the *Masorites* observe concerning them, that they are Defective or Full, they are most commonly such words that have *Vau* or *Jod* quiescent in the middle of a word; that is, *Vau* after *Holem* or *Shurek*, and *Jod* after *Chirek* or *Tsere*; and 'tis but a few that they observe defective with *Aleph* or *He*: And (saith *Elias*) I will begin with those that are defective, or wanting *Vau* with *Holem*, which are many: Now know (saith he,) that most of the *Holems* in Scripture want *Vau*; but yet they do not observe of every *Holem* in Scripture that is without *Vau*, that it is defective; nor yet of every *Holem* that is with *Vau*, do they say it is full: Only those words whose manner is to have *Holem* with *Vau* most commonly,

when they come at any time without *Vau*, then they observe concerning them, that such a word is defective: And so likewise those words whose manner is to have *Holem* come most commonly without *Vau*, then whenever such a word cometh with *Vau*, they observe concerning such a word, that it is written full: So that (saith *Elias*) this is a Rule, That only those words which are for the most part written full, they only are said by them to be defective, when they are written defective: And on the other hand, Only those words that for the most part are written defective, when they are written full, concerning them, only it is, That the *Masorites* observe that such a word is written full.

Now of these *Meleim* & *Chaserim*, or words written full or defective, the *Masorites* make innumerable Observations; for they note them where-ever they meet them, which is almost every where. Now what had it been for them to have made them all full or defective, had they Pointed the Text? But they religiously note every place where a word that is usually written full, that is, where the Vowel Letter is added to the Point most commonly, if that word be ever written without the Vowel Letter, they observe concerning it, that it is defective; but dare not make it full, by adding to it the Vowel Letter, though they know it is so written most commonly. Now can any one imagine that these Men did venture to place the whole Punctuation, who durst neither add nor yet omit one single Vowel Letter, where the Use of the word shews it should be added or omitted?

Thirdly, The Third sort of *Masoretick* Observations upon the words of the Text, is about the words that are called *Ittur Sopherim seu ablatis scribarum*, or, What the Scribes have taken away, the Antiquity whereof the *Talmud* it self owneth to be of Divine Original, and *Elias* doth not deny it so to be. Now these *Ittur Sopherim* are five words that might seem as to the sence to have required the letter *Vau* to signifie And at the beginning of them; but being written without them, are to be read without them. Of these the final *Masora* on *Ittur* under *Ain* mention four, and direct to *Psal.* 36. 6. where they are reckoned up; viz. (1) *Gen.* 18. 5. (2) *Gen.* 24. 55. (3) *Numb.* 12. 14. (4) *Psal.* 36. 6. (5) *Psal.* 68. 26. Vid. *R. Chaim* in Pref. on the Bible.

Now can any think that these are the Men who made so bold with the Text, as to Point all the Scripture of the *Old Testament*, and yet did not venture to put a *Vau*, one Vowel Letter, where the sence seemed to require it; and observed these places, that none might presume to add or alter a Vowel Letter upon their own Judgment, even there where they thought the sence did require it so to be.

H h h h

Fourthly,

Fourthly, The Fourth sort of Masoretick Observations upon the words of the Text, is about the Eighteen places Transposed, called *Tikkun Sopherim seu correctio scribarum*; or, The Amendments of the Scribes; otherwise called by *Aben Ezra*, *Tikkun Ezra*, The Amendments made by *Ezra*: For *Elias*, the *Talmud*, and the *Jews*, generally own their Divine Original; only *Aben Ezra*, *Jarchi*, &c. sometimes say there was no *Tikkun*; but the Text always was as now it is, and the *Masorites* curse any that dare alter these places, which they reckon up round the beginning of *Numbers*. (1) *Gen.* 18. 22. (2) *Numb.* 11. 15. (3) *Numb.* 12. 12. (4) *Jer.* 2. 11. (5) *1 Sam.* 3. 13. (6) *2 Sam.* 16. 12. (7) *Hos.* 4. 7. (8) *2 Chron.* 10. 16. (9) *Ezek.* 8. 17. (10) *Hab.* 1. 12. (11) *Mal.* 1. 13. (12) *Zech.* 2. 8. (13) *Job.* 7. 20. (14) *Job.* 32. 3. (15) *Lam.* 3. 20. (16) *Psal.* 106. 20. Of these the *Masorites* say, on *Numbers*, cap. 1. A Curse shall come upon every one that writes an Accusation against these *Tikkun Sopherim*. And if so, what must they have expected would have befallen themselves, had they intruded the whole Punctuation, who esteemed the least part of Scripture to be so compleat and sacred.

Fifthly, There are other sorts of *Masoretick* Observations upon the words of the Text; which manifest likewise that the Authors of such Notes were very unlikely to be the Inventors of the Points and Verses: Such as these:

1. They note the Place or Position of words, as they are found in the beginning or end of a Verse: As in *Gen.* 1. 2. they say *Vehaaretz*, and the *Earth*, is eight times at the beginning of a Verse, and the eight places are there collected: But, if they had made the Verses, they'd never have made such Notes on their own Invention; for they had other work to do, and 'twas their own Fancy to have them eight times at the beginning, if they made the Verses.

2. They observe also when a Verb is used with one certain Noun, or Preposition, and how often; as how often *Amar*, said, is joyned with the words *El Elohim*, unto God, which they found to be nine times: so the Verb *Jareh*, to fear, is seven times joyned with *Eth Elohim*, the Lord, as they observe on *Gen.* 42. 18. Certainly the Authors of the Punctuation had somewhat else to do, than make such Notes.

3. They observe the signification of the ambiguity of a word, as to its various senses on *Gen.* 6. 11. *Gnaleh*, a Leaf; the *Masora* there saith it is six times used to signify a Leaf. And why might it not have been six score times in that sense, had they so Pointed it? For it is fixed by the Points to the several senses wherein it is used; for *Gnaleh* in other places so Pointed, signifieth to Ascend; and if in six places they found it so pointed, and yet signified a Leaf, certainly the Text must be pointed before such Notes could be made; or they would

have made some difference in the Points of *Gnaleh* to Ascend, and *Gnaleh* a Leaf, had they Pointed the Text. So *Gen.* 19. 8. *Hael*, in eight places signifieth these, and not the Name of God; which in all other places it signifieth as it is so pointed: This they could not observe before the word was Pointed.

Sixthly, The *Masorites* make many Conjectures about the truest Forms of words that seem to be irregular; which they call *Sibbirim*, or Conjectures; that is, about words that do seem at first view, that they might more conveniently be written otherwise than they are, as to the sense of the place, or usual form of the words; as on *Gen.* 19. 23. the *Masorites* say there are three places where they think *Falsa* is used in the Masculine Gender, when by Grammar-rule it should have been used in the Feminine, being joyned with a word Feminine; and of this kind are many such, to restrain Persons from altering the least letter of the Text, upon never so great appearance of its being more agreeing to the Nature or Manner of the Language so to be, or Use of the words in Construction with it. Now if notwithstanding their admirable Skill in the Nature and Use of the Language, they did not dare to alter one Letter or Point, where they thought the Nature and Use of the Language required they should; who can imagine they would venture to place all the Punctuation? And so much for the *Masoretick* Notes on the words of the Text.

CHAP. XII.

The Improbability of the *Masorites* Pointing the Text, further shewed from the Nature of their Observations on the Letters of the Bible that are found Greater or Lesser than ordinary, or that are Inverted or Suspended, or that are Open or Shut, or extraordinarily Pointed.

AS the *Masorites* consider the Text, with respect unto the Verses and Words of it; so they do in the next place consider it with respect unto the Letters of it: Which that not one Letter might be lost, they have counted how oft each letter is found in the Bible.

Now as to the Letters, their Observations respect either, (1.) The Quality: Or, (2.) The Quantity or Number of them.

First, As to their Quality: They consider their different Figure or Shape, wherever they are found in an unusual manner. And these are either, (1.) Greater than ordinarily they are: Or, (2.) Lesser than ordinary: Or, (3.) Inverted: Or, (4.) Suspended: (5.) Open or Shut, Or, (6.) Extraordinarily Pointed.

First,

First, As to the Letters that are Greater than ordinary, they only observe that so they are written, that none may bring them into their ordinary form; but they dare not alter them: Whence we may conclude, that these are not the Men that intruded the Punctuation upon the Text. Now the Masorites have collected these great Letters both at the beginning of *Genesis*, and of the First Book of *Chronicles*, but with some difference: The Great Letters are in these places following. $\aleph$ in the word *Adam*, 1 *Chron.* 1. 1. $\beth$ in *Bereshit*, *Gen.* 1. 1. $\daleth$ in *hisGalak*, *Lev.* 13. 33. κ in *achaD*, *Deut.* 6. 4. $\lun$ in *Halejovah*, *Deut.* 32. 6. $\mem$ in *gibOn*, *Lev.* 11. 42. And so 1 *Mal.* 3. 32. νn *Esther* 1. 6. $\samek$ *Job* 9. 34. & *Ecclef.* 7. 1. $\pe$ *Numb.* 14. 17. $\se$ *Psal.* 8. 16. $\tet$ *Deut.* 29. 8. $\zay$ *Prov.* 1. 1. $\vav$ *Exod.* 34. 7. $\vav$ *Ecclef.* 12. 13. $\vav$ *Deut.* 6. 4. $\vav$ *Dan.* 6. 20. $\vav$ *Isa.* 56. 10. & *Deut.* 32. 4. $\vav$ *Psal.* 84. 4. $\vav$ *Exod.* 34. 14. $\vav$ *Cant.* 1. 1. $\vav$ *Deut.* 18. 13.

Secondly, The Lesser Letters are those that are lesser than the common Form: And of these there are Thirty three collected Alphabetically by the Masorites in the beginning of *Leviticus*, and in the beginning of the final Masora, but a little different the one from the other. Now of these Little and Great Letters, both the *Talmuds* make mention of them, as being before their time, and therefore can be no late Innovation: And they are these: $\aleph$ in the word *VEFIKRa*, *Lev.* 1. 1. $\beth$ in *HAB*, *Prov.* 30. 15. $\daleth$ *Job* 7. 5. κ *Prov.* 28. 17. $\lun$ *Gen.* 2. 4. $\mem$ *Numb.* 25. 12. & *Psal.* 24. 4. νn *Esther* 9. 9. $\samek$ *Job* 33. 9. $\se$ *Lam.* 2. 9. & *Numb.* 31. 24. $\tet$ *Deut.* 32. 18. $\vav$ *Gen.* 23. 2. $\vav$ *Lam.* 1. 12. $\vav$ *Deut.* 31. 27. & *Lev.* 6. 2. & final *Neb.* 13. 30. $\vav$ *Lam.* 4. 14. $\vav$ final three times, *Isai.* 44. 14. *Jer.* 39. 13. *Prov.* 16. 28. $\vav$ *Nahum* 1. 3. & *Psal.* 27. 5. $\vav$ *Lam.* 3. 36. $\vav$ *Dan.* 6. 20. $\vav$ *Jer.* 14. 2. & final *Job* 16. 14. $\vav$ *Exod.* 32. 25. & *Gen.* 27. 47. $\vav$ as some, *Exod.* 23. 19. & 34. 26. say the final Masora; but that on *Levit.* say, 2 *Sam.* 21. 19. *Esth.* 9. 9. $\vav$ *Esth.* 9. 7. $\vav$ *Esth.* 9. The Name of one of *Haman's* Sons also.

Now what a small matter had it been for them to have made a letter that was too little, to be as big as his fellows? But this they durst not do, but took this care to prevent any others doing of it after their time: And therefore these are not likely to be the Men that placed the Punctuation, seeing they did not dare to mend a letter. The like may be said of the Letters Inverted, Suspended, Open, or Shut; which do follow: As,

The Masorites on *Num.* 10. 35. do say there are Nine Verses wherein this Mark $\aleph$ Nun is found inverted, but they dare not alter them; and they there collect them; as (1) The letter $\aleph$ in the word $\aleph$ *Numb.* 10. 35. (2) *Numb.* 11. 1. The other seven are in *Psal.* 107. as ver. 23, 24, 25, 26,

27, 28, & ver. 40. In our Bible *Nun* is not found inverted in some of these places: But (as *Buxtorf* saith,) we should seek for them in *Masoretick Manuscripts of the Bible*. How is it likely the Masorites intruded the Points, who durst not put $\aleph$ the right way?

Fourthly, They observe that $\beth$ is final in the word $\beth$ *Isa.* 9. 7. And $\beth$ is open at the end of the word $\beth$ *Neb.* 2. 13. but dare not alter them.

Fifthly, That $\daleth$ is written, *Job* 38. 1. in the end of the word, as it is usually written in the beginning or middle, but alter it not.

Sixthly, The Masora on *Judg.* 18. 30. say there are four words that have in them a letter suspended or hanged; and they are these: (1) $\daleth$ *Judg.* 18. 30. which is $\daleth$: But the second, third and fourth are $\vav$; as, (2) *Psal.* 80. 14. (3) *Job* 38. 13. (4) *Job* 38. 15. The *Talmud* giveth a Reason why these letters are so written; which sheweth their Ancient Original. Now if the Masorites durst not put right these letters which appear wrong placed, how can we imagine they placed the Punctuation?

Seventhly, The like may be said of their Notes on the Taggin, or little strokes on letters.

Eighthly, There are Fifteen words that have a letter Pointed at the top extraordinarily, not to signify a Vowel, but some Mystery; as the Point over the last *Jod* in the word $\beth$: As, (1) *Gen.* 16. 5. The Masora note this to be one of the ten words in the Law that are Pointed, and four in the Prophets, and one in the Ketubim. (2) *Gen.* 18. 9. *Hascuni* says this Point was in *Ezra's* time, and placed by *Moses*: See *Bereshit Rabba*, *R. Solomon*, *R. Bechai*. (3) *Gen.* 19. 33. This *Jerom* observes, and the *Talmudists* in *Nazer*, cap. 4. fol. 23. So doth *Tanchuma*, *Jalkut*, *Baal Hatturim*, *Zohar*, and Others. (4) *Gen.* 33. 4. (5) *Gen.* 37. 12. (6) *Num.* 31. 39. (7) *Num.* 9. 10. (8) *Num.* 21. 30. (9) *Numb.* 29. 15. (10) *Deut.* 29. 29. (11) 2 *Sam.* 19. 19. (12) *Isa.* 44. 9. (13) *Ezek.* 46. 2. (14) *Ezek.* 46. 22. (15) *Psal.* 27. 13. The *Talmudists* in *Be-rachoth*, cap. 1 fol. 4. give the Reason of this. Hence we observe,

First, That these Points are of great Antiquity, being taken notice of in *Zohar*, and other ancient Books before the *Talmud*. And 'tis very unlikely they should be before the Points, Vowels and Accents, being of unspeakably less use and necessity; seeing, as *Capellus* himself acknowledgeth, that the most necessary part of the Punctuation was made first.

Secondly, We observe that the Masorites who made these Notes on the Points, cannot

not be the Authors of the Points themselves, but must be long after them; and if they had been the Authors of them, they must have been long before the *Talmud*.

Eccles. 3. 18. *cap.* 7. 28. *Isa.* 27. 12.

Secondly, the Anomalies that are found in the Points *Dagesh* and *Mappik*.

C H A P. XIII.

The Improbability of the Masorites being the Inventors of the Punctuation, more particularly considered from the Nature of the Masoretick Notes on the Punctuation, and on all the Parts of it; and more especially on the Anomalies thereof.

THe *Masorites* have observed all the Anomalies that are in all the Parts of the Punctuation; which are very many, almost innumerable, and barely observe that so it is: Whereas had they been the Authors of the Punctuation, they either needed not have made one Anomalous Point, Vowel, or Accent; but might have made them all uniform and regular; or else could, and 'tis likely would have given some Reason of the Anomalies; which they wholly omitted to do. We shall therefore produce a few of the many Instances of the Anomalies that are in all the Parts of the Punctuation, together with some of their Observations thereon, that by them it may be judged whether those *Masorites* placed the Punctuation or not.

Now the Punctuation consists of Three Parts: (1.) The Vowels. (2.) the Points *Dagesh* and *Mappik*. (3.) The Accents; as *Buxtorf* in his *Tiberias*, pag. 13. collects some of them, it being endless to mention all.

First, The Anomalies or Irregularities that are found in the Vowels; as in *Gen.* 16. ver. 13. *וַיִּשְׁרָא*; and ver. 15. *וַיִּשְׁרָא*, there the *Masorites* observe that every *Shem* is written with *Tfere*, except six with *Segol*, which they there reckon up. Now why should this word be but six times so pointed, of the many hundreds of times it is written? And why in these six places? If they had pointed the Bible, they could have made these regular, or given us a Reason why they did not so do. Certainly these Notes shew they only observed the Anomalies they found, that none might alter them in time to come. So *Gen.* 19. 2. *וַיִּהְיֶה* *Hinneb*: On this the *Masorites* say every *Hinneb* signifying *Hen*, *Behold*, is written with *Tfere*, except this one, which is with *Segol*. In the places following, the *Masorites* observe how oft each word is irregularly used; that is, one Vowel for another in the same word, viz. *Exod.* 32. 1, 6. *Exod.* 33. 3. *Lev.* 5. 22. & 10. 19. *Numb.* 9. 2. *Deut.* 18. 17. & 30. 4. *Josh.* 2. 14. *2 Sam.* 23. 6. *Jer.* 17. 17. *cap.* 31. 33. *Ezek.* 9. 8. *Dan.* 1. 13. *Joel.* 1. 4. *Amos.* 9. 13. *Hab.* 2. 17. *Zech.* 7. 14. *Psal.* 128. 3. *Prov.* 3. 12.

(1.) Of *Dagesh*. 'Tis a general Rule, that the four Gutturals, *א ב ג ד*, do not admit of *Dagesh forte*; nor doth the letter *ר* *Resh* for its roughness: Yet contrary to this Rule, the *Masorites* observe that *א* hath *Dagesh* four times, viz. *Ezra.* 8. 16. *Gen.* 43. 26. *Lev.* 23. 17. *Job.* 33. 21. And the letter *ר* *Resh*, they say, hath *Dagesh* thrice, viz. *1 Sam.* 10. 24. & *1. 6.* & *17. 25.* *Song.* 5. 2. *Kimchi Miklol*, fol. 73. says *ר* is seven times with *Dagesh*. (2.) *Dagesh* is oft used *Euphonia gratia*, but in some places it cannot be; as in *Exod.* 15. 17. and *Deut.* 23. 11. *וַיִּהְיֶה* is sometimes written with *Dagesh* in *Mem*, and sometimes without it, as in *Psal.* 43. 2.

(2.) Of *Mappik*. This hath its use too: As, 1st. In *ו* the Third Perf. Fem. Pron. as *וְהָיָה*, to her. The *Masorites* observe it is thrice without *Mappik*, as *Num.* 32. 42. *Zech.* 5. 10. *Ruth.* 2. 14. 2^{dly}. They observe there are Eighteen words in Scripture wherein *Mappik* is omitted; as *Exod.* 2. 3. *cap.* 9. 18. The rest are in the final *Masora* in *ו* under *וְהָיָה*.

(3.) The Anomalies that are found in the Accents, with the *Masorites* Notes thereon, prove they were not the Authors of them; but only observed how the Books were Pointed before their days.

First, *Pathak* and *Segol* are commonly changed into *Kamets*, by the great Pauses, *Athnak*, *Soph*, *Pasuk*, or *Silluk*: (How then could the Vowels be placed so long before these Accents? as *Capellus* fancieth.)

Now in some Books sometimes they remain, and are not altered by these Accents: And these places the *Masorites* do note; as *Gen.* 21. 8. *cap.* 21. 13. *cap.* 30. 19. *Deut.* 32. 48. *Exod.* 8. 24. *cap.* 26. 5, 9. *Isa.* 47. 1. *Psal.* 27. 4. & 4. 3. & 35. 20. & 66. 12. & 84. 11. And multitudes of the like, it being a great part of the *Masora*.

Here we find are multitudes of Anomalies in all Parts of the Punctuation; and the *Masorites* note them all, but do no more than barely note them. Hence we conclude the Punctuation, and all the Parts of it, were long before the *Masorites*, and before these *Masoretick* Notes; else they would have made no Anomalies, or given a Reason why they did make any. If now the whole Punctuation were not finished until *A. D.* 1030. as *Capellus* supposeth, then there is no time left for the *Masorites* to live in; for the *Grammarians* succeeded *Ben Asher*, *A. D.* 1030. and take no notice of them; which they would not have omitted, had any such Criticks in their Learning been in their time. But if the Punctuation were finished, *A. D.* 500. as *Elias* supposeth, then these *Masorites* who made the

the Points, could not make these Notes on the Anomalies thereof also, as he imagineth they did, but were long after them. *Utrum horum mavis accipe.*

Capellus saith, If the Masorites did not Point the Text, it follows not the Points were before A. D. 500.

Resp. None else besides the Masorites are pretended to be the Authors of the Points since *Ezra's* time: If therefore the Masorites did not Point the Text, it must have been Pointed in *Ezra's* time.

Capellus supposeth the Anomalies may be either from Use against Grammar, or by Error or Design.

In supposing it was by following Use and Custom, against Grammar-Rule; it must then be allowed, 1st. That all the Points, Vowels and Accents are usefully distinct from each other; which elsewhere he denies; for they must distinguish all these Anomalies in their Sound by the Ear, till the Punctuation was placed.

His other Conjectures, That it may be it was done by Error, shews how little he regards the Providential Care of God over his Word, to be a perfect Rule to the Worlds end, so he can get but an *it may be it was Error*; and then it may be it was Design; and yet a *Posse ad esse non valet consequentia*, as before was observed: We cannot conclude that every thing is actually, whatever it may possibly be.

It may be (saith *Capellus*) the first Authors of the Points made these Anomalies by mistake; but the succeeding Masorites finding of them, supposed they were designedly made at first, and so left and noted them.

Resp. 1st. Then the Points, Vowels and Accents were made long before these Notes on the Anomalies of all the Parts of the Punctuation.

2. Then the Punctuation was not 500 years in composing; for all on't was finished before these Notes were made, which yet were many Ages in making.

3. Then the first Masorites were the greatest blundering Blockheads that ever were, to make such innumerable palpable Mistakes in what they had invented themselves: And yet their Successors must be supposed to esteem them so infallibly exact, as to follow them universally against their own Sense and Reason, not daring to rectifie one Mistake.

4. If *Ben Asher*, A. D. 1040. finished the Punctuation, why did he not rectifie these Mistakes or Anomalies in all the Parts of it? And then let him produce some Evidence, that this Masora, or the Notes on these Anomalies, were made by Masorites that lived since *Ben Asher's* time; whereas the Grammarians succeeded *Ben Asher*, and take no notice of any such.

Secondly, *Capellus* says (if this won't do, that 'twas done by Mistake then,) It may be it was done at first designedly by the first Masorites, the Causes whereof we may not know; which the following Masorites, to prevent any Alteration of them through inadvertency, have

made those Notes on them: And this is not strange, seeing we must suppose *Ezra* did it designedly; nor yet absurd, seeing we suppose *Ezra* did the same.

Resp. 1st. Still the Punctuation was all finished by the first Masorites, contrary to his Opinion elsewhere.

2. *Ezra* was a publick Person, and divinely inspired; but the Masorites were private Persons, and had neither ordinary nor extraordinary Call or Authority to place innumerable Points, contrary to all Grammar-Rule, without rendring an Account of the Reason why they did so. And therefore,

2^{ly}. 'Tis absurd in them, though it was not so in *Ezra*; for (as *Capellus* saith) the cause of these Anomalies might be, that such was the Use and Custom of the Tongue, so to expresse some words different from Grammar-Rule: This might be known and done by *Ezra*, but could not be done by the Masorites, because the knowledge of such Niceties as the Anomalous Sounds, were lost long before their time. In short, this we say from hence, (1.) The Masorites are the Authors of the Masora; we know no other of their Works than this. (2.) These have made the Notes that are made on the Anomalous Punctuation. And, (3.) They who made these Notes, we have proved were not the Authors of the Punctuation; because all the Punctuation must have been made long before these Notes could be made thereon; and therefore we conclude that the Masorites were not the Authors of the Punctuation.

CHAP. XIV.

The Absurdity of the Opinion, That the Masorites Pointed the Text, A. D. 500. discovered from the Evidence there is that the Masora which the Masorites made, was long before A. D. 500.

THe Masorites, or Authors of the Masora, must by all means be accounted for the Authors of the Punctuation; and yet it will not be allowed that the Points were invented before A. D. 500. after the Talmuds: We shall therefore prove that the Masora it self, or the principal Parts of it, were before the Talmuds, being owned as such in the Talmuds themselves.

Now as to the Parts of the Masora, the Antiquity whereof we are to examine, we agree with the Account that *Elias* himself giveth us thereof in *Masoret Hammaforet*, pag. 1. who tells us, 'That by the Masorites the Scriptures are preserved so well, that no change can befall them in time to come in the least: And hence they are called a Hedge to the Law, which otherwise had been lost: These Masorites, he saith, numbred all the Verses, Words

and Letters of every Book of the Bible ; and hence were called *Sopherim*, or Numberers ; and hereby they found that *Vau* in the word *Gihon* was the middle of the Law ; as to the Letters, *Darash* in *Darash Moshe* was the middlemost word : And he put on him the Breast-plate, Lev. 8. 8. was the middlemost Verse in the Law : And the like was done of every Book of the Bible, (or twenty four Books :) As also they numbred the Verses, Words and Letters in every *Parasha*, or Section of the Law, as well as the whole Law, which had 60045 Letters. Also they reckoned how oft every Letter in the Alphabet was found in the Scriptures : As for Instance, *Aleph* was found (saith he) 42377 times in the Bible, *Beth* 38218 times, *Gamma* 29537 times, and so of the rest. Thus far *Elias*.

Now we shall prove that the Parts of the *Masora* here mentioned, were long before the *Talmuds* ; and yet the Authors of these Parts of the *Masora*, are here called the *Masorites* by *Elias* himself.

First, As to the Name of the *Masora* ; that is, not only mentioned by both the *Talmuds*, but spoken of, as being as ancient as *Ezra's* time, in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, in *Megilla*, cap. 4. And in the *Babylon Talmud*, in *Masecat Nedarim*, cap. 4. fol. 37. In explaining Neh. 8. 8. And caused them to understand the reading ; that is, the *Masora*, say both the *Talmuds* : That is (saith *Elias*) By Oral Tradition the *Masora* was then used. Not so (saith *R. Azarias*,) they speak of what was written, and not of Tradition. Again, The common Saying of the *Talmuds* shew the Name of the *Masora* was then known ; viz. There is a Mother to the Scripture, and there is a Mother to the *Masora*. And as to the Work of the *Masorites*, *Elias* supposeth, cap. 2. that they made the Verses. And yet the *Mishna* it self, not long after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, mentions the Verses ; as in *Masecat Megilla* cap. 3. it saith, He that reads in the Law, must not read less than three Verses ; and in the Paraphrase, not more than one. And as the *Talmud* on *Megilla*, cap. 3. fol. 32. saith, What Verse *Moses* did not make a Verse, we must not make a Verse.

Secondly, Again, As to the Parts of the *Masora*, their readings *Ittur Sopherim*, *Keri u lo Kerib*, thus saith the *Talmud* in *Masecat Nedarim*, fol. 37. *Rabbi Isaac* saith, the reading of the Scribes, and *Ittur Sopherim*, and the *Keri u lo Kerib*, and the *Kerib u lo Keri*, is a Constitution of *Moses* from *Sinai*.

Thirdly, But the main Work that *Elias* ascribes to the *Masorites*, was the numbring the Verses, Words and Letters of Scripture ; and telling which is the middle Verse, Word and Letter of the Law ; and the like. Now of these the *Talmud* maketh mention most plainly, in *Masecat Kedushin*, cap. 1. fol. 30. it is thus written : Therefore *Roshonim*, the Ancients, were called *Sopherim*, Numberers, because

they numbred all the Letters which were in the Law ; and these said that *Vau* in the word *Gihon*, is the middlemost Letter of the Law, Lev. 11. 42. That *Darash*, Lev. 10. 16. is the middlemost word of the Law : And *Hitzgalach*, Lev. 13. 35. is the middlemost Verse in the Law, &c. The Ancients (they say) knew well the Letters full and defective ; and that the Verses of the Law were 5888.

The *Talmud* indeed oft refuteth the *Masora*, as *Elias* confesseth in Table 1. Speech 5. but then the *Masora* must needs be in being. The *Talmud* takes notice of the Great and Small Letters, which is also a Part of the *Masora* ; as on *Sopherim*, cap. 9. it saith, *Is Great*, Deut. 29. 28. What Argument (saith *Buxtorf*) can be plainer than this, the Name, and Work, and Parts of the *Masora*, were long before A. D. 500. Therefore they were not first made, A. D. 500. as *Elias* thinketh : Indeed he allows them to be by Tradition before, a thing most absurd and impossible, but not written until after the *Talmuds*, A. D. 500.

Now we say, if the *Masorites* Pointed the Text, they were these *Masorites* who wrote the Notes about the number of the Letters, Words and Verses of the Bible, of the *Ittur Sopherim*, the *Keri u lo Kerib*, the Reading of the Scribes, the Letters Greater, or Lesser than ordinary, the Letters and Words Full and Defective, and the like ; all which the *Talmuds* plainly say were made by the Ancients, their Ancestors, long before their time, or else the Punctuation was made by other *Masorites* than these the *Talmud* speaks of : If the Punctuation was made by these Men, then it was made long before A. D. 500. even as ancient as *Ezra* ; for so ancient is this *Masora* esteemed by the Jews to be. *Elias* his Fancy, That this *Masora* was Orally preserved from *Ezra's* time, till A. D. 500. is refuted by *R. Azarias*, and *R. S. Arcuvolti*.

But if the *Masorites* who Pointed the Text were not these ancient *Masorites* the *Talmuds* speak of, then they were either those that made the Notes on the Anomalous Punctuation, and upon the rest of the things that are the Subject of the *Masoretick* Observations which compose the present *Masora*, or else they were some others. But they were not these *Masorites* neither ; for we have at large proved that those who made the Notes on the Punctuation, were long after the Punctuation was made : And that those who made the other Notes on the other Parts of the *Masora*, did only observe what they found the Text to be ; but placed nothing to the Text, their only design being to prevent any from so doing in time to come. If therefore the *Masorites* Pointed the Text, they were other *Masorites* than either of these before mentioned : But other than the one or the other sort of *Masorites* already mentioned, we neither read nor hear of ; and till some other can be found out, we conclude the *Masorites*, A. D. 500. or since that

that time, did not Point the Text. And so much for the discovery of the Improbability of those Persons Pointing the Text, to whom the Invention of the Punctuation is ascribed.

C P A P. XV.

The Absurdity of the Opinion, That the Text was first Pointed A.D. 500. further discovered from the Evidences of the Points, Vowels, Accents and Verses being long before that time; and the Instance of a Pointed Copy of R. Hillel, A.D. 340. and from the Account we have of these things in the Zoar, Bahir, Mishna and Talmuds.

WE shall conclude this FIRST PART with the Evidences of the mention that is made of all the Parts of the Punctuation, in the ancient Writings of the Jews that were before A.D. 500. and the Instance of a Pointed Copy of R. Hillel, of great Antiquity.

We shall begin with the Book entitled *Habahir*, made by R. Nechoniah, fifty years before Christ. (Vid. Buxtorf *Thesaurus*, A.D. 1609. pag. 66, 67. *Fuchasin*, pag. 20. *Tsemach David*, part 1. pag. 35. R. Azarias Meor Enaim, cap. 59.) The words of *Bahir* are these: 'The Points in the Letters of the Law of Moses, are like unto the Breath of Life in the Body of a Man.'

And in the Book called *Zohar*, made by R. Simeon ben Jochai, a hundred years after Christ. (Vid. Buxtorf, *ibid.* and *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* on *זוהר*. *Fuchasin*, pag. 42. R. Azarias, Meor Enaim in *imre bina*, cap. 59.) The words of *Zohar* are these: 'Not one Letter is able to signify one thing or another without the Points: All the Letters without the Points, are like the Body without the Soul; when the Points come, then the Body stands in its Station.'

And so in the *Tikkunim*, or Explications of the *Zohar*, saith R. Azarias, *ibid.* And in the Preface of *Tikkunim*, 'tis said, 'The Accents are as the Breath, and the Points as the Spirit, and the Letters as the Soul, the one come after the other.'

And this, as R. Azarias, *ibid.* observes, is not meant of the Sounds only, but of the Shapes of the Points, Vowels and Accents, as he there gives Instances. See more of the ancient Caballistical Writers expressly mentioning the very Names also of the Points, Vowels and Accents in Buxtorf's *Tiberias*; and *De Punctorum Origine*, pag. 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59. together with the Answer to the impertinent Cavils of Capellus, as to the Antiquity and Integrity of the Books *Zohar*, *Bahir*, and the Pointed Copy of Hillel; who objecteth,

It may be that they have forged Titles of Antiquity, to advance the Price in the Sale of them.

Resp. And it may not be so: But if it may be so, that doth not prove it was so. Nor doth Capellus produce any thing that renders the Antiquity of these Books so much as suspected; for the Antiquity of these Books is universally owned by the Jews: Those of them who write about these things, plainly declare their Antiquity to be what we say it is.

3. The *Mishna*, about A.D. 150. takes notice of the Verses in *Masecat Megilla*, cap. 3. and saith, 'He that reads in the Law, must not read less than three Verses; nor more than one Verse in the Chaldee Paraphrase.'

4. The *Jerusalem Talmud*, about A.D. 230. in *Megilla*, cap. 4. on *Neh. 8. 8.* And they read in the Book, in the Law of God: 'That is (say they,) the Scripture distinctly; that is, with the Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrase, and gave the sense: These (say they) are the Accents which they placed, *Samu taam*, they put the Accents to it; and Some say these are the Pauses: Others say these are the Beginnings of the Verses.'

5. The *Babylon Talmud*, in *Masecat Nedarim*, cap. 4. fol. 37. and in *Masecat Megilla*, cap. 1. fol. 3. on *Neh. 8. 8.* they say likewise: And they read in the Book of the Law of God, that is, the Scripture, distinctly, that is, with the Targum, and gave the sense, These are the Verses; and caused them to understand the reading, This is the Stops of the Accents: And others say these were the *Masora*, for they were forgotten, and they then restored them.

And in *Masecat Nedarim*, fol. 37. *ibid.* Rabbi Isaac saith, 'The reading of the Scribes, and *Ittur Sopherim*, and *Keri u lo Ketib*, and *Ketib u lo Keri*, is a Constitution of Moses on Sinai.'

First, saith R. Isaac, The reading of the Scribes, as *Erets Shamajim Mithraim*; that is, The Scribes taught the People how they had received from Moses to read these words, and the like; one way in one place, and another way in another, as sometimes *Arets*, sometimes *Erets*, &c. For, as R. Nissin saith, *Erets* is changed, by reason of *Athnak*, into *Arets*; and so of *Shammajim Mithraim*, &c.

And as R. Sal. Farchi saith, 'The Scribes taught them how they ought to read the Words without the Vowel-Letters being added in all places; as *Erets*, without writing *Aleph* between *Resh* and *Tsade*: And so *Shamajim*, without writing *Aleph* between *Shin* and *Mem*: And all this (say the Talmud) is a Constitution of Moses from Sinai.'

And as it is impossible that the Sounds of all the Punctuation could be preserved without the Shapes of them were written to the Text: So R. Azarias, in *Meor Enaim*, cap. 59.

sheweth, that what the *Talmuds* speak on *Neh. 8. 8.* is all of it about what was written, and no part of it was spoken about what was kept by Oral Tradition. As,

First, The Book of the Law which they read, that was *Mikra*, the Scripture, distinctly, with *Targum*, or the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, which (saith he) was then written; and so (saith he) were the Points, and Accents, and *Masora*, which they there speak of, was then written, as well as the Scripture: And the *Chaldee* Paraphrase was Written, and not kept by Oral Tradition only, as *Elias* fancieth; a thing most absurd and impossible.

Capellus objects, That *R. Sal. Jarchi*, *R. Azarias*, &c. are Modern Rabbins: But what saith *Rabboth*, and the Ancient Writers?

Resp. They cannot expound the *Talmud*, which was made long after they were dead; but the Ancient Writers speak plain enough of the Points, as *Bahir*, *Zohar*, &c. And why may not the *Talmuds* speak of the Shapes of the Points? There is not one place of Scripture (saith *Buxtorf*) in all the *Talmud*, any otherwise read than our present Punctuation reads it: Which could not have been, had not the Bible been then Pointed; for the Sounds could not be kept without the Shapes, as we have already shewed in the *PROEMIUM*; and as themselves say, the *LXX.* and *Chaldee* differ from our Copy, because they had no Points; and we may as well say the *Talmud* universally agreeth with our Punctuation, because they had Points, which they could not have done without. And as to the *LXX.* &c. they differ from the Letters and Words, as well as about the Points; and therefore *Capellus* reckons their Copy differed from ours in Letters, as well as Points: But these things we may examine hereafter, the Punctuation is all we are now concerned about. And hereby all those Objections of the silence of the ancient *Caballistical* Writings, and of the *Talmuds* about the Points, are obviated. (Vid. *Pugio Fidei*, pag. 92. the former Edition: And pag. 111. of the last Edition. See also *Buxtorf. de Punct. Orig.* part 1. cap. 5, & cap. 6.) We shall only add the Instance of a Pointed Copy of *R. Hillel*, which was before *A. D. 500.* as ancient as *A. D. 340.*

'Tis said in *Fuchasin*, fol. 132. col. 1. 'In the year 956, or 984, there was a great Persecution in *Lions*, and then they brought out from thence the twenty four Books called the Bible, which *R. Hillel* wrote, and by them they corrected all their Books; and I have seen a Part of them that were

'sold in *Africa*, and in my time they had been written nine hundred years. And *Kimchi* saith in his Grammar, That the *Pentateuch* of it was at *Tolerola*, in *Spain*, in his time.

Object. 'Tis not said here 'twas Pointed.

Resp. But 'tis said *Kimchi* speaks of it in his Grammar. And *Kimchi*, speaking of it, says it is Pointed; as in *Michlol*, fol. 93. col. 1. he saith, 'That *R. Jacob*, the Son of *Eleazer*, writeth, That in the Book of *Hillel*, which is in *Toledolid*, the word *Tidern* *ידרן*, in *Deut. 12. 11.* is found without a *Dagesh lene* in *Daleth*, that is, *Daleth raphated*. So on *ידרן* *Vedareshu* in *Psal. 109. 10.* he saith, That the word *Vedareshu* is read with broad *Kamets*, like *ושמר* *Veshameru*, and so we have received the reading of it: And in the Book of *Hillel*, which is kept at *Toledolid*, the *Masorites* make this Note upon it, viz. This is no where else found with *Kamets*: and so *Nagid* writeth, That he found it likewise in the *Masora* so written with *Kamets*.

So in his Book of Roots, *Sepher Sherashim*, on the Radix *ש* about the word *שומט* *Tesomet*, 'There *Mem* is with *Segol*, contrary to Rule, and is as if it were with *Pathack*: And in the Book of *Hillel*, which is in *Toledolid*, it is with *Pathack*.

So *Mercer*, on *Prov. 24. 14.* on the word *דעב* *Deeb*, he saith, 'In a Manuscript it is writ with *Tfere*; but in the Margin it is noted, that in *Hillel's* Copy 'tis written with *Segol*. The same saith *R. Moses Bar Nachman*, in his Commentary on the Book of *Jetsir*, or *Jezirah*.

Capellus objects, It may be *Hillel's* Copy was not so ancient as is pretended. But gives no Reason why we should suspect its Antiquity, which is generally owned by the Jews, as *Fuchasin*, *Kimchi*. (Vid. *Buxt. de Punct. Orig.* part 2. cap. 7.)

So that the Points were before *A. D. 500.* being found in *Hillel's* Copy, *A. D. 340.* and mentioned in the *Bahir*, *Zohar*, *Mishna* and *Talmuds*.

And hence we conclude the *FIRST PART* of this Discourse, That the Text was not Pointed by the *Masorites*, *A. D. 500.* or since that time at *Tiberias*, or elsewhere.

And thus have we collected what others have written, and our selves observed about the Novelty of the Points; the like we intend about their Antiquity in the *SECOND PART*, but more briefly, if possible.

The End of the FIRST PART.

על קדמות הנקודות והטעמים אשר ללשון הקדש :

O R, A

Discourse concerning the Antiquity and Original of the Points, Vowels and Accents that are placed to the *Hebrew Bible*.

The SECOND PART.

WHEREIN

The Antiquity, Divine Original and Authority of the present Punctuation, is proved, By the Testimony of Jews and Christians, The Universal Consent of all Nations that receive the Scriptures; Their quiet Possession of the Text, as 'tis now Pointed by Prescription, from Age to Age. The Vowels (an Essential part of Speech) oft expressed by the Punctuation only. The Obscurity of the Scripture without Points, which yet was commanded to be written very plainly. The *Old-Testament* evidencing it self to be the Word of God, in and by the Punctuation only. The Anomalies thereof manifesting its Antiquity. The Promise of Christ, *Mat. 5. 18. That nothing shall be lost out of the Law or the Prophets*, whereof the Points are so great a part. The manifest Absurdity of the contrary Opinion: And other Considerations.

TOGETHER WITH

Answers to the several *Objections* of *Elias Levita*, *Ludovicus Capellus*, *Dr. Walton*, and Others, against their Antiquity. Such as are, The Testimonies of some Jews about the Points. The Unpointed Copy of the Law so kept in the Synagogue. The Silence of the ancient Caballistical Writings of the *Mishna* and *Talmuds* about them. The *LXX.* and *Chaldee* Paraphrase reading otherwise than our Punctuation directeth. The *Samaritan* Character, (supposed to be the ancient *Hebrew*,) never Pointed. The Novelty of their Names, The Superfluity of their Numbers, The possibility of preserving the Sound without the Shapes; and of reading the Bible without Points, (as well as the Rabbinical Commentaries, the *Talmuds*, and other Oriental Languages, are read without them,) By the help of the *Matres Lektionis*, or Letters *Evi, a, h, v, i*, By the scope of the place, &c. The Silence of *Jerom*, and the Fathers about them. The Opinion of divers Modern Divines, both *Papists* and *Protestants*, against the Antiquity of the Shapes of the present Punctuation, The *Keri u Kerib* being about the Letters, and never about the Points, and the like.

In TWO PARTS.

The *FIRST PART* containing the *Testimonies*: The *SECOND*, the *Arguments* of Jews and Christians, for their Antiquity and Divine Authority; wherein the *Objections* against the same are Answered.

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The FIRST PART of the SECOND PART.

Containing the Testimonies of Jews and Christians for the Antiquity of the Points ;
with the Answer to the several Objections that are made thereunto.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. The Question stated. §. 2. The several Opinions of those who own the Antiquity of the Points, enumerated: Their Divine Original proved by the Testimony of all the Jews, Elias only excepted: The extent and weight of this Testimony, in part considered. §. 3. The Objections of express Testimonies against the Antiquity of the Points, answered. §. 4. The Objection of the Law being kept in the Synagogue without Points, answered. §. 5. The Silence of the ancient Caballistical Writings, the Mishna and Talmuds, about the Points, answered.

§. 1. IN the FIRST PART of this Discourse, Chap. 1. we declared that there were two Periods of Time particularly fixed unto the one or the other, of which all Parties do in some respect ascribe the Original of the Points: The one is the time of Ezra, the other is A. D. 500. The one makes them of Divine, the other of Humane Original and Authority. So that the Question is,

Whether the Shapes or Figures of the Points, Vowels and Accents which are joyned to the Text of the Hebrew Bible, were invented and placed to the Text as early as the time of Ezra, or else not until the Talmuds were finished A. D. 500?

And having at large discovered the Improbability and Absurdity of the Opinion, That the Points were first invented, after the Talmuds were finished, A. D. 500. in the First Part; we are now to prove,

That the Shapes or Figures of the Points, Vowels, and Accents which are joyned to the Text of the Hebrew Bible, were invented and placed to the Text as early as the time of Ezra. Not that we need to enlarge upon this position, having proved it in proving the other: For none doubt of the Points being placed by Ezra, but those who suppose them first invented A. D. 500. Which Opinion being already refuted, there is no other time assigned by any for their Original since the time of Ezra: And having largely shewed that they were not first invented and placed, A. D. 500. or since that time, nor yet at any other time since Ezra; it followeth, they were placed by the time of Ezra. So that what is further alledged for the Antiquity of the Points, is *ex abundanti*, and more than could be required; not but that we intend to produce sufficient Proof for their Antiquity, and Divine Authority.

§. 2. We have moreover observed already, Part 1. Chap. 1. That those who

acknowledge the Antiquity and Divine Authority of the Points, &c. do yet differ among themselves about the precise time of their first Invention. For,

1. Some suppose they are coævous with the Letters, and as ancient as Adam: This is the Opinion of R. Azarias in *Meor Enaim*, cap. 59 of Antonius Rodulphus, Cavalierius in *Rudamentis Lingue Hebraicae*, cap. 4. Petrus Cevalerius, *ibid.* in *Annotationibus Matthias Flacius Illyricus Clavis Scripturae*, part 2. tract 6. pag. 644. Marcus Marinus in *Pref. to Arca Noa*. Vid. Buxt. de *Punct. Orig.* part 2. cap. 1. R. Samuel Arcuvolti *Arugab Habbosem*, cap. 26.

2. Others imagine that they were Orally delivered by Moses on Sinai, but not placed to the Text till Ezra's time. So the Author of *Cofri* thinks, part. 3. sect. 31. The Talmudists, the Author of *Tsak Sephataim*, and Others, say the same.

3. Others believe the Points were placed together with the Letters, as the Scripture was at first written by the Pen-men of it. So saith Baal Samadar, and Others. Vid. *Arugab Habbosem*, cap. 26. and *Masoret Hammasoret*, Pref. 3.

4. But the most of the Jews affirm that Ezra, and the Men of the Great Synagogue, first invented and placed the Shapes of the Points to the Text; as Elias Levita himself, in *Masoret Hammasoret*, at the beginning of Pref. 3. observes; and Ephodens, cap. 5. & cap. 7.

Now all these several Opinions agree in this, That the Shapes of the Points were placed to the Text by the Time of Ezra; and that they are of Divine Original and Authority therefore; which is all we are concern'd to prove.

And herein we have the universal Consent of all the Jews, one (only Elias) excepted, as hath been proved in the First Part; for had another been of his Opinion, either himself or his Followers would have produced him; which they have not done to this day.

Now if we consider this Testimony in all its Circumstances, it will appear very full and pertinent.

First, As to its quantity: 'Tis the universal Consent of all the Jews, in all Places, Times and Ages.

Secondly, As to its quality; they are of all sorts.

(1.) The ancient Caballistical Writers and Philosophers. (2.) The Talmudists. (3.) The Grammarians; they are the most Learned, both ancient and modern.

Thirdly, As to the History and the Age of these Witnesses, none are so fit; for from them we have received the Hebrew Bible, by them it is preserved, and they are fittest to give

give the best Account of their own Affairs.

Fourthly, As to the Form of this Testimony, here is their plain, loud, full and open Voice for the Antiquity of the Points; and their deep Silence as to the Novelty of the Points: So that in all respects the Testimony is full, plain and Authentick.

§. 3. But hereunto it is objected, That there are exprefs and mute Testimonies of the Jews against the Antiquity of the Points.

1. As to exprefs Testimony, 'tis said and objected, That Aben Ezra, R. D. Kimchi, Cosri, and the Author of Tsak Sephataim, together with Elias Levita, are against the Antiquity of the Points.

Resp. We have at large proved in the First Part, that all these Testimonies are wrested, and that all these Rabbins are for the Antiquity of the Points, (Elias Levita only excepted;) which proves the universal Consent of the Jews for the Antiquity of the Points, seeing Elias Levita and his Followers cannot pick up one single Jew that doth so much as question or doubt of it.

Object. But the Jews are partial to the Praise of their own Nation, and so unfit Witnesses; only Elias, speaking against their Glory, is of more moment than six hundred on the other side.

Resp. (1.) Elias speaks most in his own Cause, and for the Glory of his own Nation, in ascribing the Punctuation to the Masorites, A. D. 500. when we say the Jews were rejected, and under the Curse of God, that at such a time they should be owned of God, so as to be able to produce so excellent a Work as the Punctuation; which is the Rule of all our Translations, and Expositions of Scripture: This Opinion is most their Interest to espouse, and most to their Praise; whereas the other Opinion belongs not to their Praise any more than ours; for the Christian Church succeeded the Church of the Jews: What Ezra did, was whilst they were God's Church and People; which not the Jews, but the Christians now are: And Ezra had as much Honour as that did amount to besides, as being one of the Penmen of the Scripture; and did not so need it as the poor Masorites, who had nothing else to boast of.

(2.) But if the Jewish Nation were herein partial to their own Glory, yet still they are fittest to give the best Account of their own Affairs: All Nations are partial to their own Praise, and yet the Records of every Nation are the best Evidences of their Affairs, and their own Transactions.

§. 4. Secondly, 'Tis objected by Capellus, and Others, That the Jews preserve the Law which they publicly read in the Synagogue without Points, thereby to represent the Autographon of Moses, being without Points; which 'tis said Buxtorf confesseth, doth prove that the Autographon of Moses was without Points. (Vid. Considerat. Confid. pag. 242.)

Resp. Buxtorf doth not confess any such

thing, but the contrary. (Vid. Buxtorf de Punct. Orig. pag. 49, 50.) And tells the several Opinions of the Jews about the Law of Moses: Some suppose it was Pointed at first: Others suppose there were two Copies in Moses's his time, one Pointed, the other without Points. That the Law is judged polluted, if one Point be put to it, is owned; but that it was without Points, to represent the Autographon of Moses, doth not appear: They who would know why the Jews read and keep it without Points, may hear what themselves say to it, who own the Antiquity of the Points; and therefore if their Testimony be good in one thing, 'tis so in another.

But the Jews give Three Reasons why the Law is kept without Points in the Synagogue: (1.) Because of the difficulty of Transcribing Copies so exactly as is required for publick use, the least defect rendring it profane; which indeed with Points were almost impossible to be done. (2.) That they might have the liberty of drawing many and divers senses; whereas the Points confine it to one only, but they would have many more mysterious. (3.) That all Learners might be kept in dependance upon their Teachers; and 'tis not unlikely but they preserve the Law Unpointed, that none might be permitted to read it in the Synagogue, until he were able to read it perfectly without Points. Moreover, if it were so, this hinders not but that it might be Pointed by Ezra, as Megilla, or Esther, read without Points; which yet they own that Ezra Pointed, and is of Divine Authority. However, the rest of the Scripture is read in their Synagogue with Points; and the Law it self is read exactly according to the Punctuation, to a tittle; which sufficiently sheweth their esteem of the Punctuation, as being of Divine Authority.

Object. 'Tis said, If the Jews did believe that Moses or Ezra either had Pointed the Law, they would not have used it without Points.

Resp. They all believe that Moses or else Ezra Pointed the Law; yet none of them Point it in the Synagogue, but give other Reasons why they omit the Points, though they read by them: And had Elias thought there had been any Argument in this Objection, 'tis like he would have used it; which he doth not, but acknowledgeth the Jews own their Antiquity.

§. 5. Thirdly, 'Tis objected, That the ancient Caballistical Writings make no mention of the Points, or their Names; nor yet do they draw any Mysteries from them, as they do from the Letters; which if they had been of Divine Authority, no doubt but they would have done: Also the Mishna and Gemara; yea, both the Talmuds, are very silent about the Points, even there where they had necessary occasion to have made mention of them, if they had been in their time.

Resp. We have produced Instances out of the Caballistical Writings, as the Zohar, and the Bahir; and out of the Mishna, and

and both the *Talmuds*, viz. that of *Jerusalem*, and that of *Babylon*; wherein the Points are not only mentioned, but their Necessity and Antiquity is owned, in *part 1. cap. 15.* And so hath *Buxtorf. de Punct. Orig.* *part 1. cap. 5, 6.* at large; where he produceth full Testimonies out of several Caballistical Books that mention very many of the Names of the Points, as doth his Father in his *Tiberias*.

(2.) The Points might be then, and yet they might not have occasion to mention them, as well as many voluminous Rabbinical Commentaries since the *Masorites*, *Alphesek*, *Abarbinel*, &c. who make no mention of the Points.

(3.) In the Points they were not like to find such Mysteries as in the Letters, seeing the Points hinder the design of raising many Mysteries, because they confine the Text to one certain sense.

(4.) They might look for greater Mysteries in the Letters, which they believe were given by the Lord himself, than by the Points, if they thought that *Ezra* invented them.

(5.) And as to the *Mishna* and *Talmuds*, there is not a Text, (as *Buxtorf* observes, *de Punct. Orig.* *par. 1. pag. 77.*) in all the *Mishna* or *Talmuds*, any otherwise read than according to our present Punctuation.

Now if *Capellus* placeth so much stress in the Argument, that the *LXX.* read otherwise than the Points direct, therefore the Points were not then; we may well lay as much stress on this, The *Mishna* and both the *Talmuds* read all places according to the present Punctuation, therefore the Punctuation was in their time.

Elias objects, The *Talmuds* oft say, Read not so, but So; as not *Benecha*, but *Boneecha*: And there is a Mother to the *Mikra*, or Scripture; and a Mother to the *Masora*; and that *Joab* slew his Master, about the reading of the word *Zacar*; which, as 'tis Pointed, may be either the Male or the Memorial: Now (saith he) if the Points were Divine, they durst not say Read not so, but So.

Resp. *R. S. Arcuvolti*, in *Arugath Habosem*, *cap. 26.* answers this, and saith, 'Their Rabbins had received many Doctrines and Laws by Tradition; which that they might preserve to Posterity, they set up *Tsionim*, Marks; as 'tis said, *Sima be-pyhem*, Put it in their Mouths: They say, read not *Sima*, but *Simanah* 'Signs.' So that they alter the Letters as well as the Points hereby; and we may as well say the Letters were not in their time, as that the Points were not on this account; for they say, read not so, but so, of the Letters as well as of the Points.

Moreover, *R. Azarias* shews that the Story of *Joab*, and the Saying, Read not so, but so, are Allusive, and Allegorical Expressions: Which he shews are never to be allowed to prove any Doctrine by; for their *Midrash* and *Hagoda* prove no Doctrine, and must be took for no other use than that for which 'tis brought; and

must never be taken or used against Scripture, or Sense and Reason, as the Jews acknowledge. (Vid. *R. Azarias*, *Meor Enaim*, *cap. 59. pag. 92.* *Maim. More Nebochim*, *book 3. cap. 43.* *Pugio Fidei*, *pag. 92. or 111. ult. Edit.*) So *Deut. 23. 13.* *A Paddle on thine Arm*; read not so (saith the *Talmud*,) but read, Put thy Finger to thine Ear. This none can suppose they design to be the meaning of it, but is Allegorical, as Poets use to speak in Metaphors and Symbols. (Vid. *Pugio Fidei*, *ut supra.*) So that these Notes were only to help the Memory by such Allusions; as *R. S. Arcuvolti* observes.

CHAP. II.

S. 1. The Objection of the ancient Translations of the *LXX.* and the Chaldee Paraphrase using an Unpointed Copy, Answered. S. 2. The Objection, That the Ancient Character was the Samaritan, and had no Points, Answered. S. 3. The Validity of the Testimony of the Jews not impaired in the least by any of these Objections.

S. 1. (4.) 'Tis objected, That the *LXX.* read otherwise than our Punctuation directs, and therefore 'tis supposed the Points were not in their time.

Resp. 1. They also read with other Letters, Words and Sentences, in many places, than our present Hebrew Copy directs: And we may as well suppose our Copy was not in their time, or that they used another Copy, as *Capellus* openly avoweth, *Vind. lib. 1. cap. 4. sect. 6. pag. 822.* And in his *Critica*, and elsewhere, goes to mend our Bible, by Conjectures at what words were in the Copy by which the *LXX.* translated; but will not say ours is corrupted, when yet 'tis to be mended by his Conjectures in innumerable places, which cannot be admitted, without supposing it corrupted, and grossly too: And we may here see whither this Opinion of the Novelty of the Points, and this Argument about the *LXX.* doth tend at last, not only to deprive us of the Points, but also of the Letters, Words and Sentences, even the Copy itself which we enjoy.

Hence *Vossius* more honestly rejects our Hebrew Bible, and prefers the *LXX.* as Authentick. And the *Papists* on this account reject our Bible, and prefer the Vulgar Latin. But both are more kind than *Capellus*: For though they take away our Bible as well as he doth, yet they give us another in its stead; which he doth not, only leaves us to conjecture by ancient Translations what our Bible was of old.

And of this Argument of the *LXX.* *Dr. Broughton* saith in his *Positions touching the Hebrew Tongue*, *pag. 669.* 'Our late Men (saith he) help *Elias* his most deadly Error,

*Errour, with an Argument hard for the Unlearned to Answer, (*viz.* this of the LXX.) of which he saith, Good Men used this Reason, to help the Pope to disannull the Authority of Scripture, and to betray their own strong Hold: This Answer is sure, the LXX. never meant to open the Law to Heathen, where they would play the Hogs or Dogs.

Christ hath promised, *Mat.* 5. 18. *That not one jot of the Law shall perish.* That the Copy we now enjoy, is the true Authentick Original, we are ready to prove when 'tis necessary so to do: But seeing those in England, who embrace *Capellus* his Opinion about the Points, do yet reject this Notion about our Copy, we need not here enlarge upon this Subject.

2. Some who use this Argument of the LXX. would nevertheless state the Question so smoothly, as if they did not deny the Antiquity of the Sound and Force of the Punctuation, but of the Shapes only; which the *Masorites* (say they) placed right according to the Sound, which had been kept by Use to that time. (*Vid. Considerat. Confid.* cap. 10. sect. 6. pag. 206, 207, 208, &c.) Whereas they yet use this Argument of the LXX. the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and *Jerom's* going off from the Punctuation: Which they do as much in the Sound as Shape, or rather solely in the Sounds and Force of the Points, which by this Argument then were not at that time; and hereby Sound as well as Shape is discarded, whatever elsewhere be pretended.

3. That the LXX. altered Letters as well as Vowels appears, as in innumerable places elsewhere, so in particular by the thirteen which the Jews own they designedly did corrupt; *viz.* (1) *Gen.* 1. 1. (2) & 1. 26. (3) & 2. 2. (4) & 5. 2. (5) & 11. 7. (6) & 18. 12. (7) & 45. 6. (8) *Exod.* 4. 20. (9) & 12. 40. (10) 24. 5, 11. (11) *Deut.* 4. 9. (12) & 17. 3. (13) *Lev.* 11. 6. Not that all these places are found now so altered, but some of them only: So in *Gen.* 5. the Flood was *A. M.* 1656. but by the LXX. 'twas 2262. or 2242. as they have altered the Age of the Fathers.

'Tis well known how uncertain all things are about the LXX. *Josephus* expressly affirmeth, That not the whole Bible, but the Law only was translated by them: in his *Proam.* (*Vid. Drusus Observat.* lib. 6. cap. 9. *Scal. ad Euseb.* fol. 123. *Wouwer. Syntag.* c. 11. *Dr. J. O.* of the Integrity of the Hebrew and Greek Text, pag. 335, 336, 337, 338, 339. *En Esraël*, on *Megillah*, pag. 132. saith, The Law only was permitted in Greek, and that too for *Ptololomy's* sake only. (*Vid. Ludovicus de Compeigne de Veil de Sacrificiis*, pag. 449, & 450.)

5. Whatever was translated by them, 'tis certain that the Autographon of it, if left at *Alexandria*, was consumed to Ashes in *Cesar's* Wars; and that *Jerom* could not find a Standard for to mend the Various Readings of it by: And 'tis observed, they shew such Ignorance of the Hebrew Tongue

as is unmeet to be ascribed to such Persons as they are supposed to be. (*Vid. Munster. Pref. ad Bib.*) And 'tis known they frequently read as they please; for no Copy is found by which they can be supposed to translate.

6. Let them shew therefore that our Greek Bible is the true and genuine LXX. before they tell us they had no Points. (*Vid. Cooper, Dom. Mos.* pag. 223, 224, &c.)

And as to the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, which is objected also:

Resp. 1. 'Tis a Cento of divers Persons and Ages: That on the Law agrees best with the Letters, and so likewise with the Vowels; but that on the Prophets differs alike from both; so that the Letters as well as the Points would be rejected on this account.

2. 'Tis a Paraphrase, and not a Translation, and so not tied to the Rules of a Translation; nor do they always make a Litteral Interpretation.

§. 5. 'Tis objected, That the Ancient Hebrew Character was the same with the present Samaritan, which never had any Points or Vowels.

Resp. 1. Though it be not now known to have Vowels, it follows not therefore that they never had any.

2. *Postellus* shews that *Jerom* owned that they had Vowels.

3. This Objection would have lead us, if we had room enough, to prove which was the First Tongue and Character; but at present we can but refer to those who have so done.

(1.) Those that affirm the Hebrew to have been the First Tongue, are *Josephus contra Appionem*, lib. 1. *Euseb. Casariensis. de Preparatione Evang.* *Joseph. Scalig. Epist. ad Thomasonum*; *Buxtorf. Fil. de Lingua Hebraea Antiquitate & Origine Dissertationem*; *J. Owen Theologoumenon*, lib. 3. cap. 2. *Cooper Dom. Mos.* cap. 3. *Hieron. Com. in Zephani.* cap. 3. ver. 18. *Orig. in Num. Hom.* 11. *Aug. de Civ. Dei*, lib. 16. cap. 11. *Ambros. in Phil.* cap. 3. *Nicol. Lyr. in Isa.* cap. 19. ver. 18. *Mercer. in Gen.* 11. 9. *Pagn. Inst. Heb.* cap. 1, &c. The Names of *Adam*, *Sheth*, *Cain*, *Noah*, &c. properly signifying what they were at first used to import in the Hebrew Tongue only, &c.

2. That the present Hebrew Character, and not the Samaritan, was the first and most ancient of all, is proved and owned, (1.) By the Jews; as *Aben Ezrai in Tsakooth*; *Rabbi Sal. Farchi, Com. in Est.* 9. 27. *R. Moses ben Maimon. in Com. on Mishnaïoth*; *R. Ephodens in Maase Ephod.* *R. Jacob ben Schelomoh Ben Chabib in Ein Israel on Megillah*, pag. 142. *Balmes Gram.* cap. 1. *R. Azarias in Meor. Enaim*, cap. 58. (2.) By the Christians: *Picus Mirandul. in Epist. ad Ignotum Theodor. Bibliander Com. de Optimo Gen. Gram.* pag. 76. *Gulielmus Postel. lib. de Orig.* cap. 5. *Marcus Marinus Brixianus in Arca Noe ab initio let.* &c.; *Franciscus Junius ad lib. 2. Bellar. de Verbo Dei*, cap. 1.

Nicol. Fuller in Miscel. Sacris, lib. 4. cap. 4. Schickard in Bechina Happerusim, pag. 82. Broughton Consent, pag. 126. Caesar Baron. Anatum, tom. 2. pag. 293. Buxtorf's Dissertationem de Litteris Hebraeorum; Thomas Bangus Hamiensis Caelum Orientis Excerpt. Literaria, pag. 209. (Vid. Cooper Dom. Mos. pag. 23. Dr. J. O. Theologoumenon.

3. So that we deny that the Samaritan was the Ancient Character: But though we should grant that it were so, and that Ezra altered it, and brought in this New Character:

4. This very well agrees with Ezra's introducing the Points: Which fits this Character well enough, though it did not suit the other; and had it been possible to have preserved the Sounds of the Punctuation to that time without the Shapes; yet from that time it could not be done, which made the Punctuation necessary. But,

5. We deny that Ezra did alter the Character, as they suppose; and shall enquire why they think he did; and examine the strength of their Reasons for such a Conceit.

First then, they say, 'Twas because the Jews had forgotten their Old Tongue and Character in the Captivity, and learned the New.

Resp. This is most unlikely: For,

(1.) The same Men were alive at the burning of the first, and at the building of the second Temple; and so many of them too, as confounded the Shout of the Young Men by the Cry of the Old, *Ezra 3. 12, 13.* Enough, doubtless, to keep their Tongue, at least the Character of it: And 'tis incredible that the Men of the same Age should forget their own Character, wherein they were so much exercised, having their Bibles with them always, and that in their own Character only; and dwelling together in the same Cities, without any converse with others in Matters of Religion, about which the Scriptures treat, and very little in Civil Matters: No Marriages were made with others; they had their Bibles, *Dan. 9. 2.* but 'twas unlawful for them to learn the Arts of the Chaldeans: And it cannot be proved that they commonly had or learned other Books or Characters: They held Correspondence with the Jews in *Judeah*, and elsewhere, as *Jeremiah's* Letters shew, being sent unto them; which must needs be done in their own Tongue and Character. The Priests and Levites were with them, to instruct them; which must be done out of the Old Law, by Reading and Expounding it. They were also in continual Expectation of returning to their own Land, Language and Worship: And can we imagine they should then forget the Tongue of *Canaan*, whereby they hoped to converse with their Countrey-men, and serve God at *Jerusalem*, and learn the Language of a People whom they hoped to see destroyed, and their Tongue with them. Also *Daniel*, and the Prophets of that time, wrote their Prophecies mostly in the Hebrew Tongue, and altogether in the Old

Character, as none doubteth; it is then most irrational to suppose that Ezra should reject them, whilst they were even wet, and newly written, to introduce another Character. And that they commonly spake their own Tongue after their return, appears in that it was accounted a strange thing, that the Children spake partly the Tongue of *Canaan*, and partly that of *Ashdod*; which they learnt of their Mothers, who were newly married there to the Jews; so that there was no occasion of this Alteration of the Character.

Some say 'twas done, that the Scripture should be dispersed and spread through the East.

Resp. This helps it not: Why then was it not put in the Chaldean Tongue? They are little the better for its being in their Character only.

Some say the Jews, in hatred to the Samaritans, left their ancient Character, because they would have nothing in common with them.

Resp. Why then did they not reject the Law also which the Samaritans held likewise? Would they thus give the Samaritans cause for ever to triumph over them, for having left the Ancient Character, wherein the Law was first given in its Original Purity, to the Care of the Samaritans their Enemies, whilst themselves had rejected it for that of *Babylon*? Were these the Acts of those Jews whom (they say) dare not put one Point to the Law, that they might represent the first Autographon of it as it was written by *Moses*? And who account the Bible unfit for Publick Use, by the least misplacing of a Letter, or making a letter that is larger or lesser than his fellows, but equal to the rest?

But so it was, though they know not why, as *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, the *Talmuds*, and some *Coyns* found with the Samaritan Character, do testify.

Resp. 1. These Witnesses were born five hundred years after the Fact about which they testify; which impairs their Authority: The Fathers had little knowledge of that Tongue, especially *Eusebius*; and *Jerom*, who knew most, might easily be mislead by the darkness of that time. The sense of the *Talmuds* is disputed by the Jews, who say the *Talmuds* do not intend any such thing as is here fathered upon them; but say their Opinion was, That the Character we now have, was the first ancient Character wherein the Law was at first written by *Moses*; but not commonly understood till *Ezra* ordained the writing of the Law in that Character only. (*Jacobben Chabib on Ein Is. p. 142.*)

And as to the Old Coyns; as there might be, (1.) Several sorts of Characters, some fittest for Embossing or Engraving, and yet the same Hebrew Tongue: So, (2.) The Story is fabulous. But be it so, if they were so ancient, must it needs follow, that because these Letters were then known, and in use, that they only were so? Or that the Bible was written with them, and those now in use, unknown? (3.) 'Tis as confidently affirmed

affirmed that there were Coyns as an-
as Solomon's time taken up, with the same
Hebrew Letters wherein the Bible is now
written: (Vid. Schickard Beckin. Hap.
Hottinger. Cip. Heb.) So that this Testi-
mony is as much for the present Character,
as for the Samaritan being the Ancient Cha-
racter. But the truth is, as Dr. Broughton
declares in his *Positions* touching the *Hebrew
Tongue*, speaking against this Assertion, That
Ezra invented the Characters which now
we have, pag. 668. he saith, *The Trojans were
not willing to betray their own City, than our
loytering Fathers, and loytering Selves, to give
Machmad all strength of victory. Jews by
Fables have overwrought us, &c.*

S. 3. And thus have we examin'd the
Exceptions to the Testimony of the Jews
for the Antiquity of the Points; by all
which 'tis faintly suggested, That the Jews
do not own their Antiquity; when at the
same time 'tis known that all the Jews who
at any time have written or expressed their
Opinion about the Points, have plainly
owned their Divine Antiquity, *Elias* only
excepted, who nevertheless believeth that
all the Punctuation is perfectly the very same
that was at first expressed by the holy Pen-
men of the Scripture; that only the Shapes
were placed by the *Masorites*; not one Jew can
be produced that doth so much as doubt of
the Antiquity of the Points, &c. All the Peo-
ple of the Jews, to this day, follow the Puncta-
tion; and do still universally publicly profess
they believe the Antiquity and Divine Au-
thority of the Points; nor is there one Man
left alive so much as of *Elias* his Opinion
among the Jews.

And so much for the Testimony of the
Jews for the Antiquity of the Points.

CHAP. III.

S. 1. The Testimony of all Christian States and
Churches, Ancient and Modern, Considered.

S. 2. The Objection of Jerom's Translation,
and the Fathers, and some Modern Divines
not owning the Points, Answered. S. 3. Where-
in the stress and strength of the Testimony of
Jews and Christians doth consist.

S. 1. **A**S to the Testimony of Christi-
ans, this likewise is Universal
of all Ages, Places and Parties; as appears
by their received Translations taken out of
the *Hebrew* as 'tis now Pointed. But here-
unto is objected the silence of *Jerom* and the
Fathers, as to the Points, the Translation
of *Jerom* differing from the present Puncta-
tion; the Fathers having recourse to the
LXX. the Opinion of many Eminent Mo-
dern Divines, both *Papist* and *Protestant*, for
the Novelty of the Points, &c.

Whereunto we Reply, First, As to the
Silence of *Jerom* about the Points, and that

therefore they were not in his time, 'tis Answered:

1. *Jerom's* Translation, for the main of
it, shews he had the Sound and Force of
the Punctuation. Whether Pointed Copies
were as common then as they are now, we
do not debate; nor whether he could get
one or not, though they were in being then
with the Jews; nor yet whether the Names
of them were then the same they are now;
nor what need he had to mention them,
though he had them, when many large
Rabbinical Commentaries since the *Maso-
rites*, take no notice of the Points neither,
as *Alshech*, *Abarbanel*, &c. Yet some will
dispute several places of *Jerom*, wherein
they affirm he speaks of them: But grant
he were silent about them, were they not
in being therefore? *Jerom* is as silent about
the *Keri* and *Kerib*, and the *Chaldee Para-
phrase*, and yet both were before his time.
Jerom saw not all things, nor is it proved
that he mentioned all he saw: None else
but *Origen* among the Fathers saw or knew
any thing considerable of the *Hebrew* in
those dark times; and they were oft con-
strained to conceal their Esteem of the *He-
brew* Original, because of the Ignorance
and Obstinacy of those times: Hence 'tis
no wonder the rest of the Fathers take no
notice of the Points, when they generally
understood not *Hebrew*.

And as to the Opinion of many Modern
Divines, both *Papist* and *Protestant*, about
the Novelty of the Points, there is no cause
to wonder at it: For,

(1.) For the *Papists*, 'tis their great In-
terest to have the Bible rendred unmeet to
be a perfect Rule of Faith, that some ne-
cessity thereby might be supposed for the
Infallibility of their Pope; and 'tis no
marvel if they embrace this Advantage.
And as to *Protestants*, 'tis known, the Au-
thority of *Elias*, the Great, if not Only
Master of the *Hebrew* Tongue of their time,
was very greatly esteemed among them:
And how easie is it for so great a Master
to instill his own Notions into the Minds
of those that depend upon his Instruction:
He lived with *Paulus Fagius* for some time;
and when some few Eminent Men among the
Christians are at first infected with such an
Opinion, not at first, it may be, well consi-
dering the Consequences that do attend it;
how readily do Others who esteem them for
Leaders in that kind of Learning, follow
them, without duly examining the Merits
of the Cause? as is the practice of most
Scholars that do not penetrate very far into
a particular part of Learning, to embrace
the common Notions about it, without ex-
amining of them. But moreover, whilst
these very Divines themselves, together
with all Christian States, Nations and
Churches, do follow the *Hebrew* Bible as it
is at present Pointed, and publicly em-
brace those Translations of the Bible into
the Vulgar Tongue of each Nation, as are
taken either from the Original *Hebrew* Bi-
ble as it is Pointed, or from those Transla-
tions that are so translated, or pretended so

to be, which is the present state of Affairs throughout *Christendom*: We have an ample, full, and sufficient Testimony of all Christian States, Churches and People, Learned and Unlearned for the Antiquity and Divine Authority of the Points. For though some Protestant Divines deny the Antiquity of the Shapes, they all own the Divine Authority of the Sounds of the Points, and thereby follow the Punctuation.

But the generality of Protestants own the Antiquity of the Shapes, as well as the Sounds of the Points. And that this is the publick professed Opinion of all or most of the Protestant Universities, Colledges, Doctors of Divinity, and Professors of the *Hebrew* Tongue, in most of the Protestant States and Churches beyond Sea, is proved by a large Collection of their several Suffrages and Judgments about the Antiquity of the Points, lately delivered and Printed by *Matthias Wasmuth*, in the end of his Treatise, entituled, *Vindiciae Hebraeae Scripturae, &c. adversus Impia & Imperita multorum prejudicia imprimis contra Capelli, Vossii, F. & Waltoni Auctoris Operis Anglicani Polyglotton Assertionem falsissimas pariter ac perniciosas.*

So that we have herein the full and ample Testimony of the Christian States and Churches of all Ages and Places, as well as of all the Jews, for the Antiquity of the Points.

§. 3. Now the strength of this Argument lyes in this, That the *Hebrew* Bible, as it is Pointed, is become the peaceable Possession, Treasure and Inheritance of the Church and People of God by Prescription: It hath always, in all Ages, been enjoyed; and under the Conduct and Guidance of it, they have safely arrived at Glory, when all others wandered in darkness who have been totally without it, or some Translations taken from it, or from those that were so taken, as is the *LXX.* the *Syriack*, *Vulgar Latine*, and all others, only some more, and some less truly and exactly.

Hereupon we have sufficient ground to acquiesce in it; and all that can be desired of us, is, That when any accuse it of being a *Novelty*, we fairly examine what Evidence they can produce to prove their Charge.

This we have done at large in the *FIRST PART*, and shewed the Accusations and Charges brought in against

the Antiquity of the Points, are all False, altogether Improbable in every respect, and on several accounts Impossible: That all the Evidence is totally silent in what it is brought to testify, and witnesseth to the quite contrary of what 'tis brought to prove, declaring the *Antiquity*, instead of the *Novelty* of the Points. So that hereby the Antiquity of the Points appears with the greater lustre, having passed the Fire of Tryal and Examination. Nay, *Dr. Walton* himself confesseth, (*Considerator Considered*, pag. 208.) the Text was generally so read by the Christian Church as it is now, as appears both by the *Hebrew* Copies among them, and by the Comments, and Expositions, and Translations of the ancient Writers of the Church. And indeed our Debate is not with any Protestants about the Divine Authority of the Punctuation directly; for they universally own it, even those who suppose that the Shapes of the Points were first invented by the *Massorites* of *Tiberias*, A. D. 500.

The *Hebrew* Bible, as it is Pointed, is enjoyed and owned by all Jews universally, even *Elias Levita* himself; and by all Christians too, a few *Papists* only excepted, to be the only Standard whereby all Translations and Doctrins are to be tried, (unless what *Capellus* and *Vossius* hold to the contrary.)

And we have already proved in the *Proæmium*, and in *Chap. 8.* of the *First Part*, and elsewhere, That the Opinion of those who suppose the Shapes of the Points to be first invented, A. D. 500. by the *Massorites*, is utterly inconsistent with their own Opinion of the Antiquity and Divine Authority of the Sound and Force of the Points, it being impossible to preserve the true Sound until that time without the Shapes of them. So that we must either reject the Punctuation, and then we have neither Standard nor Bible left us; or else we must own the Antiquity of the Shapes, as well as the Sounds of the Points, Vowels and Accents; as all the Jews, and the generality of Christians acknowledge.

And so much for the Testimony of Jews, and Christians for the Antiquity of the Points, together with Answers to the several Objections that are made thereunto.

The Second Part of the Second Part of this Discourse :

WHEREIN

The Reasons of Jews and Christians for the Antiquity of the Points, are Stated ; and the Objections against them Answered.

CHAP. IV.

- §. 1. *The First Reason for the Antiquity of the Points stated and maintained: That the Vowels are oft expressed in the Bible by the Punctuation only ; and yet are so essential to Speech, that all Languages are constrained to express them in one shape or other.*
 §. 2. *The Objection, That the Bible may be read without Points, because the Rabbinical Commentaries, the Mishna, the Talmuds, and the Oriental Tongues may be so read, and the Greek without Accents, Answered: The Bible oft expresseth the Vowels only by the Points, which the Rabbins, and other Tongues, express by the Vowel Letters.*
 §. 3. *As is evinced by several Instances.*
 §. 4. *And the Argument thereby proved.*

§. 1. **W**E proceed in the next place to Artificial Arguments or Reasons : And these are of Two sorts :

First, Such Reasons which the Jews have first used, and the Christians from them. And,

Secondly, Such as the Christians only have invented and used.

We shall begin with the First sort, viz. Such the Jews first made.

The First Reason for the Antiquity of the Points, is that which R. Azarias in *Meor Enaim*, cap. 59. bringeth to prove his Opinion, That the Points were coævous with the Letters : And that is this :

‘ Because the Sounds of the Vowels (which are often expressed in the Bible by the Points only,) are so essential to Speech, that all Languages have them in one shape or other, either in Letters, or Lines, or Points ; either in, or between, or above, or below the Letters : And ’tis not to be imagined that the Hebrew Tongue, which is the First, and the Mother of all the rest, should want that Essential part which all others enjoy.

And indeed, for this Reason Letters are called *Consonants* ; because they can sound with, but they cannot sound without Vowels.

And as R. Azarias, *ibid.* gives Instances of the Occidental Languages, as the Latin, Italian, Grecian, &c. having Vowel Letters ; so he mentions the Oriental Languages also ; and in particular, he caught R. Elias, in his Story about the Men of the Countrey of Prester John, reading without Points, by shew-

ing that they had Letters to express their Vowels.

§. 2. Now ’tis granted us, that Vowels are coævous with the Letters. (Vid. Dr. Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, in his *Considerations*, cap. 10. pag. 201.) But then ’tis said that they are expressed by the Vowel Letters, *Evi, a, b, n, i,* in the Bible, which may be read without Points, as well as the Rabbinical Commentaries, the Talmuds, the other Eastern Languages, and as the Greek is read without Accents ; and where they are wanting, there the scope of the place may help the Skillful. (*ibid.* c. 10. pag. 215, 216, 217.)

Resp. Here’s no Proportion in the Comparisons ; the Rabbins, the Eastern Languages, the Talmud, the Greek Testament, &c. express their Vowels by Letters : But the Hebrew Bible, in innumerable places, doth not but by Points only.

They grant us, the Vowels of the Bible were expressed coævous with the Consonants : And we’ll prove this was done only by the Points in innumerable places ; and thence conclude the Points were coævous with the Letters, at least of Divine Antiquity and Authority.

And as to the scope of the place, the Matter is too Sublime, Divine and Myste-rious ; the Language too Elyptical and Abstruse in many places, to yield that relief.

And as to the Argument, That the Bible was of old without Points, because the Eastern Languages were of old without Points : We reply,

They always used Vowel Letters ; and so do the Syriack, Chaldee and Arabick Translations, where our Bible useth Points only, and not Vowel Letters ; which manifesteth that our Bible had Points from the beginning, as theirs had Vowel Letters.

To make this plain, we could produce innumerable Instances out of the Rabbins, and all the Oriental Tongues, had we room to place them ; but one or two at present taken out of the Rabbins, may suffice to shew that the Bible expresseth those Vowels by Points only, which the Rabbins, the Chaldee Paraphrase, the Syriac, and the rest of the Oriental Languages express by the Vowel Letters.

As for Example: R. David Kimchi, when he repeateth these Bible words, *Hof. i. 8. And Loruhamab was weaned,* וְהָיָה לְרוּחָמָב וְהָיָה לְרוּחָמָב, he thus expresseth them, וְהָיָה לְרוּחָמָב, where the short *o* and the short *u* are expressed by *ו*, the Vowel

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Letter

Letter by *Kimchi*; but by the Points only by the Bible; so *ver. 3.* גִּמְרֵה, *Kimchi* reads גִּמְרֵה: And so *cap. 2. ver. 3.* עֲרֻמָּה, *Kimchi* reads עֲרֻמָּה: And *ver. 5.* נִחְנִי he reads נִחְנִי: And *ver. 10.* נִבְלָתָה, he reads נִבְלָתָה: And *ver. 14.* וְהִלְכְתִּיהָ, he reads וְהִלְכְתִּיהָ: And *ver. 17.* וְהִסְדִּירֹתִי, he reads וְהִסְדִּירֹתִי: And *cap. 3. ver. 1.* אֲדַבֵּר רֵעַ, he reads אֲדַבֵּר רֵעַ: And *ver. 2.* וְאֶדְבִּי, he reads וְאֶדְבִּי: And *ver. 2.* וְהִסְדִּירֹתִי, he reads וְהִסְדִּירֹתִי: And *ver. 5.* יִשְׁבוּ, he reads יִשְׁבוּ: *Cum multis aliis.*

Now though the Hebrew Tongue expresseth their Vowels either by Vowel Letters only, or by Points and Vowel Letters together, or else by the Points only; yet 'tis essential to that Tongue, and all others, to express the Vowels one way or other.

And seeing the Vowels in the Bible are expressed by the Punctuation only in innumerable places, where they are essentially necessary to Speech, that they be expressed some way or other.

We may conclude that the Points are an essential part of the Text, and thereby of Divine Authority and Antiquity:

Because the Vowels, which are an Essential part of Speech, are expressed only by them in innumerable places; as hath been already in part, and shall be more fully under the next Argument made to appear.

And so much for the First Reason; which leads us to the Second.

And that is, The Argument of *Semadar*, to prove that the Vowels were as ancient as the time of *Moses*.

CHAP. V.

S. 1. The Second Reason for the Antiquity of the Points, stated, That the Scripture was written very plain; but without Points, 'twould be very obscure. *S. 2.* This is evinced by a Collection of divers places where the Vowels are expressed by the Punctuation only, and that in such places as would be unintelligible without the Points. *S. 3.* The Objection of *Capellus*, That 'tis not Impossible, though it be Difficult to read without Points, Answered: The Objection, That 'tis the Office of the Ministry to Read, as well as to Expound, Answered. *S. 4.* The Argument from the whole proved.

S. 1. The Opinion and Argument of *Semadar*, for the Divine Original of the Points, is related by *R. Samuel Arcuvoli* (who agrees with him) in his *Arugath Habboset*, cap. 26. And by *R. Azarias in Meor Enaim*, cap. 59. And also by *Elias Levita* himself, *Masoret Hammasoret*, Pref. 3. fol. 48. and 'tis to this effect:

'If (saith he) it be asked, Whence shall we know that the Punctuation was from God?

'Tis answered, From hence we know it; because 'tis said by the Lord in the Scripture very fully, *Deut. 27. 8.* And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of the Law. *VERY PLAINLY*: Now (saith he) unless it were for the help of the Points and Accents, whereby the words are made plain, no Man could be able to understand the meaning of them; as *שלמה, שלמה, שלמה, שלמה, שלמה*. Thus far *Semadar*, as *Elias* reports his words; and all he saith to it, is only this, See if it be fit to lean upon: Which we shall now see accordingly.

The Scriptures were always delivered in the Vulgar Tongue of the People of God, in Hebrew, when they understood Hebrew; in Chaldee, when they understood Chaldee, as parts of *Ezra, Daniel, &c.* and in Greek, when that was understood by them, as is the *New Testament*. All sorts are commanded to read and know the Scriptures; Wise and Simple, Men and Children, it being their Rule by which they shall be Judged: It was therefore required to be written very plainly, as appears in the place mentioned, *Deut. 27. 8.* So also *Hab. 2. 2.* And the Lord said, Write the Vision, and make it P L A I N upon Tables, that he may run that readeth it.

Now it is granted us by most of our Adversaries, That the present Hebrew Bible, as to the Words and Letters of it, are for the main the same which God gave at first: These were required to be written very plain, and were accordingly so written and kept; but without Points, they are most dubious, most obscure and uncertain; therefore they were at first written with Points.

S. 2. The Obscurity of the Text without Points, as it hath been evidenced in the *Proemium*; so also at large it's demonstrated by *Buxtorf, de Punct. Orig. par. 2. cap. 8.* *Cooper, Domus Mosæica*; and *Wasmuth's Vindictæ*, where many Instances are produced which evidence its Obscurity without Points.

As for Example: *Vau* is defective in Verbs Plur. Third Pers. and in the Pronoun Third Pers. which renders the word very dubious; as in *Gen. 1. 28.* וְנִבְשָׁה for וְנִבְשָׁה; and *Josb. 11. 8.* וְיָבִי for וְיָבִי; and *Deut. 2. 21.* וְיָבִי for וְיָבִי; *Gen. 19. 16.* וְיָבִי for וְיָבִי; *ibid.* וְיָבִי for וְיָבִי; and *Gen. 26. 7.* וְיָבִי for וְיָבִי; *Zeck. 11. 5.* וְיָבִי for וְיָבִי; *2 Sam. 14. 15.* וְיָבִי for וְיָבִי; *2 King. 22. 5.* וְיָבִי for וְיָבִי; and innumerable such like.

2. *Vau* is oft defective, where in the Conjugation *Hiphil*, it should be put to supply the first Radical; and also 'tis wanting, as the mark of the Conjugation; as *וְיָבִי* for *וְיָבִי*, *Jer. 32. 21.* וְיָבִי, *2 King. 17. 6.* וְיָבִי, *Ezra 10. 2.* וְיָבִי, *2 King. 24. 7.* וְיָבִי.

3. *Vau* is often omitted where *Vau* is the second Radical Letter, where it ought not to be, did not the Points supply it; as *וְיָבִי* for *וְיָבִי*; and *וְיָבִי* for *וְיָבִי*; and the like.

4. So in Nouns Femin. Plur. as *מִצֵּי*, Gen. 1. 14. *מִצֵּי*, Gen. 5. 4. and Gen. 3. 1. *חֲנִיכָה*, Gen. 3. 7. *תִּלְדָּת לְדִרְת*, &c. So in others, as *שְׁבָעִים*, Lev. 5. 12

5. So God is oft omitted; as *וַיִּרְצֵהוּ*, *וַיִּבְאֶהוּ*, *וַיִּלְבֹּשׁהוּ*, *וַיִּחַנֶּהוּ*, *וַיִּתֵּןהוּא*, &c.

6. He is defective in the end; as *וַיִּצְאָהוּ*, Ruth. 1. 9. and *לֵכָן*, ver. 12. and *קִרְאָהוּ*, ver. 20.

7. He is oft very ambiguously put for *Vau*, to signify *Shurek* or *Holem*: First, for *Holem*; as *עֵוָה*, Hab. 3. 3. *אֲחֵלֶיהָ*, Gen. 13. 3. *עֲוִירָהּ*, Ezek. 12. 14. *שִׁירָהּ*, Psal. 42. 9. *וַשְׁלֵחָהּ*, Josh. 11. 16. So for *Shurek*; as *וַיִּרְצֵהוּ* for *וַיִּרְצֵהוּ*. (Vid. Buxt. de Orig. Punct. par. 2. cap. 8.) 'These words may be read with Points, but without they cannot: I never (saith he) saw any so writing without Points: And (saith he) I can easier read all other Rabbinical Books without Points, than the Bible, though I never saw them before, and yet have read the Bible often.'

If we give up the Points, we have little left of the Old Testament worth contending for. Grant the Text to be a *Nose of Wax*, of dubious and uncertain Sence, and then prove it to be a Rule of Faith and Worship if you can. The Old Serpent doth breathe deadly Poyson (saith Dr. Broughton) against the Authority of God's Word, by teaching that the Vowels are not from God. (Vid. Positions touching the Hebrew Tongue, pag. 669.) The Law is called a *Light*, and a *Lamp*; but without Points, 'twould be Darkieſs it ſelf.

It muſt needs therefore have had Points from the firſt, for it was plainly written; but this it could not be without either Points or Vowel Letters: And yet none pretend to imagine that there ever were any other Vowel Letters in the Bible than there are now; and it is now ſo obſcure for want of Vowel Letters or Points, that none can underſtand it in very many places. If therefore it were written plainly at firſt, it was written with Points.

As for Inſtance: *לְבָנָה* is plainly expreſſed by the Points only thus, *לְבָנָה*, the Moon; *לְבָנָה*, a Brick or Pavement; *לְבָנָה*, Frankincence; *לְבָנָה*, the Poplar-tree. - So *יָמִים*, Days; *יָמִים*, Mules; *יָמִים*, Seas. So *הִלֵּל*, he praised; *הִלֵּל*, he was mad. And ſo of *Dabar*; which, as it is Pointed, hath Eight ſeveral Significations, As he ſpoke, a Peſtilence, a Bee, a Word, a Thing, and the like innumerable, which without Points are moſt dubious, and render the Scripture ſo; as *Iſa. 24. ult* *וְהִלֵּבְתָהּ*, And the Moon ſhall be Conſounded; *וְהִלֵּבְתָהּ*, and the Sun Aſhamed; Which the LXX. read, The Brick ſhall be conſounded, and the Wall aſhamed; by the change of a Point. - So *Exod. 32. 18.* 'tis not the Voice *עָנִינוּ* of them that Cry, but *עָנִינוּ* of them that Sing; where the ſame word expreſſeth two contrary ſences, as it is Pointed.

§. 3. *Capellus Vind. lib. 2. cap. 8.* confeſſeth the *Rabbins* are eaſier read without Points than the Bible, but yet the *Miſhna* and *Talmuds* and Cabaliſtical Writings are very difficult, though underſtood by ſome Perſons, and though the Bible be more difficult, yet 'tis not altogether impoſſible to every one.

Reſp. The *Miſhna*, &c. was written on purpoſe in ſuch a ſtyle as that none but the Jewiſh *Rabbins* might underſtand it; but the Law was written that all Men might underſtand and keep it.

2. The Matter being oft purely Divine, where there is left no humane help to find the ſenſe, as often falls out in *Job*, *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Iſaiah*, &c. where the Words are Elyptical no where elſe uſed, without Antecedents and Conſequents, &c. there 'tis plainly impoſſible to underſtand the Text without Points or immediate inſpiration.

Obj. The ſame difficulties are in Expounding the Pointed Text as in reading the unpointed, but the Miniſtry ſerves for one, and may ſo do for the other.

Reſp. If it be obſcure when Pointed, why then would they reject the Points, but that the Bible might thereby be rejected for its Obſcurity?

2. We muſt know the reading of the Text our ſelves, becauſe thereby we muſt try the Expolition of it by the Miniſtry, but to commit the Reading as peculiarly as the Expounding the Text to the Miniſtry, is plain Popery.

§. 4. But to conclude this Chapter, we have proved that the Text was written very plain, and that without Points 'twould be very obſcure, as they are conſtrained to Confels; and therefore we ſay the Text was written with Points, and ſo much for the ſecond Reaſon.

CHAP. VI.

§. 1. The third Reaſon ſtated, the Points evidence their own Antiquity and Divine Authority. §. 2. The Objection that there are ſuperſtitions in the Punctation Answered. §. 3. The Objection about the Keri and Ketib, being only about the Letters, and never about Points, Answer'd. §. 4. The Objection of the inſignificancy of the Muſical Accents Answered. §. 5. The Objection of the Chaldee Names of the Points, Vowels and Accents, Answer'd. §. 6. The ſumme of the Arguments of the Jews for the Antiquity of the Points, Declared.

§. 1. A Third Reaſon for the Divine Authority of the Points, is taken from what the Author of *Cofri* ſaith, part 3. ſect. 32. as to the Nature of the Punctation it ſelf, being Divine.

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Now

Now we say that for the same Reason why we believe the Text to be God's Word, for the same do we believe the Points to be from God.

We believe the Scripture to be God's Word, because it evidenceth its self to be from God by certain *Tekmeria*, or Proofs of the Power, Light, Purity and Majesty that appears in it, manifesting its self to proceed from a Holy, Wise, Glorious, Gracious God: But this it doth only as it is Pointed; for without Points the Text speaketh either nothing, or else contrary and divers things, of which no judgment can be made whether they are good or bad: Now saith the Author of *Cofri*, part 3. sect. 32. *There appears in the fixing of the Points and Accents to be such an Order as cannot be made without Divine Aid, which is far beyond the reach of humane Skill: Nor had it otherwise been so universally received in all times by all the People of God without alteration; because as wise men as they could have Pointed otherwise, had it been done by humane Art only; and so say we.*

Now to fix and ascertain the sence of the Text universally infallibly right, which is the Work of the Punctuation, requires no less ability than the infallible guidance of the same Spirit of God that first gave forth the Scriptures. Men may know the things of men, and may rectify any literal mistakes in Writings about Arts and Sciences, the Matter and Subject whereof they treat being first well known and understood by them; but no Man knows the things of God, nor can know them, but the Spirit of God, and he to whom the Spirit reveals them, 1 Cor. 2. 11. The matter of the Scripture consists of such Mysteries that were hid from all Men, 'till revealed by the Scripture only: The Prophecies of future Events, as *Isaiah*, &c. are delivered in such cloudy and figurative Expressions, and in such Elyptical Sentences as posed the very Pen-men of Scripture themselves to interpret; it must needs therefore be impossible for any infallibly to fix and ascertain the right sence of the words of Scripture without Divine Assistance.

But in all the most deep and dark places of Scripture the Punctuation is as compleat and perfect as in the plainest, and every where shews it self and the Scriptures thereby to be from God, by the Divine and Heavenly Subjects that are delivered by the Text as it is at present Pointed.

We say then, that we believe the Bible is God's Word, with Faith Divine, because of the Authority and Veracity of God, who hath declared it so to be therein: And we believe that God did indeed declare it so to be, as is therein affirmed, because the Bible evidenceth its self to our Consciences by infallible *Tekmeria* or Characters, that it did proceed from no other but God himself.

All God's Works wear his Name, and bear some mark upon them of God their Author; but his Word is herein exalted above all other Works that bear his Name, *Psal.* 138. 2. *Thou hast magnified thy Word above*

all thy Name; for there no where remains so many and so great prints of the immediate Finger of God as is on the Scripture; none but God can make that Revelation of the invisible Nature and Being of God as is in the Scripture, nor declare those Counsels which before were hid in God that are plainly expressed in the Scriptures, which things the Angels desire to look into: Nothing in Heaven or Earth doth bear so much of the Image of God as doth the Scriptures, (but God himself;) by nothing hath the great God revealed his Will, and given forth to the Sons of Men a Law of Obedience, but only by the Scripture; nothing evidenceth it self so to be, in the least degree, but the Scriptures, and all this the Bible doth in and by the Punctuation only, without which it would be nothing at all, but whatever wicked men have a mind it should be.

§. 2. 'Tis Objected 1st. There are multitudes of impertinent superfluities in the Punctuation, very unfit to ascribe to a Divine Original.

Resp. The Jews best know the usefulness of all parts of the Punctuation, and as much as they know they highly value, but they lament that they are ignorant of a great deal of it, as the Musical Use of the Accents, which hath been lost, and the like; but for every one to Condemn every thing he doth not understand, would put a final end to Knowledge.

Marbias Wasmuth in his *Vindicia* doth at large shew the great usefulness of the most minute parts of the Punctuation, and in particular of the Accents; and so doth *Buxtorf. de Orig. Punct.* par. 1. cap. 14. from pag. 200. to pag. 262. and others: And if some are ignorant of them, and yet will not learn, who can help it, the Punctuation is never the worse in it self, because some do not, or will not understand it all.

§. 3. Obj. 2. 'Tis said the *Keri u Ketib* are only about Letters, never about Vowels and Points, therefore saith *Elias* the Points were not when they were first made.

Resp. 1. Many Jews say *Ezra* made them, and the Points after them, and so they agree.

2. 'Tis Objected the Anomalous pointing of the *Ketib* with the Points that are proper to the *Keri*, could not be of *Ezra*.

Resp. But *Kimchi's* Preface on *Jeshuah* says it was done by *Ezra*; for as he there saith, they set one word in the Margin, and did not Point it. Now all the Jews own the *Keri* and *Ketib* to be as antient as *Ezra*, and they likewise own that the *Ketib* is to be always pointed with the Points that do belong to the *Keri*, which are properly and regularly belonging to the *Keri*, and as *R. S. Arcu-volti* saith, the *Keri* lyeth hid in the Points of the *Ketib*, and indeed this Objection is so far from hurting, that it helpeth the Antiquity of the Points; for if *Ezra* placed the *Keri* and *Ketib*, or if they were fixed in his time,

time, then so must the Punctuation be likewise, whereby alone the *Keri* is distinguished from the *Ketib*, and so preserved, as *Kimchi* observes.

So that here is no Anomaly in this Punctuation, but it is Regular, according to the *Keri*. And this *Keri* and *Ketib* is not only owned by Jews, but Christians also; most Translations following some times the one, and some times the other, as they think best. (Vid. *Ainsworth*, at the end of *Deuteronomy*, &c.)

§. 4. So also do some, from the Objection about the *Musical Accents*, bring an Argument for the Antiquity of the Points: For these Accents direct to the Modulation of the Voice, for the uniform singing the *Psalms* which were most peculiar to the *Ezra*itical state of the Church: For since that time, the Skill and Practice hath declined, till it is at length lost, and thereby the Knowledge of the Musical Use of the Accents: Hence 'tis most likely these Accents were then placed, when the Tunes they teach were sung and understood, and not since, by Persons who knew not what they placed them for.

§. 5. *Elias* objects, *The Points have Chaldee Names, therefore are not from Moses.*

Resp. 1. Yet they may be from *Ezra* well enough; for then they were understood.

2. *Elias* answers himself, saying, The Names have changed since the *Masorites* and *Grammarians*; as *Chirek* called *Shibber*, *Holem* called *Malo Pum*, &c. *Pathak* *Katon* for *Segol*, &c.

And as *R. S. Arcuvolti*, and *R. Azarias* observe, the Names changed with the Dialect and Speech of each Age and Place; but the Shapes have been always the same, and the Sound, and it matters not what their Names are or have been.

And so much for the Three Arguments used by the Jews: *Viz.*

(1.) Vowels are granted to be an Essential part of Speech: These are frequently expressed by the Points only in the Bible; therefore the Points are an Essential part of the Text, and so of Divine Authority.

(2.) The Scripture was written very plainly; but without Points 'twere more obscure and unintelligible than ever was any Writing, therefore 'twas written with the Points.

(3.) The *Old Testament* evidenceth it self to be God's Word only by, that Divine Sense of it which is expressed by the Points: The Points therefore have the same Evidence of their Divine Authority as the Scripture it self hath.

These are the principal Arguments used by the Jews for the Antiquity of the Points, and the Objections against the same: Which we have either Obviated, or briefly Answered, are the chiefest Objections that are

made, and such that are of greatest moment: To Answer every little Cavil, would swell the Discourse into a large Volume, and waste the Readers time and patience.

C P A P. VII.

§. 1. *The Heads of Arguments used by Christians for the Antiquity of the Points, briefly mentioned.* §. 2. *The First Argument, That we are in peaceable Possession of the Punctuation.* §. 3. *The Second Argument, That the Anomalies in the Punctuation were before the Art and Grammar of it.* §. 4. *The Third Argument, taken from Mat. 5. 18. That not a Tittle of the Law shall fail.* §. 5. *The Conclusion of this Discourse.*

§. 1. **H**AVING related the principal Arguments that are used by the Jews, for the Antiquity of the Points, in the Three foregoing Chapters; and plainly proved them, and the Divine Authority of the Points thereby:

We are in the Second and Last place to mention the Heads of Arguments that are used by Christians for the Antiquity of the Points.

Now these are, for the most part, Rational Improvements of those that are collected by the Jews: Though they have much encreased their number, yet some do seem to derive their Original from the Christians more particularly; which we can but briefly mention, having already far exceeded the Limits of this Discourse.

§. 2. *First* then: Among other things, they plead lawful, peaceable Possession, by Prescription, under these several Circumstances.

(1.) The Bible, as 'tis now Pointed, is a Possession of Inestimable Value; the Rule of Life, from whence all Ancient and Modern Translations are taken, and that whereon our Faith and Religion is founded.

(2.) It hath been but of late called into question: And that,

(3.) Upon the most frivolous Pretences that ever any thing of such Importance was questioned about.

(4.) The Interest and Design of many herein, being to pervert us to a False Religion thereby: And therefore 'twould be great folly to deliver our Defensive Weapons to our Enemies, only because they come to destroy us: So that 'tis thought but reasonable to hold our Bible till some cause be assigned why we should reject it, besides the bare desire of the *Papists*, or any Others, to deprive us of it for their own Ends.

§. 3. *Secondly*, Another Argument more peculiarly used by Christians for the Antiquity of the Points, is taken from the Anomalous Punctuation thereof, (from whence

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some

some raise an Objection against their Antiquity,) and 'tis briefly this:

The Points are either coævous with the Letters, and a part of the Language; or else they are an Art invented by Men: Which if they were, the Authors might, and would have made them all uniform and regular; there was no occasion for one Anomaly: The only Reason why there are any Anomalies in Grammar, is, because all Grammar is made after Languages, and by their Use; whereas had Grammar been first, all Speech and Words had been regular and uniform.

If then the Art of the Punctuation had been first invented, there had been no Anomalies in it, or any occasion for the same.

But because there are innumerable Anomalies in the Punctuation equal to what are in any Language, we therefore conclude the Punctuation it self was before the Art of it, and as Ancient as is the Language it self.

What is objected, *Considerat. Consid. c. 11. p. 251, 252, 253. That the Anomalies were not Confilio, but Casu; not Designedly made by the Masorites, but by Mistake;* is not only without any colour of Reason or Testimony, but against it: For neither the Providence which attends the Preservation of Scripture, nor yet supposing of common, ordinary, and very indifferent attendance on the Work of Pointing the Scripture by the Authors thereof, will admit of such a Conceit; the Anomalies being so innumerable and obvious to Any, much more to the Inventors of them, that they could not but observe them.

And whereas 'tis further objected, *Why are not the Points that are placed to the Syriack, Chaldee, Arabick, &c. coævous with those Languages also?*

Resp. Had he produced the like Anomalies in the Punctuation of them, and their Religious Observation thereof, he had said something; till then he saith nothing against us, but argueth for us: For all those Points are either always Regular, or may so be; and yet as Novel as those Points are, they change several Letters one into another by their presence.

S. 4. Thirdly, The Third Christian Argument is taken from the New-Testament; and that is *Mat. 5. 18. For verily I say unto you, till Heaven and Earth pass, one Jot, or*

one Tittle, shall in no wise pass from the Law till all be fulfilled.

Two different Opinions are raised from these words.

(1.) Of those who say the words, *One Jot, or One Tittle*, relate to the least Letter, or least Point or Tittle. And thereby the Punctuation is owned by our Saviour, and its continuance to the worlds end promised.

(2.) The Second Opinion, supposeth the least Letter, and the least Horn or Corner of a Letter, to be intended by the words.

In which Opinion it is granted us, That by this Text Christ hath promised, that the least Letter, or Corner of a Letter of the Scripture, shall not be lost or changed as long as Heaven and Earth endure.

Hereupon we say, The Vowels are a great part of the Scripture, and an Essential part of it; whereas many Letters are redundant, and might be spared, without impairing the sense, but the Vowels cannot.

Now these Vowels, in innumerable places, are kept and expressed by the Points only: If then the Points are a Novel Invention, then the Vowels in many places, and thereby a great part of the Scripture, is lost; but if it be not lost, then it must be in the Points, and then are the Points of Divine Authority.

And so much for the Heads of Arguments that are used by Christians for the Antiquity of the Points, which we could but barely mention; nor yet have we room so much as to mention all of them, being confined to brevity.

S. 5. And thus have we, as briefly as possibly we could, plainly proved, *That the Shapes or Figures of the Points, Vowels and Accents which are joyned to the Text of the Hebrew Bible, were Invented and placed thereunto as early as the time of Ezra, and thereby are of Divine Authority.*

We thought to have presented in one View the Sum of this Treatise; but being informed that *Mr. De la Crosse* intends to give himself the trouble of Abridging the same, who is more able so to do; we shall conclude this Discourse, and commit it to the Blessing of God, being to render an Account of our sincere Aim at his Glory alone in all our Undertakings.

ברך רחמנא דסייען תם ושלם חהלה לאר עולם.

ERRATA.

Pag. 243. for *Cipperotika* read *Kipperonaka*, p. 245. for *Pronuciation* r. *Pronuntiation*, p. 247. for *Masaica* r. *Mosaica*, p. 249. for *א* r. *א*, p. 253. for *Punctuation* r. *Pronuntiation*, p. 254. for *placeth* r. *placed*, pag. 256. for *א* r. *א*, p. 266. for *Section* r. *Oration*, p. 267. for *fifty* r. *fifty*, p. 281. for *desertationem* r. *differtationem*, p. 283. for *an* r. *ancient*, p. 284. for *Polyglotton* r. *Polyglotton*.

DISQUISITIONES CRITICÆ de variis per diversa loca & tempora Bibliorum editionibus, quibus accedunt castigationes Theologi ejusdem Parisiensis ad Opusculum Isa. Vossii de Sibyllinis oraculis & ejusdem Respon- sionem ad Objectiones nuperæ Criticæ Sacræ. Londini impensis Richardi Chiswell, in Cœmeterio Paulino, in Quarto, 1684.

There is much Order, Exactness and Learning in this Work: In short, 'tis a very good Abridgment of the Critical History of the *Old Testament*. It first speaks of the principal Manuscripts of the *Hebrew* Texts of the Bible, those that the Jews made for the Use of their Synagogue requiring a thousand Superstitious Precautions. They must be written upon a very neat Parchment, and prepar'd by a Jew that was neither Apostate nor Heretick: There must be little Crowns upon certain Letters: The Parchment must be folded in a Roll, and divers Columns or Pages thereof mark'd very exactly, and all the Lines rul'd before that they are written: A certain Ink also must be made use of, which they believe *Moses* gave the Composition of. In fine, The Letters must not touch one another, but have always between 'em the space of a Thread, and between each Line the space of a Line, and neither more nor less than thirty Letters in each Line. What Patience is requisite to observe all this! As to the Copies design'd for a Domestick Use, they observe not all these Circumstances: Many Copies of them have been found in the Libraries of the Christians, the best are those which were made in *Spain*: The Jews make a great account of that of *Hillel*; he was a *Rabbin* much esteem'd; and according to the Relation of some, liv'd before the coming of *Jesus Christ*; but the Author is not of their Opinion, he believes he was a *Spanish Rabbin*, who liv'd a long time since the Jewish Doctors of the School of *Tiberiades*, who Compos'd the *Masora*; and that he Corrected the most ancient Copies of the Edition that these Masorite Doctors had publish'd.

In the Second place, it speaks of the Copies printed from the *Hebrew* Texts of the Bible; and says that they are form'd after the Edition of the *Masorites*: From thence it is that there is so much conformity between them, and that they are so much admir'd. He does not believe that the *Masora* was begun in the time of *Moses*, or in the time of *Esdra*s; but on the contrary, that it was a Work of the Seventh Age, and that the Jews borrow'd it from the *Arabians*, to whom they confess that they are indebted for all that they know of the Grammar and Criticks. He founds his Conjecture upon this, That the *Arabians* have a *Masora* of the *Alcoran*, resembling that the Jews have of the Bible: He is far from much esteeming or despising the *Masora*; for since 'tis the Work of very able Men in their own Language, and such as are well vers'd in the knowledge

of the Manuscripts of the Bible, it may be made use of; but as it is certain the *Masorites* were not inspired from God, it cannot be said their Corrections are Infallible; their Endeavours were effectual, that the Text should not be altered hereafter, although the preceding Alterations were not a few. It treats very learnedly of the Original of the *Masora*; of its *Varia Lectiones*; of the Differences which are found between 'em and the Manuscript Copies of the Bible: And he pretends that the *Hebraic* Bibles, printed by the Christians, although in finer Characters, are not so exact as those publish'd by the Jews: He gives his Judgment of the most celebrated Editions in *Hebrew*; and says that of the *Rabbin Jacob Hajim*, of the Printing-House of *Bombey*, was Re-printed at *Venice* in the Year 1618. But as it has pass'd through the hands of the Inquisitors, who amended and corrected it as much as they thought good; so this Author places it much below the others.

He is free from that defect so common among Men, of Condemning, through Passion or Prejudice, those who are not of his Religion; for he takes the part of the Jews, against the number of Ancient and Modern Christian Doctors, who have accus'd him of corrupting the Texts of the Bible: A List of these Accusers may be seen in the *Exercitationes Biblicæ* of Father *Morin*, (cap. 2, 3.) And in the Treatise *Leon de Castre*, a Spanish Divine, upon the Translations of the Bible, which he hath placed before his Commentaries on the Bible.

Mr. *Vossius* is of this Opinion, I mean, he speaks very much against the Jews, as if they had maliciously altered the *Hebrew* Text, through a hatred to the Christian Religion: But the Author thinks himself oblig'd to do them more Justice; he maintains that the Fathers of the Church complain not so much of the Alterations of the Text, as of the bad Interpretations that the Jews give to the Words of the Scripture, or of the Version of *Aquila*, of *Theodocian* and *Semachus*, that the Jews were accus'd to oppose to that of the Seventy Interpreters: He proves his Pretension by the same Passages of the Fathers as *Leon de Castre*, and Father *Morin* have cited; in this he hath almost copied the other word for word. He adds, That in Matter of Criticisms, the Authority of the Fathers is nothing near of so great a consequence as in Matters of Faith: And says very plainly, That many among them did not understand the *Hebrew* Tongue enough to be able

to judge whether the Jews had falsified the Original of the *Old Testament* or not. He answers to the Passages of *Origin* and *St. Jerom*, and tells us we should judge of their Genius, and manner of Writing: He also refutes the Reasons of *Mr. Vossius*; and shews, among other things, that the Testimony of *Justin Martyr* is not very considerable in this Point, both because he did not understand *Hebrew*, and because he was often abused in Matter of Fact; which destroys the Proof which they would bring for his Testimony, after this manner, *That he would have been sacrific'd to publick Ridicule, if he had accus'd the Jews of a Crime whereof they were not guilty.* The Author believes therefore that the Jews did not alter the Scripture upon any Deliberation, or through Malice to the Christians; but that the Defects which were found in their Copies, ought to be imputed to the same Causes which have produc'd so much difference between the Manuscripts of the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors: He refers to the Treatise of *Scioppius de Arte Critica*, and shows by a passage of the Book, that *Leo Allatius* compos'd against the pretended Antiquities of the *Hetruria* of *Inghiramimus*, how easie it was for the Copiests to take one Letter for another, and by this means alter the sense of an Author; such an Instance there is in a Book, where if they had put *Orbis* instead of *Urbi*, it wou'd have been the Cause of many New Opinions or many Learned Dissertations, and of many Difficulties that would have made the Learned Doctors sweat. There are some Copiests who not taking sufficient Care of any one Letter, create a thousand Disputes to the succeeding Ages, of whom it may be properly said, *They prepar'd Scourges for Posterity.*

The Author relates an Example of some Errors that Copiests have Committed: It was believed for many Ages that *Dagobert* King of *France* forc'd a Nun from her Cloyster to marry him, but *Father Sermon* and young *Monsieur Vellois*, and some others, having found in the old Manuscripts of *Fredigair*, *Nantechildem unam ex puellis DE MINISTERIO accipiens Reginam sublimavit*; whereas these words were ill quoted by *Aimoion*, *Nantechildem unam ex puellis DE MONASTERIO in matrimonium accipiens sublimavit*; have sav'd the Reputation of this Prince, upon a Fact sufficiently scandalous, which was much spoken of by Authors. As to the rest the Author maintains, those cannot be accus'd of a malicious deprivation, which take a Passage in the sense that is most favourable to 'em, when the words are equivocal. We owe to our selves this Justice as we are Christians, of not accusing our selves of falsifying the Scriptures, when we explain it to our advantage, in places where what precedes and what follows, does not necessarily determine us to the sense which is against us. What the Author says afterwards about the *Samaritan Bible*, which only comprehended the

five Books of *Moses*, because when they separated themselves from the Jews, they had then only publish'd this part of the Scripture; (that I say) and what he adds of the Learning of the same *Samaritans*, and of the Paraphrases of the Bible, is very Curious; they had Paraphrases in *Chaldaick*, *Greek* and *Arabick*, according as those Languages became common among 'em; for as in the Synagogues the Law was alwayes read in *Hebrew*, both among the *Samaritans* as well as among the *Jews*, so it was necessary to have a Paraphrase of the Scripture in another Language, when the *Hebrew* was only among the Learned; from whence he concludes, contrary to the Paradoxes of *Mr. Mallet*, that *Moses* compos'd the Scripture in a vulgar Tongue, and makes the same remarks upon the Paraphrases of the Jews, to wit, that they were a remedy against the Ignorance of the *Hebrew* Tongues, the most ancient of the *Chaldaicks*, among whom he principally esteems those of *Jonathan* and *Avonculus*; there are others in *Arabick*, *Persian*, in the modern *Greek*, and in *Spanish*; this was first Printed at *Ferrara*, in the Year 1553. and elsewhere in the Year 1630. The Author believes that the Jews of *Alexandria* made use of the *LXX.* for the same reason that produc'd the Paraphrases, to wit, because they did not understand *Hebrew*, and because the *Greek* Tongue was become their proper Language: He nevertheless speaks of this Version but in treating of that which is made use of by the Christians.

He remarks that the Fathers have said almost nothing of this Version, which was borrow'd from a *Roman*, falsely, a Tributary to *Aristeus*; and he imagines that the Reasons why they call'd it the Version of the *LXX.* was because 'twas undertaken by the Order of the great Sanhedrim, and approv'd by the seventy two Senators which Compos'd it, or because the Jews being willing to reconcile it with greater Authority, they attributed it to this Honourable Senate, as they did many other things; which is no impediment (adds he) but that a Version as ancient as that, and as much honoured by the Apostles, ought to be considerable. We are only to shun the excess of those who by the Example of *Mr. Vossius* acknowledge not the other to be authentick, or such as prefer it to the *Hebrew* Text: *Masius* and *Eugubinus* are not of this Number, for they have spoken of this Work with much Contempt. *Eugubinus* observes many Faults in it, but sometimes his Censures are not over just. *St. Jerom* is as much deceiv'd sometimes in Criticizing upon the *LXX.* as *Pierseus* hath shew'd in the Preface to the Version Printed at *Cambridge*, *An. Dom. 1665.* The Author himself relates some Passages which are thought to be little to the purpose, after which he examines the Hypothesis of *Mr. Vossius* upon the Version of the *LXX.* and upon the Tetraples and Hexaples of *Origen*.

Here

Here follows an Abridgment of what he says of the Version that was declar'd Authentick by the Council of Trent. All the Western Church under the time of *St. Jerom* made use of a Version of the Bible that some call'd *Italic*, some the *Old*, and others the *Translation of the LXX*; the Author of it was not known, but only that it was made upon the Version of the *LXX*. *Flemminius Nobilius* re-establish'd it as well as possibly he could, and caus'd it to be Printed at Rome, *An. Dom.* 1588. Father *Morin* reprinted it at Paris, with the Greek Copy of the *Vatican*, in the Year 1628. but it was not believ'd that this was the pure Latin Version that the Western Church made use of, before that *St. Jerom* had made another. This Father Corrects the Translation of the *LXX* only in some places, and notwithstanding the Tempests that he rais'd against him for daring to have recourse to the Hebrew Text; 'tis this Version that the Western Church made use of for many Ages, altho' some men say that it was not this Author which is now call'd the *Translation of the Septuagint*. When the Council of Trent declar'd this Translation Authentick, they did not pretend to declare that it had no defect, and that it merited more Faith than the Hebrew and Greek Texts. The Council only Commanded that they should use it preferably to all other Latin Versions, which were very numerous. Many Catholick Doctors have not understood the sence of the Council, for they wou'd not suffer themselves to believe that there remain'd any Faults in this Translation of the *LXX*; some great men run the risque of their Lives, being imprison'd in the Inquisition, for having believ'd it, as *Mariana* relates. *Leo Allatius* makes mention of a Decree of a general Congregation of the Cardinals, Dated the 17th. of January, 1577. bearing, that there must not be cut off from the Translation of the *LXX*, even not so much as one Syllable, or one Iota; but this Decree never being publish'd, cou'd not Captivate the Faith of any person: And Pope *Sixtus* the 5th. and *Clement* the 8th. sufficiently evidenc'd they were not of this Opinion, since they have endeavour'd to make a Correction of this Translation. *Sixtus* made a Constitution, by which he enjoyn'd the rejecting of all Editions that were not conformable to that which he Publish'd. But *Clement* the 8th. nevertheless made another, and maintain'd in his Bull, that he had very exactly Corrected the Defects of the *LXX*. An English Protestant, whose Name was *Thomas James*, writ a very hot Book against the Church, entituled, *Bellum Papalis, sive Concordia discors Sixti V. & Clementis VIII. circa Hieronymianam Editionem*: Here is some things which are very perplexing to those Persons which have not much Wit and Learning, for in fine, this Edition of *Clement* the VIII. now pass'es for Authentick, altho' it is not Conformable to the Edition of *Sixtus* the V. who declar'd all the Editions of the Septuagint void, which differ'd from his.

The rest of the Book the Author employes in speaking of the Versions of the Bible, that have been made for the Eastern Church, and of those that were publish'd in diverse Languages in these last Ages by the Catholicks and by the Protestants. Afterwards he Examines what concerns it in the Treatise of *M. Vossius de Oraculis Sybillinis*.

We soon expect a Work very like to this we have been speaking of, the last Catalogue of *Francfort* promised it to us; it is entituled *Christiani Kortholti S. Theol. Doctoris, de variis sacra Scriptura Editionibus, editio Nova post primam multo auctior & emendatior, in 4o. Kilonii*. Keil is a Maritime Town of *Holstein*, where there has been a Celebrated Accademy ever since the Year 1665.

Animadversions on The Critical Disquisitions upon the Various Editions of the Bible: By the Athenian Society.

HAVING Translated this Abstract, We think it necessary to make some Remarks thereon, that our Young Student be not lead into Mistakes and dangerous Errors by the Learned Papist, whose Interest and Design is to take away our Bible: One Mistake we impute to the Abridger, and not the Author, who seems to say that the Jews use many superstitious Precautions about the Writing of the Bible, which they do about the Law only, as the Author must needs know, though the Abridger might not.

The Author is a Papist, and affirmeth that our Hebrew Bible is corrupt in many places, that the Ancient Versions Translated by a better Copy, and therefore sayes he would have it, *That those places of Sacred Text which had Connexion tells us to be false or corrupted, should be restored by the Assistance of the most Ancient Interpreters, vid. Critical Enquiries into the various Editions of the Bible, pag. 52, 53.* And to begin with the Service of his Mother the Church of Rome, who follow the Vulgar Latin, and Translate *Gen. 5. 15. She shall bruise thy Head*; which they expound of themselves, and not of Christ, (though 'tis *וְהָיָה* He in the Hebrew) he tells us, *It might be that the Latin Interpreter found it וְהָיָה She, in his own Copy, for that in the writing of this Pronoun, the Transcribers might easily mistake, is apparent from the Manuscript Exemplars*; (here he forgot the Jews Care in Writing the Law) and says he cap. 9. pag. 56. *Although there be a very great difference between the Exemplars of the Hebrew Context which are now extant, and those which the Seventy Interpreters and St. Jerom made use of, and that in our dayes they very much vary one from another, yet we ought not thence to conclude, that the Jewish Bibles were by themselves corrupted, in hatred of the Christians, as some Divines have been pleas'd to report.* So that though his Opinions are bad and dangerous, yet there

there are others who are far worse, both Papists and Protestants, whose Arguments he Answers, and particularly Dr. Isaac Vossius, whose Sentiments are abominable, yet published in the *English Tongue*. We have not room here to Answer this Learned Critick, the Author of these *Critical Enquiries*, but do intend a distinct Discourse upon the Sacred Original Text of the Old Testament, in Defence of its Purity and Perfection, as 'tis now enjoyed by the Protestant Church; wherein we purpose to handle all those Curiosities that are the Subject of Critical Observation about the same; if our Discourse about the Original of the Points, Vowels and Accents find that Acceptance as may encourage such an Undertaking, being very willing to Defend our Religion and the Rule of our Faith, to the uttermost of our Power. Yet something about it we intend in this Volume, but very briefly.

Novorum Bibliorum Polyglottorum Synopsis. Ultrajecti, Typis Frederici Arnoldi, 1684. in 8°.

THE Design of this Author is to give an Abridgment of the Polyglot Bibles, which have been Printed at *Paris*, and afterwards at *London*, adding thereto nevertheless many considerable Pieces, which wou'd make a New Polyglot, that wou'd contain more things, and yet in the same time much shorter. To what end (says he) is the *Pentateuch* of the Jews and that of the Samaritans printed separately, since they hardly differ but in respect of the Letter? and since 'tis agreed on, that the Versions of the Syriack, Arabick, Chaldaick, &c. have been made either upon the Hebrew or upon the Greek of the *LXX*: To what purpose (I say) shou'd those places that are Conform'd to the Hebrew or Greek Texts, be reprinted. Nevertheless to preserve the Original of the Scriptures, and the Version of the *Eastern* and *Western* Church, he inserts in his Bible the Hebrew Text, and that of the Greek of the *LXX*, and the two Latin Texts of the *Western* Church; he makes four Columns thereof, and in the Margin marks the different readings of the Text, and at the bottom of each Column observes the different Interpretations of the Versions. This is the general Draught, but I shall give a more particular one in respect to each of his Columns.

In the first he places the Hebrew Text, so as we have borrowed it from the *Massorite Jews*: But because he would not have it thought that there's none other in Hebrew but that, he Notes in the Margin the divers Hebrew Readings that he hath Collected, either of Copies of Manuscripts and Printed, or even of the *Massora*, and of the *Rabbins*, or of the *Ancient Interpreters*; and by this means he in some manner re-establishes the Hebrew Text in its ancient Form.

He shows that the *Samaritan* Text was used much to clear that of the *Jews*, wherein he finds above six hundred Sollecisms in the *Pentateuch* only, which may be restor'd by the Hebrew Texts of the *Samaritans*; the varieties whereof he Observes in the Margin, and at the same time the Conformity with the Version of the *LXX* in many places: He gives us the Numbers of the Copies, and of the Interpreters that he had Consulted, and remarks that Mr. Cappel, who sometimes multiplies more than is necessary the differences of the Hebrew Text with the Version of the *Septuagint*, has forgot many others which deserve to be taken Notice of; they appear'd in this Edition with divers other readings, which Mr. Cappel must necessarily be ignorant of, because that the *Syriack*, *Arabick* and *Samaritan*, did not appear 'till after he had compos'd his *Critique Sacrée*. Besides the *Pentateuch* he gives its Extracts drawn from an *Arabian* Version, which is a very rare Piece.

The second Column is destin'd to the Version that they call the *Vulgate*; *St. Jerom* hath made the principal part thereof: The Notes that are at the bottom show where this Version agrees not with the Hebrew, when it's confin'd more to the sense than to the words; when it contains more or less than the Hebrew Texts; when it twice expresses the same thing, or that it abridges the words, which often happens, and chiefly upon the Law of *Moses*. In fine, another Latin Version is put in the same Notes, when it is necessary without any alteration of the *Septuagint*. The third Column contains the Greek Version of the *LXX*, according to the Edition of *Rome*, upon the Copy of the *Vatican*, which was prefer'd to other Greek Editions, because 'tis more simple, and that it comes nearer to that which was in the Greek Church before *Origen*. Among the Notes he hath placed divers readings of the Copies of *Compluta*, of *Alas*, of *Alexandria*; with the Fragments of this Version, which are preserv'd in the Works of the Fathers; and adds upon all this Critical Observations.

The last Column is for the Latin Version of the Greek Text, which *Nobilius* caus'd to be Printed at *Rome*, and call'd it the *Italic*. The Author will have it that it yet retains this Name; but he believes it very different from the ancient *Italic* Version, which was formerly receiv'd in all the West. The Notes Correct the places where this Version does not express the Greek well; or else Correct the Greek Texts which was sometimes chang'd by the Greek Authors, because they were ignorant of proper Expressions for the *Chaldaick* or *Syriack* Tongue, which this Text is fill'd with, and from thence many Faults are slipt into the *Italic* Version: The same Marginal Notes contain many Remarques upon the Methods how the Fathers made Use of this Version.

This

This being supposed, we shall not be subject to regret the *Syriack, Arabick, Chaldean* and *Samaritan* great Polyglot Bibles, since in the Notes of this Abridgment all the places are mark'd where they agree not with themselves, nor with the Ancient Interpreters; and where they may be made clearer by the Hebrew Text, and which will be very useful, the Author correcting in many places the Texts of these Versions, and the Latin Interpretations that have been given of 'em, which he pretends to be more defective.

Here's in a word the precise Notes: First, They contain the Explication of all the obscure words that are in the four Columns, and chiefly in the Hebrew Text, upon which all the rest depends: Besides that, there is the Judgment of the Author upon the divers Interpretations that the Ancients have given upon the same word. There is also an Observation of what is more or less in the Versions than in the Hebrew, and the Opinion of the best Rabbins: He speaks every thing in the Language of the Authors, to which he adds a Latin Translation.

In respect to the New Testament he follows the same Method as he does in the Old, but it contains only two Columns, one for the Greek Text, and the other for the Version of the *Vulgate*: He remarks in the Notes the Places where it does not perfectly agree with the Greek. The same Notes exactly contain all the differences of other Versions, and the divers readings of the Greek Texts. The Author produces many new things that he hath taken from Greek Manuscripts, and adds to it his Critical Remarques. He even pretends to re-establish upon different Manuscripts the ancient *Vulgate*, which was in the Church before *St. Jerom.* This Version being according to him Translated word for word from the Greek, he thinks it the most Ancient Greek Manuscript in the World; he hath good reason to believe that the most ancient Greek Manuscripts which are now in our Libraries were written by the Latins.

An Abridgment of the Hebraick and Chaldaick Grammar, whose Precepts are given in Flemish by John Leusden, Professor of the Sacred Tongue in the Academy of Utrecht, 8°. at Utrecht sold by Fra. Halma, 1686. p. 108.

IN 1668. the Author having publisht an Essay of an *Hebraick Grammar* in *Flemish*, to which he soon after added a small Dictionary, where all the words of the Bible are expounded in *Latin* and *Flemish*, and a Book of *Psalms*, where the *Hebraick* Original is printed at the side of the *Flemish* Version; it was observ'd as we are taught in the Preface which is at the beginning of this Work, several Persons of either Sex had

acquired, without knowing any *Latin*, a competent knowledge of the Holy Tongue; such happy Progresses have excited Mr. *Leusden* to give us a second Edition of this Grammar, in fairer Characters than the former, and to get it Translated into *French, English, and High Dutch*: The Doctrine of the Accents, and that of the changing of the Vowels, which is commonly very troublesome, is expounded here in very few Rules, and after a pretty clear way.

The same Author since the Year 1658. publisht a *Syriack Grammar*, with an Abridgment of the *Chaldaick Grammar*, and a Dissertation upon the *Samaritan Letters* and *Tongue*; this Work was Printed at *Utrecht* in 1682. under the Title of *Schola Syriaca*.

But as Grammars would be of little use to those who begin, if they had not Editions of very correct Books to exercise themselves; Mr. *Leusden* hath taken Care of two Impressions of the *Hebraick Bible*, which were made at *Amsterdam*, the one in 1661. and the other in 1667. where there were added a Margin of *Latin* distinctions: He also caused to be Printed the *Hebrew Sentences* which are called *Pirke Abbooth*.

Another necessary Assistance to Study Languages, are Dictionaries. Mr. *Leusden* hath given many to the publick; besides the the small Dictionary or *Hebrew Manual*, in *Latin* and *Flemish*, whereof mention was made afore; we have of him *Clavis Hebraica veteris Testamenti*, Quarto, *Ultrajecti* 1613.

Onomasticum sacrum in quo omnia nomina propria Hebraica, Chaldaica, Greca & Origine Latina, tam in V. & N. Test. quam in libris Apocryphis occurrentia dilucide explicantur, & singula propriis suis typis describuntur cum appendice de Vasis, pecunia & ponderibus sacris. Editio secunda, Octavo, Lugd. Batav. apud Jord. Luchtmans, 1684.

Compendium Biblicum continens ex 23202 versiculis totius V.T. versiculis 2289, non tamen integros, in quibus omnes V. T. voces tam primitivæ quam derivativæ, tam Hebraica quam Chaldaica, una cum versione Latina inveniuntur, Editio tertia, in qua omnes radices & voces in simplici formâ, qualibet paginâ subjiciuntur, Octavo, Lug. Bat. ap. J. Luchtm. 1683.

Lexicon Novum Hæbreo-Latinum ad Modum Lexici Screvelii, &c.

A New Lexicon in *Hebrew* and *Latin*, after the Manner of the *Greek Lexicon* of *Schrevelian*, Compos'd by means of the *Hebrew Index*, written at first by *D. Robertson*; but now Translated into *Latin*, and enriched with Texts, containing irregular words and other Animadversions; and augmented with a *Chaldaick Lexicon* of the Bible, in *Octavo*; at *Utrecht* sold by *Fr. Halma*, 1687. p. 511.

ALL those who have some Knowledge in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, know that nothing is more troublesome to those who be-

gin, than the investigation of the Theme: It's what caus'd *Schrevelius* to make a Greek Dictionary of the Words of the New Testament, and of those of *Homer*, where the Word should be found which is wanted in the Author which one reads, and without being oblig'd to refer it to its Root. Mr. *Robertson* endeavour'd to do the same thing in regard of the Hebrew, by giving in his *Manipulus* an Index of all the Hebrew words, whose Radix is hard to be found: But there wanted, as its believed, three things in the Work of this *English-man*, which Mr. *Leusden* hath supplied. 1. A Latin Version of the Hebrew Words of this Index. 2. The Citation of the Passages where the most anomalous Verbs are, and some other Remarques. 3. An Index of the Chaldaick Words of the Bible.

This Work is not only usefull to those who Study the Holy Language; it may also be of great help to those who are much advanced. One hath not alwayes all the Rules of Grammar present in mind; there being also Anomalies which suppose a great Number of Rules, which cannot be retained by a long Use: For example *שָׁלוֹם* signifies not alwayes *they shall hold their peace*, in which Case one may easily guess it comes from *שָׁלַם*; it means also sometimes *they shall be cut off*, and then it is in the *hithpael* of *שָׁלַם*, where *ל* is changed into *ל*, and this *ל* is marked by a *Daguesh* *שָׁלַם* for *שָׁלַם*.

There are even Anomalies which are found but once in the whole Bible, and which go against all the ordinary Rules: For example, its but *Job* 11. 10. where the Verb *לָחַץ* changes its *ל* into *ל*, and where *לָחַץ* is read for *לָחַץ*, *they are broken*.

Although Mr. *Leusden* is Professor in Hebrew, he hath nevertheless wrote in Favour of those who would learn the Greek of the New Testament; therefore he hath published, *Syllabis Pasoris reformatus*, Amstel, 12°.

Compendium Græcum N. T. continens ex 7959 V. N. T. tantum versiculos 1900 non integros in quibus omnes N. T. voces una cum versione Latinâ inveniuntur. Editio tertia, 12°. Ultrajecti, 1682.

Novum Testamentum Græcum, una cum annotatione quorundam versuum asteriscis distinctorum continentium omnes voces, N. T. in 24°. Ultrajecti.

We owe him besides three Books in Quarto, which Treat of Matters of Critick; *Philologus Hebraeus*, *Philologus Hebreo-mixtus*, *Philologus Græcus*.

An Essay upon Criticks, wherein it is endeavoured to shew in what the Poësie of the Hebrews consists.

Those who have some Knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue, and who know the efforts which have been made since 200

Years, to clear the difficulties thereof, are not ignorant that divers Learned Men have endeavoured, with much application, to seek for the Poetry of the Hebrews. Most have despaired of finding it; and if some have believed they had discovered it, there are others who have soon discovered that they were mistaken. *Francis Gomarus* having published at *Leiden* his Book entitled *Davidis Lyra*, in which he thinks he hath found out the Rules of this Poetry: *Lewis Cappel* ruined in a small Book all these Discoveries: Here the like Fate might be feared, if a quite different way had not been taken; but 'tis thought nothing is advanced which is not upheld by the very Nature of the Hebrew Tongue, and upon uncontestable Principles, besides our being assured of the truth of the Rules which shall be given by the application that hath been made thereof in the Book of *Psalms*, and in other ancient Pieces of Poetry of the Hebrews. Nevertheless it may be that one may be taken with that, which is look'd upon as a New Discovery, although entirely false, or at least mistaken in some respect: We have thought we ought to expose what is done therein to the Judgment of the Publick, that Faults may be Corrected, if any have been omitted, or that we may be Confirmed in our Judgment by New Reasons, or finally for ever suppress the Works wherein this Discovery is supposed as true, in case one was not entirely mistaken.

His Reasons therefore shall be proposed here, with the briefness we are oblig'd to keep in an Essay that is to be inserted in our Supplement; to this will be added the Solution of some Difficulties, which come immediately into our minds, and may serve to confirm the Hypothesis which we are going to read.

I. The first thing that ought to be remarked, is, that all Languages are not capable of producing all manner of Verses. There are some, as the Greek and the Latin, in which Verses may be made, which we call *Metricks*, to wit, measured by composed Feet of long and short Syllables. There are on the contrary other Languages wherein all Poësie cannot consist, but in a certain Number of Syllables which form a pleasing Cadence to the Ear, whether there are several Verses which rhyme together or not; such is the *French* Tongue, and most of the Moderns. If some *French* Poets have endeavoured to make *Metrick* Verses, as *Desportes*, and some others after him, they were so hard and so contrary to the Genius of the *French* Tongue, that they could not be suffered; it is so with the *Hebrew*, with the *Syriack*, and with most of the *Eastern Languages*, whose Genius is in this regard conformable to that of the *French* Tongue. These Tongues may easily furnish Rhimes, but they cannot suffer *Metrick* Verses, as *Joseph Scaliger* hath already observ'd a long while agoe, in his Notes upon *Eusebius*.

It

It would have been very grateful if this great Man had produced his Reasons, by proposing only his Sentiments; he hath drawn upon him therefore the Censure of some Learned Men, who had not penetrated the bottom. One dares not affirm that Scaliger had in sight the same things which we are about to speak of; but we believe they are more than sufficient, to shew that we can advance the same thing as he did, without deserving the Censure, which those who have not examined the matter, have pronounced slightly enough against him. This is what persuades me that *Metrick* Verses cannot be made in the Hebrew Tongue, no more than in the *French*. To render it more sensible, I shall begin with that which is the most known, and shew that it is the same in all respects with that of the *Hebrews*.

1. *Metrick* Verses cannot be made without the liberty of transposing words, for without this it is impossible to find out the measure which must be observed. One hath not alwayes different words, or different expressions, whose quantity is the same, to express one's mind: One must necessarily use such words, which can be but in a certain situation, by reason of their quantity: So if one could not transpose the others, these words could not enter into the Verses, which would be very troublesome for Poets, who would thereby lose an infinite Number of Words, whereof they do most happily make use, and which would wholly ruine the *Metrick* Poësie: For Example, there is nothing better placed than the word *civilia* in this Verse of *Lucan*,

Bella per Emathios plusquam civilia Campos.

if one endeavoured to put it in another place, the Verse would immediately lose its Cadence, and that other words must needs be sought for. But this hath no need of Proof, for those who know what quantity is, and those who know it not, ought not to meddle with judging of these kinds of Questions.

We know that in the *French* Transpositions are not allowed of, and if there was nothing else, one might thence conclude that it is not possible to make good *Metrick* Verses in this Tongue: They cannot transpose as they would the Adjectives, there are some which must necessarily precede the Substantive, and others which ought of necessity to follow it, they say, a great Prince, and not a Prince great; a Horse black, and not a black Horse: It is not permitted neither in Poësie nor in Prose to change the Order of these words. In the Hebrew the Substantive always precedes the Adjective, when nothing is understood between two things, as *בן חכם* *ben chakan*, a wise Son, and not *chakan ben*. In Latin and Greek it's indifferent whether one puts the Adjective before or after.

It is not permitted in *French* to transpose Pronouns; one can only say *mon pere*, *ma*

more, and so of the rest: It is not even permitted to omit them, but in certain places, where a long Paraphrase supplyeth this Omission; whereas in Latin and Greek one may say *Pater* as well as *mi Pater*. The *Hebrews* are as much restrained as the *French*, their *prefixes*, their *suffixes* and their Pronouns separated, have constantly the same situation, as it may be seen in the first Hebrew Grammar; neither do they omit them, excepting the Relatives: As for Pronouns possessive I believe one would very hardly find examples, where they have been omitted.

The *French* cannot transpose a Substantive governed by another; for the *Psalms* of David, one cannot say *of David the Psalm*. If *Ronsard*, and other Poets of this time made use of such Transpositions, their *French* was often but a sorry kind of *Latin*. Neither could these sorts of Licenses be long suffered, and they are now quite banished from the *French* Poësie. In the Hebrew Tongue, the Substantive which governeth ought always to precede, as *דבר שלמה* *dibre schlomo*, the Words of Solomon, and never *שלמה דבר* *schlomo dibarim*. If by an *hypallage* they sometimes change their place, it's by a large License, and what is very rare.

This Order of Words, which ought always to be the same, in most of the Eastern Tongues, makes it to be impossible to make *Metrick* Verses in them, which can have any grace. There is even a likelihood that the Greeks and Latins have not transposed the Natural Order of their words, but only to make *Metrick* Verses, as *M. Vossius* hath remarked it in his Book *de Poematum cantu & viribus Rhythmi*.

2. Another thing, which hath more enabled these two Nations to make *Metrick* Verses, is the different Termination of their Cases, which is a very great conveniency in this kind of Poësie, and without which I do not know whether Verses could be made in *Greek* or in *Latin*, that might be sufferable. But in *French* all their Cases have a like Termination, so that they have all the same quantity as the Nominative has, and that they could make in *Metrick* Poësie but one and the same Foot. It is so with the Hebrew Tongue, whence one ought necessarily to conclude that it cannot suffer *Metrick* Verses no more than *French*.

Besides this, the *Hebrews* and other Eastern Tongues have but two Terminations in the Plural. The *Hebrews* do make the Masculines end in *IM*, and the Feminines in *OT*; so that if one would make *Metrick* Verses in this Tongue, the Plurals wou'd always make the same Feet, which wou'd be an inconveniency capable of it self to make a Poet despair, who intended to have any delicacy in his Verse.

3. A third thing which hindereth the making *Metrick* Verses in *French*, is that they have too great a quantity of long Syllables, and too few short ones, as one may be convinced in reading some Lines in a *French* Book, where one shall soon find it. The same thing may be remarked in the Hebrew Tongue

Tongue; in which I call long Syllables, not those under which the *Maforites* have put one of the five Vowels, which are called long; for I doubt in this Case whether one may always confide in their Punctuation; but those which are followed with several different Consonants can be short in no Tongue, whatsoever Grammarians may say, as the first Syllable in the word *חֶפְטִיִּסֹ* *Cheptiso*, and all the latter Syllables of the words which would not be the last in a Verse, for they all have two Consonants after them. It's true, that one may except words which end by one of the Letters *אֵבֶי* *Ebevi*, which it may be could make no *Position*, but at least the Rule will be good in respect of the other words ending in Consonants, which are alwayes changeable: For example, in these words *חֶפְטִיִּסֹ בַעֲצָה* *halach bag-natsah*, the second Syllable of *Halac* cannot be made short, nor a Dactyl made of *halac-ba*; upon which *Cappel* may be seen in his Refutation of *Gomarus*. And this being supposed, one may only read what place he will of the Poetick Books of Scripture, and he shall see that there is such a Number of long Syllables, that it is impossible to make *Metrick Verses* of them: Those who have endeavoured to do it, had no respect to this; which is as ridiculous as if one would make Latin and Greek Verses, without troubling himself with the quantity of Syllables.

It may be some will Object the Verses of the modern Rabbins, whereof *Buxtorf* hath made a Treatise, which he hath joyned to his *Treasure*, because this Learned Man hath sought for Feet there, as in *Metrick Verses*; but it would be easie to shew that he hath been entirely mistaken, that the Rabbins have regard only to the length and number of Syllables, and that all their Licenses consist principally in the Pronunciation, and the suppression of the *Scheva*, *simple* or *compound*. I shall not engage my self here in this matter; and we are besides assured, that those who do understand a little Hebrew, and who know in what consists the Cadence of our Verses in Rhyme, will agree hereupon by the only reading of the Examples which *Buxtorf* relates. But it falls out, I know not how, that those who apply themselves to the Study of the Eastern Tongues, do ordinarily neglect that of their own Language, and it is perhaps one of the Reasons for which we have not hitherto discovered what the Poésie of the *Hebrews* is.

4. What hath been said sufficeth, if I am not mistaken, to shew that one cannot make *Metrick Verses* in Hebrew: We must remark, that even this in part renders the Rhime in this Tongue very easie, for the Cases and *suffixe* Pronouns Rhime together, as do all the Plurals, which causeth such a multitude of Consonancies and Rhimes, that much care and labour would be necessary to write in *Hebrew*, without Rhiming at every moment. Thus the easiness of making Verses after this manner, as is remar-

kable by what we have observed in the *French* and *Hebrew*, seems to have lead the *Hebrews* thereunto. Mr. *Vossius* saith very ingeniously, in the Book which we have cited, that Nature it self hath taught this Poésie to Men, in rendering them capable of singing: "If some one," adds he, gives attention to the Custom of Children, when they begin to sing, and remarks after what manner they adjust together the words of their Songs, to be able to sing them, it will be perceived that they oft do repeat the same word, and in this ignorant way of speaking there will be found the Principles of rhiming Poetry. For it cannot be denyed that the same words repeated make a kind of Harmony, which though it is not very agreeable and very fine, is yet very natural and very exact, though those who have a little more delicacy keep from making the same word rhyme with it self.

II. This being so, it cannot be thought strange that we should affirm that the Poetry of the *Hebrews* consists only in Rhime, and is very irregular. The Genius of the Hebrew Tongue cannot permit, as I have already shown, any other kind of Verses; and it is easily conceived, that the *Hebrews*, who were not extraordinary Polite, took little Pains to reduce Poetry to an Art, as the *Arabians* have since done, and the Rabbins after them.

Mr. *Vossius* hath remarked, that not only the *Arabians*, the *Persians* and *Affricans*, but also the *Tartars* and *Chinois*, and several other Nations of *America*, know no Poetry but Rhime. There is a likelihood that the Northern People, who possessed all *Europe* in the falling of the Empire, had also such like Verses, and that it is from them that the Monks of the following Ages learned to make Latin Verses in Rhime, whereof so great a Number is found in the ancient Offices. There remains yet some Fragments of the ancient Poems of the *Brittans*, such as is that which *Usher* relates of one *Thalascienus*, whom he calls *The Prince of Bards*, and who lived in the time of *Justinian*.

1. But as these Northern Nations had no concern, as we know of, with the Eastern, no consequence can be thence drawn. We shall then stop at the *Arabians*, and shall observe that the advantage they have received from time to time in their Poems, was long without any Rule, consisting only in Rhimes good or bad, without observing any constant measure in Verses: Nevertheless it was look'd upon as a more elegant Style than those Books which were solely composed of irregular Verses. Sometimes there were divers Rhimes, sometimes all the Verses of a Poem ended after the same manner. It was in this Condition when the *Alcoran* was written, to wit, before the middle of the seventh Age: All this Book is almost composed with Rhimes, tho' the Periods are very unequal; and it appeared in that time so well written, that *Mahomet* himself boasts in several places, that

that neither Angels nor Devils could equal the Elegance of his Style. We may thence conclude that this Style was established a long time since amongst the *Arabians*, else this Impostour would not have chosen it, or it would not have pleased them as it did. It is true that one *Abubeker* formed the Style thereof, but that's nothing to my design, because it is enough for me that it should thereby appear in what consisted the Elegancy of the Style amongst the *Arabians*: And the Authors who have written since, have endeavour'd to imitate it, as divers Learned Men have observ'd, and amongst others *John Fabricius* of *Dantzick*, in his *Specimen Arabicum*, where he hath published amongst other *Arabian* Pieces, a Discourse of a famous Author in *Asia*, named *El-Herir*, who hath perfectly imitated the Style of the *Alcoran*. Those who will assure themselves hereof by their Eyes, may only read this Book, and compare it with the *Alcoran*, or at least with the *Surates XII. and LXIV.* which *Erpenius* printed in *Arabic* and *Latin*.

Some may perhaps say, that those are not so much Verses as Rhimed Prose, because there are not equal measures; but we are not to dispute about words. We Answer to this, that this Poësie in the beginning was in effect but a rhimed Prose, and it's what appears by the Verses of *Ali* and other Poets in the time of *Mahomet*, which the *Arabians* have yet, where there is no exact measure observ'd. It was since *Mahomet* that Poetry was reduced into an Art, as I shall observe, after I have remarked that the *Arabians* having a very long time remained separate from others, and without any strange Nations entering into *Arabia*, it may be believed that these Customs were very ancient, when Strangers begun to know them: So tho' there was no knowledge of their Poësie but of late, yet it followeth not that it had not been a long time amongst them. In fine, they could not learn this Poësie of the *Romans*, nor of the *Greeks*, to whom it was unknown; so that it may be reasonably believed, that the *Arabians* have had from unregistred times a Rhiming Poësie. As in these latter times these People knew not what Study was, and Sciences, we must not marvel if it remained very imperfect for several Ages.

It was but under *Chalife Alraschid*, who lived towards the end of the eighth Age, that a Learned *Arabian*, Named *Al-Chalin Eben Achmed Al-Farachidi*, reduced Poetry into an Art. This Art consists not in any distinction of long Syllables, or short ones, but solely in the Rhime, number of Syllables, and in the observation of certain length which they keep, in carefully distinguishing the moveable Consonants from the quiescent ones: Those who would be thoroughly instructed therein, may consult a small Book of a Learned *English-man*, Named *Samuel Clark*, Printed at *Oxford* in 1661. in 12°. and entituled *Scientia Metrica & Rhythmica, seu Tractatus de Profodia Arabica*.

2. The *Ethiopians* have also a Rhiming Poetry; but which resembles much more the ancient Poësie of the *Arabians* than the new one, if we believe Mr. *Lüdorf*, who speaks thereof in these Terms: *The Verses of the Ethiopians consist in pure Rhimes, if one can call Rhimes Consonants of the same Order, which end the Verse, though they have different Vowels.* He adds, that they have divers sorts thereof, and promiseth to give examples, in his *New Ethiopick Grammar*, and in his Commentary, which is said to be out by this time.

3. If it be now asked with which of these Poëtries that of the *Hebrews* has most connexion, it will be answer'd with the ancient Poëtries of the *Arabians*. The *Hebrews* have never much cultivated Sciences, and never took great Pains to imbellish their Tongue, nor to write politely: They were all occupied in Agriculture, and had but little concern with their Neighbours, from whom perhaps they might have drawn much knowledge. This is confess'd by their ancient Books, wherein no Tract of Erudition is found, as in those of the *Greeks* and other Nations, who have applyed themselves to Sciences: Nevertheless, they had had, since the beginning of their Republick, Songs and Verses, in which they celebrated the Praises of God, and related the History of their Nation; witness the Songs of *Moses*, and the Book of the Wars of the Lord, which was a Collection of Poetry, as it appears by *Josh. 10. 13. 2 Sam. 1. 18.* therefore nothing extraordinary will be advanced: if it is said that their Poetry was not very regular, nor very polite, no more than that of the ancient *Arabians*: If it was known in what consisted the Poetry of the Ancient *Egyptians*, one might search into that of the *Hebrews* for the same Rules; for 'tis probable that it could be only there that *Moses* cou'd learn to make Verses. But as we know nothing on't, all that can be done on this occasion, is to seek for the Rules of Poetry of their Neighbours, as we have done, in respect of the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians*, and to see if the Poetry of the *Hebrews* is not the same. But we have shewn that the Hebrew Tongue can suffer no other Poësie than that, and it remains now but to mark the principal Rules thereof, and to apply them to the Poetical Books of the *Hebrews*.

III. The Poësie of the *Hebrews* having never been reduced into an Art, there cannot be many Rules given thereof, because a great Number of Rules is begun to be observed; but when we have endeavour'd to form them, all that can be said on't, is brought to some general Remarks, which suffice to make known the Nature thereof.

1. It is a Rhiming Poetry like ours, as we have already remarked and as it shall be still more clearly seen by the sequel.

2. The Rhimes are not alwayes very happy; see the last Chapter of the *Profodia* of the *Arabians*, already cited. The Rabbins

who took their Poësie from them, distinguish well enough their Rhimes into three sorts. The first is when two Verses do finish by the same Consonant and the same Vowel, without the preceding Letters agreeing: They call these sorts of Verses *passable*, as אבד *Abad* and פקד *Phakad*: The second is when the two latter Consonants do agree, as אמר *Emor*, שמו *Schomor*, this Rhime according to them is *just*. The third is when the three latter Consonants are the same, as ספרי *spharim* and דברי *dbarim*, which is a laudable Rhime. They look upon it as a License, when words whose Pronunciation is alike are made to rhyme, but whose Letters are not the same, as סכה *succha* and צוקה *ifouka*. It is yet another License, but a less one, to make words to rhyme which end by like Vowels, as if the one finisheth by a *schurec*, and the other by a *cholem*, as תמות *thamouth* and תכרות *thicroth*: These distinctions being founded upon the Nature of the Hebrew Tongue, and being more simple than that of the *Arabians*, it's believed they may be applyed to the ancient Poetry of the *Hebrews*: So it may be remarked that in the ancient of the *Hebrews*, although most of their Rhimes are *just* or *laudable*, there is nevertheless a great Number of *passables*, whereof some are harder than others; the hardest are those which agree only in the latter Vowel, when the words do end by a *quiescent*, the sound whereof is not sensible, for example, תה *tha*, תי *tbi*, תו *tho*, &c. בה *ba*, בי *bi*, בו *bo*, &c. If one would have examples of such Rhimes in some modern Poësie, he may only consult those who have written of the *Spanish* Poëties, wherein *Assonants* are called Rhimes, which the *Rabbins* call *Passables*, and the other *Consonants*: But both of 'em have learned from the *Arabians* the Rules of their Poësie.

3. The Number of the Rimes is not fixed, there are sometimes several of a sort, and fewer of another; so in *Psal.* 11, 3, 5. there are five in מו *mo*, which are only separated by two Rhimes in ac of the fourth Verse. There are *Psalms* whose Verses do end almost all in the same Rhime, as the *Psal.* 119. which endeth almost all in חה *cha*. The *Arabians* have also such Poëties, whereof we have several examples, as the Poem entituled *Tagrai*, which all ends in LI, that of *abu El-ula*, which ends all in LA, &c. The Order of the Rhimes is neither the same in a Psalm, but resembles altogether that of our irregular Verses, which we dispose as we please. It may likewise be that in some places they were satisfied with the Cadence, without searching necessarily for a rhyme. Indeed there are some places in the *Psalms*, where there are no Rhimes found, tho' the sense seems to want nothing, as at the end of *Psal.* 111, and 112. There are some modern Tongues, and amongst others the *Italian* and the *English*, where there are very good Verses made without rhyme, in observing only a certain Cadence.

4. The length of Verses is also seldom the same, and it seems the *Hebrews* did not at all matter it. If perchance two Verses of the same measure present themselves to their mind, they shunned them not, but they did not also seek the equality of measure, which shows that their Poësie was not very polished.

5. As the *Hebrews* have not long Periods, their Verses are seldom long, such as are those of the *Psal.* 119. The others are so short, that there are of two Syllables, as in our irregular Verses. It is perhaps for this reason that they call a Hymn מזמור *mizmor*, from זמר *zamar*, which signifies to cut, because its Style is extremely cut, and that for to make the Cadence of the Verses to be felt, we ought several times to stop at a Period: It is true, that this Verse signifies to sing in the *Piel*, but the signification of *Piel* comes from that of *Kal*. This day with the *Arabians*, who sing their Verses in cutting them into divers lengths, *zamar* signifies to sing.

6. The Poësie of the *Hebrews* not being very regular, cannot but be full of Licenses, as to what concerns the Rhimes, whereof the greatest according to the *Rabbins*, are those which make different Letters to Rhime, but whose Pronunciation is alike. Nevertheless, as their Poëties were rather made for to rehearse them or to sing them, than to read them, they did not so much matter to satisfy the Eyes as the Ears: So though in reading these Verses, one may be offended to see them rhyme by different Letters, the Ear being not offended thereat, they made no difficulty to make use of these Rhimes: For example, in the *Psal.* 1. 3. יהנה *jehneuh* rhimes with פלג *phalque*; and in the 5th. Verse משפט *mischpat* rhimes with עד *adarh*.

Besides the Rhime, we also remark in the Verses of the *Hebrews* the same Cadence which is seen in our rhimed Verses, only that the lengths are not so well observed in it as in ours, which without this could not be pronounced. But they are not absolutely necessary in the Hebrew Verses, because commonly they are much shorter than ours, and often so short that there can be no cutting off.

7. As almost all Nations put Verses sometime in their Poëties, which are repeated, and which are called in French *le refrain*: We find also of them in the Hebrew *Psalms*, as in *Psal.* 118. and in *Psal.* 136. but they have perhaps this in particular, that the Verses which are placed between those of the *refrain*, sometimes rhyme not together, as may be seen in the last of the two *Psalms* which we have cited.

8. They affect sometimes to make their Verses begin by a certain Letter. In *Psal.* 119. the first eight Verses begin by an א, the eight following by ב, and thus after one another unto the end of the Alphabet: In the 37th. the same thing is remarked, only that it is but each Stanza, which begins by a Letter of the Alphabet, according to

to the Order they are ranged. This made some believe that in some of the Psalms there were *Acrostick Verses*; and indeed it hath been remarked that the first Letters of the Verses of some might form the sense; but the irregularity of the Verses hindering one to be alwayes assured that the beginning of each was discovered; and it being besides possible that these first Letters form a sense by a pure chance, we have dared to determine nothing thereupon.

9. It's needless here to enlarge upon the Style of the Hebrew Poësie, because it hath scarcely any thing in particular, and it cannot be remarked in general of all Poësies. We shall only say, that amongst the Elegancies of the Hebrew Poësie one thing hath been found, which is common to it with that of the Greeks, *viz.* it borrows words and wayes of speaking of the neighbouring Dialects, as from the *Chaldaick Tongue*: Examples may be seen in the *Psalms*, *CIII.* 3, 4, 5. *CXVI.* 7, 12. where there are found *Chaldean suffixes*. There is a very remarkable one in *Psal.* 11. whereof mention shall be made hereafter. This Observation is very important, because it serves for the explication of divers places, and to Correct some Faults of Copyers, which hinder the Rhime to be found, which appeareth every where else.

These Rules being established, I must relate here some other particular Proofs, which shall serve to confirm the general ones whereof I have made use, to shew that the Poësie of the *Hebrews* might have been like the ancient Poësie of the *Arabians*.

IV. Some Learned Men have made good remarks in the Poetical Books of the Old Testament, of rhimed Verses in divers places; but they believed that pure chance had produced them, without any Pains taken by the Sacred Writers thereabouts. 1. For to prove clearly that they are mistaken, it would be necessary for me to produce here a Work which I have made upon the *Psalms*, where they might be seen reduced into rhimed Verses, and where they are disposed so, that in casting an Eye on them, one may be assured of the truth of the Hypothesis which we have advanced. I have tryed the same thing upon divers places of the other Poetical Books, and the Hymns which are in the *Pentateuch* and the *Judges*: It succeeded with me happily enough, though there are some Places whereof I could never come to an end, for reasons which I shall mark hereafter. I do not believe that after this one can imagine that these Rhimes were found by chance in the Poësies of the ancient *Hebrews*: It would be impossible for them not to take Notice thereof; and if they did not perceive it, why did they rhyme every where, if it was not for the sake of their Poësie? We shall give an Example of it at the end of this Essay.

2. Indeed it is remarked in several pla-

ces, that the same words are repeated without necessity, to Rhime with themselves, as *halelonhon* in *Psal.* 150. and a great Number, which cannot be related here.

3. Besides this, there are many words which rhyme together, without having a particular connexion with the sense: So *אבאב* *abad*, he is *perished*, rhimes in divers places with *אב* *ad* alwayes. This sheweth clearly that it is not chance, nor the necessity of expression, which have placed these words near one another, but the design of making them to rhyme; otherwise they would not be found to rhyme so often together.

4. There is scarcely any place seen, where a rhyme hath not produced such another, and often times two or three, the Phrase not necessarily requiring them; as the Rhime *MO* in *Psal.* 2. whereof I shall put here seven Verses in Latin Characters, tho' they are but three in the *Psalms*.

Eth mosrotheMO,
Venafschliche mimmennou, abotheMO,
Joscheb baschamajim jischAK,
Adonei jilaAG
LaMO
Az jedabber eleMO
Bappho oubacharomo jebahaleMO.

I believe it cannot be doubted, that the Author of this Psalm hath affected these Rhimes in *MO*, for the third was in no wise necessary; it sufficed to say *jilaAG*, *va-jedabber eleMO*; and if it was not even in that the Poësie consisted, these Rhimes must have been shunned, which without this would extreemly offend the Ears, in making use of the suffix *HEM*. Besides this, we shall find plain Examples of this Truth in *Psal.* 118.

4. There are places where no Rhime is in the Hebrew Text, and where also the sense is very difficult, and the order of the words contrary to the genius of the Hebrew Tongue: But in putting these words again in their Natural Order, according to the construction, where they ought to be, the sense of them becomes not only fine and clear, but also the Rhime very good; whence we have reason to conclude that these words had been transposed, and that since the rhyme agrees with the sense, it is an Argument that it was sought after: Here is word for word the sense of the 5th. and 6th. Verses of *Psal.* 5. according to the Order they are in this day, *Thou hast destroyed the wicked, thou hast blotted out THEIR Names for ever: O thou Enemy, desolations are come to a perpetual end, and thou hast demolished the Cities, their memory is perished with them; they* (a Feminine) or, *they* (a Masculine.) All the World may see the difficulty of this Construction, but those who understand Hebrew, may yet much berter be assured thereof, in reading the Original. Neither can the Rhime be found in this place, but in making some slight Changes, which may be supported by other paralel Passages, and in re-establish-

re-establishing the Rhime, these words form a sense clear and easie, and are found in a regular construction: *Thou hast destroyed the wicked, thou hast blotted out their Name for ever, the Enemy is perished, the Streets and the Cities are ruined for ever; thou hast destroyed them and their memory*: In these words is a clear sense, which is but darkly represented in the preceding ones. Indeed it hath been constantly remarked, that in the most obscure places, it is the hardest to find the Rhime, which makes us reasonably to believe, that the obscurity comes from some transposition, or from some word forgotten, or a letter omitted, without which the Rhime cannot be found. On the contrary, the sense is easie, almost every where, where the Rhimes are easily found. If the brevity which I am to keep here admitted me, I could give a sufficient Number of Examples, but we shall only bring one at the beginning of the 16th. Psalm, which the Version of Geneva hath rendered thus, in supplying the words which are in Roman Characters: *Keep me, O mighty God, for I have trusted in thee: O my Soul, thou hast said to God, thou art the Lord, my goodness extendeth not to thee, but to the Saints who are on the Earth, and to the excellent, in whom I take all my delight. The sorrows of those who run after another God shall be multiplied, &c.* The sense is obscure enough, and the words are very difficult, in spite of the Supplements which Interpreters have made herein; but the difficulty is yet more sensible in the Hebrew, by reason of the Punctuation of some words, and of some letters which must be necessarily changed, or added. And this Passage hath given a very great labour to Interpreters, tho' we have seen none of them who hath happily gone through it. It is thought it should be translated thus, after having made the necessary changes in it: *Keep me, O God, for I have hoped in thee; I have said to God, thou art the Lord, my whole trust is in thee! Men have gone in multitudes to the Effeminate (Cynadi) who are in thy Countrey, great Persons put all their delight in them, they have eagerly multiplied their Idols with another God, &c.* We shall not undertake to give an account of this Version, for fear of being too long; it is enough for the present that in the supposition that this Version is just, People do know that the Rhime is excellent, and that it is not otherwise to be found therein.

5. Those who have some knowledge in the Criticks of the Old Testament, know that in divers places there are found words in the Version of the LXX, which are not in the Hebrew. There are some in the Psalms, as well as in the other Books; but what is remarkable, is that in some of these places the Hebrew Text transmitteth not necessary Rhimes; and that if the words be added which are in the Greek Version, the Rhime is found there: By this we see there these words had been omitted by the Copyers in the Hebrew, and that they ought

to be put there again: So in *Psal. 1. 4.* the LXX have twice put *ἐξ ἑμῶς*, it is not so; whereas this Phrase is but once in our present Originals: But it hath been discovered, by means of the Rhime, that it ought to be twice there. Here is yet another more remarkable place, which in *Psal. 7. 12.* where there is according to the Hebrew, *God is a just Judge, and a God who is angry every day*: There can be no Rhime found in this place, and this description of Divine Justice is not in the ordinary Terms of Sacred Authors, who describe God not only extremely patient, but also easie to be appeased, and exercising his Wrath but in a moment, whilst his Mercy appears for a very long time, see *Psal. 30. 6.* But according to the LXX. there is no difficulty, neither for the Rhime, nor for the sense, which is here, *God is a just Judge, patient, and who is not alwayes provoked.* The same is found *Psal. 134. 1.* three words in the Version of the LXX. which are not in the Hebrew, and which yet are necessary for the Rhime: *All ye Servants of God, who stand in the House of the Lord (in the Porch of the House of God) lift up your hands towards the Sanctuary*: Words included amongst Crochets are not found in Hebrew, and yet they are necessary for the Rhime. The repetition of the words *בית beth jahwoh, House of the Lord*, seems to have been the cause of this Omission, as it is easie to conceive it for those who have sometimes Copied Writings, where the same words were repeated.

6. There is yet one thing, which may convince those who understand these kinds of matters, that the Poësie of the Hebrews is a Rhimed Poësie; for there is a place in the Psalms where the Sacred Authors have made use of certain words not much in use among the Hebrews, or wayes of expressing drawn from the Neighbouring Dialects, in places where the words and expressions common to the Hebrews would make no Rhime, whereas these strange words do Rhime perfectly well; for example, the Author of *Psal. 2.* made use in *Ver. 12.* of the Chaldean word *בַּר bar*, Son, which Rhimes very well with the Verb *יָבַר jibar*, which is in the sequel; whereas the Hebrew word *בֶּן ben*, which signifies the same thing, and which in *Ver. 7.* would make no Rhime there. So also in *Psal. 103.* the Psalmist speaking to his Soul, viz. to himself, speaks in the Feminine, because the word *נַפְשִׁי nephesh*, Soul, is of this Gender, and saith *אֲלֵה חַשְׁכָּה al thischechi*, ne obliviscere tu anima, which obligeth him to use the Chaldaick and Syriack suffixe *־chi*, in the following Rhimes, because in using the Hebrew suffixe, there would have been no Rhime. It is true, that this Rhime in *chi* hath produced three others, but that same sheweth that these Rhimes are sought for, and not lit on by chance.

7. In treating of the Poësie of the other Eastern Tongues, we might mention that of the Phœnicians, Neighbours to the Hebrews, and whose Tongue was the same as theirs;

theirs; but as what hath been said of the Poësie of the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians* is so undoubted, and that what can be said of *Phœnician* Poësie appears not so evident; we have chosen to speak of it here, only as of a consequence, and to make use of the same until we had proved another way that the Poësie of the *Hebrews* could only be a rhimed Poësie. The *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* Tongues being the same, if the *Hebrews* could only make rhimed Verses, it followeth that the *Phœnicians* had none else. There remains no fragment of *Phœnician* Poësie amongst us, but ten lines which are in the *Pænulus* of *Plautus*; for the *Phœnician* Tongue and that of *Carthage* are looked upon to be the same: The Verses having never been written but in Latin Characters, and by Men who understood them not, it cannot be this day promised to re-establish them wholly. It is true, that *Plautus* hath translated them afterwards into eleven Latin Verses: But first one may conjecture from thence, that there hath been one line lost, because there is a repetition in the Latin Verses, which undoubtedly comes from the *Phœnician*, not being conformable to the Genius of the Latin Tongue, but very common in the Hebrew Tongue.

Measque ut gnatus & mei fratris filium
Reperire me sinitis, Dii vestram fidem!
Quæ mihi surrepta sunt, & fratris filium.

Plautus would never have repeated & fratris filium, if this repetition had not been in the Original. Secondly, *Plautus* seems to have Translated the rest with pretty much liberty, as *Bochart* (who has most happily re-established these Verses) hath shewn: So one ought not to be surprized, if there should be no Vestiges of Rhimes found here: Yet there are such considerable ones found in them, that we can scarcely doubt but that they have been true Rhimed Verses: That it may be the more easily known, I shall put them here in Hebrew and Latin Characters, with an English Version, where each Verse is translated word for word. I have followed partly *Bochart*, and partly the Version of *Plautus*, rather than the Terms of the Original, as they are in Latin Characters. I shall not undertake to expound in particular each Verse, because *Bochart* hath partly done it already, and because the Version which is added thereunto is sufficient. I shall only admonish the Reader of three things: The one is, That each Line of the *Phœnician* written in Latin, contains two Verses, which were joined together, because *Plautus* hath expressed two of them in one Latin Verse; so that for eleven Verses of *Plautus* there should be twenty two *Phœnician* ones, whereas there are but twenty. But, as it hath been already said, there is a Line lost, to wit two Verses, this hath been supplied in Translating the Verse of *Plautus* into two little Verses, which do rhyme together as the other. The second thing is, That we know not the Pronun-

ciation of the *Punick* Tongue, as to what concerns the Vowels. It might be that it came nearer to the *Syriack* or *Arabick* than the *Hebrew*, or even that in *Affrick*; some words were pronounced quite otherwise than in *Asia*, as it is now seen in the different Dialects of the *Arabick* Tongue, and as its known that the Nations of *Europe*, whose Tongue comes from the same source, pronounce the same Root quite otherwise in respect to the Vowels, though it retains the same Consonants. So although we can mark here the radical Letters, and that they can be punctuated after the way of the *Hebrews*, or that of the *Syrians*, it doth not at all follow that that is the true Pronunciation of the Words. The Consonants principally ought to be taken heed of, and consider if they might have been pronounced so that they rhyme together. For example, who could tell if בנחאי hath been pronounced *benothai*, or *benothi*, or *benothe*? It sufficeth therefore to make the following Verses by a word which ends in נ, seeing it's not known after what manner the *Carthaginians* pronounced this Termination. The third thing which ought to be Noted here, regards the places wherein we have swerved from the Conjectures of *Bochart*. We have a little disagreed with him in Verses 3, 4, 5, 11, 17, and 22, besides the 9th. and 10th, which have been added. It's needless to stay to tell the reason of every change; those who would know, if they are just, need only to compare these Verses with those disposed by *Bochart*, as he thought they should have been. We can only Note that in Ver. 5. פוחנת is for פוחנת, according to the *Chaldaick* Dialect, which changeth in פ the כ of the *Hebrews*. Hanno prayeth the Gods in this place to do him the Favour of knowing his Nephew and his Daughters, by some assured mark; because it might be, that he saw them and spake to them, without knowing them by any certain sign. Here the *Punick* Writing, according to the conjecture of *Bochart*, goes far from the Latin of *Plautus*, and even in some words in *Punick*, such as it is written in Latin Characters.

Punick Verses of Pænulus of PLAUTUS, Act. Scene 1.

1. נא את עליונים ועליונות
שכורת יסמכין וות
כי נתם מלכי
ומתדברי עשקי
5. לפוחנת את במצותי
את בני ואח בנותי
ברוח רוב שלהם
עליונים ומשורתהם
בנות שננבנו לו
10. ובן אחי
בטרם מות ומנות
תא נדלקתי אנשדמרכו
איש שדעו לו ברום תפל
את חילי שכנתם לאפל

R r r r

15.

15. אח בן אמיץ
דבור תם נקוט נזה אגורסטוקלים
חתם חנותי הכיור הזה
לי חוק וזה נושא
בין החיל חיו לי לגבולם
לשבת תם
20. בוא די עלי תרע אנא הנו
אשאל אם מנכר לו שמו

Na eth eljonim veljonoth
Schechoreth jismchoun zoth
Chi nittham milchi
Oumithdabbre if ki
Lephochanath oth bintfoti
Eth bni veth bnothi
Brouah rob schellahem
Eljonim oubimfchourathehem
Bnoth schenignbou li
Ouben achi
Bterem moth vchanoutho
Tha nbelachri Antidamarco
Ifch schejada li bram thippel
Eth chale schchinatham lophel
Eth ben amits
Dibbiur tham neot nave Agorastoclis
Chotem chanouthi hacchior hazze
Li chok zoth nose
Ben hachajil hiruon li ligboulam
Lschebeth tham
Bo di ale thra inna hinno
Eschal im manchar lo fchmo.

In English thus,

I beseech the Gods and Goddesse
Who protect this Countrey,
That my Design may succeed,
That they may guide my Affair,
And that I may discover a mark to find
My Nephew and my Daughters;
(By the abounding spirit which is in them,
In the Gods, I say, and by their Providence)
My Daughters and my Nephew, who have been
taken from me.
Before Antidamarchus dyed,
I went to lodge at his House, in one of his
Chambers :
He was a Man whom I knew, but he is gone
to join himself to
The Assemblies of those whose Habitation is
in darkness.
They constantly affirm
That his Son Agorastocles hath established his
Residence there.
The Sign upon which I agreed with my Host,
is this engraven board,
Which I carry to serve me as a Mark.
I have been assured that it is in this quarter,
somewhere about the utmost limits that he
liveth.
Some body comes by this door, there he is,
I will ask him if he knows his Name.

V. After all these Proofs, it's thought it
may be concluded without fear of a mistake,
that the Poësie of the Hebrews is nothing

else but a rhimed Poësie. This Essay might
end here, if it was not thought necessary to
take off some difficulties, which undoubtedly
shall spring in the mind of part of those
who shall read it. The one respects the
Musick of the Hebrews, and the others the
manner of discovering in what their Poësie
consisteth.

1. As to what concerns Musick, as it de-
pends much more on the particular Genius
of each Nation, than of certain constant
Rules, so it cannot be guessed what Times
the Hebrews might give to their Songs. It's
well seen by the multitude of their Hymns,
and the History of David, that they had
some Passion for Musick, but we do not see
that they ever writ any thing on't; and if
they had written on't, it would be hard to
understand their meaning: And as we can't
not as much as conjecture how they might
sing their Verses; so what hath been said
of their Poësie would not be less certain.
We know that the Grecians have in times
past sung their Verses, and that they have
been even compos'd from their Musick, up-
on which there remains some pieces amongst
us: That notwithstanding hath not hin-
dered, but it hath been entirely lost, and
that it is impossible to find what Tunes were
given to the Odes of Pindarus. If some
Body shewed Chinese Verses to the best Mu-
sician of Europe, they could not guess in
what their Musick consists, even the Chi-
nese could not sing our Verses: That which
is still more surprizing in this is, that they
laugh at our Musick as we laugh at theirs.

2. If it were said that the Musick of the
Ancient Hebrews was not very regular, 'tis
nothing but what is like to be true; it was
a Nation given altogether to the Care of
Agriculture, which had neither Theaters
nor publick Divertisements of this kind. All
the publick Use it made of Musick, was in
the singing of the Sacred Hymns instituted
by David, and nothing obligeth us to be-
lieve that this singing was very harmoni-
ous, and very methodical. At this day the
Jews do sing in their Synagogues their Pray-
ers very confusedly, and they read even
Scripture in singing, whether it be Prose
or Verse. The Mahometans sing also their
Alcoran, because 'tis all compos'd of Verse:
Nor does the Hebrew Prose want it, it is ap-
parently for the same reason that the Jews
sing it from an immemorial time, as well as
their Books of Poësies, tho' they know not
in what the Poësie of the Bible consists.

One might even go further, and say
downright, that the Musick of the Hebrews
was not very fine; suppose that the LXX.
and St. Jerom have Translated well a place
of Samuel, and that we understand well the
Names of the Instruments whereof they
made use, because these Instruments could
not make but a very confused and disagree-
ing Musick. Thus the Author of this Book
describes the Consort, which David caused
to be made in conducting the Ark, accord-
ing to the Version of St. Jerom: David
autem & omnis Israel ludebant coram Domino
in

in omnibus lignis fabricatis, & cytharis, & lyris & tympanis, & sistris & cymbalis: "David and all Israel played before the Lord with all sorts of Instruments made of Wood, Harps, Lutes, Drums, Tymbrels (these Instruments shall be spoken of hereafter) and Cymbals. According to the LXX, one must Translate thus the Names of these Instruments; *Cynares*, (an Instrument of ten Strings, which was touched with an Archet, according to the relation of Josephus;) *Nables*, (an Instrument with twelve sounds, which was touched with Fingers, according to the same;) *Drums*, (perhaps as our Drums of *Basque*;) *Cymbals*, (Drums of *Basque* of Brass, which were beaten with Fingers) and *Flutes*. But these Interpreters have Translated this place only upon chance, as a great many more, without knowing exactly what instruments are spoken of here, and the last words, to wit, *Tsiltsel* signifies not a *Flute*, but a *Cymbal* or a *Tymbrel*. The *Rabbins* represent the Musick of the Temple in the same manner, upon which *Lightfoot* may be consulted in his Book of the Service of the Temple, ch. 7. sect. 2. they say that Voices were added to these Instruments, and mark the Psalms which were sung each day of the Week, and on the principal Festivals: But we cannot much confide in what they say, as several Learned Men have shewn. All that we would conclude from hence, is, that though it should be said that the Musick of the Hebrews was very confused, to judge of it by ours, nothing would be said but what may be maintained by the very Authority of the Jews.

3. Thus tho' it were agreed that the singing of the Hebrew Verses, such as they are conceived, would not be very pleasing to our Ears, if it were possible to revive their Musick, there would be nothing which wou'd appear surprizing in it: But suppose their Musick was better than it appears, by the Descriptions which we have of it, who should have hindered them to give Tunes to their irregular Verses, like unto those which we give to ours. It will be granted undoubtedly that their Musick had been pretty pleasing, if it had equall'd the Musick of our *Opera's*, which are all compos'd of irregular Verses. Tho' the Musick of the *Greeks* hath been so much boasted of, and the Tunes of their Lyrick Poësie, which is almost all compos'd of Verses or equal Couplets, or of Strophes, or of regulated Antistrophes; a Cadence which alwayes returneth, and a Tune which we hear twenty times successively, does not please as much as a varied Cadence, and a change of Verses almost perpetual, such as ought to be in irregular Verses.

4. An excellent Musician in reading an *Opera*, whose Musick he should not have seen, could perhaps sometimes, by the Matter and Cadence of the Verses, find out very near what sort of Tune should be given in looking for that which would be most proper unto them. It might also be very

well that in some Composures the Cadence of the Hebrew Verses, which is pretty sensible, by reason of their smallness and un-equality, could make one guess at the Tune they had, or at least draw near it in some manner: So if we read *Psal. 105.* as it ought, so that its Cadence may be rendered sensible, there are few Persons who have their Ear good, who judge not that the words of this Psalm are extremely proper for that which is called a Tune of *Fanfare*, [i. e. the sound of Trumpets] hence arose the Thought of Translating the Hebrew Verses into irregular *French Verses*, which have just the same Number of Syllables, and to put thereto a Tune of this Nature. Not that it is believed it had with the Hebrews that same Tune which will be found here; but we may conjecture with a great likelihood, that it had a like one, because the Hebrew words are very proper for a Tune of *Fanfare*, and could hardly suffer another.

If the Instruments were well known which the Hebrews used, there might perhaps be said something more exact upon their Musick; but as we have but a very small knowledge in't, we are obliged to hold to these general Idea's, which are sufficient for us on this occasion, where we have no other design but to shew that they would easily sing irregular Verses, such as are those which we have attributed to them.

VI. There remains no more, but some only difficulties which may be objected upon the manner whereby this Poësie was discovered. It may at first be said, that it seems strange, that so many ancient and modern learned Persons, who have sought with Care the Secrecy of the Hebrew Poësie, could not think of a thing so easie as Rhimes: But this is but a difficulty of Metaphysick, which proves nothing, but that these Learned Men did bring hereupon the attention which they ought. It hath been observ'd several times, that by too much seeking for a Mystery, in a thing easie of it self, hath rendered it difficult: It would suffice thus to answer this difficulty, and to oppose thereto the thing it self, in producing the whole Book of *Psalms*, dispos'd into Rhimed Verses, as it may be easily done, and as perhaps it may be done some time or other: But now this difficulty may be resolv'd by the following Remarks.

1. It is not absolutely true, that all the Learned have not at all perceived the Rhimes of the Hebrew Poësie. *Buxtorf* hath remarked something thereof, as it may be seen in the beginning of his *Profodie*; but he thought that chance had formed them, because he hath remarked but some, and where the Verses are equal. There hath been besides an Author cited, named *Theodorus Herbert*, de *Poetica Hebraica*, who hath remarked more of them, but we have not seen his Book, and it is judged by the Citation which we read on't, that he hath not

not drawn from these Rhimes the consequence this Essay hath done.

Augustin Stenuchus of *Engubio*, in his Preface upon the *Psalms*, had remarked before him, in terms much more express, "That the Poësie of the *Hebrews* is not the same as that of the *Grecians* and *Latins*, as the *Italian* Poësie is not the same with the *Latin*. The *Latins* do observe after the imitation of the *Greeks*, the quantity of the Syllables; the *Hebrews* do not so, but take heed only of their Number and Cadence. We see not nevertheless that *Stenuchus* hath undertaken to reduce Poetical Books of the *Hebrews* into rhimed Verses, no more than *Lewis Cappel*, who hath not disapproved of the Thought of this learned Man.

Some have also believed that *St. Jerom* had observed Rhimes in the Hebrew Poësie, because he hath said in his Preface upon *Job*, *Interdum quoque Rythmus ipse dulcis & tinnulus, fertur numeris pedum solutis*. *Buxtorf* hath thought that *Rythmus* signified what we now call Rhime, but he might learn of all those who have treated of *Prosodie*, that this word doth not only signifie Cadence. *Joseph Scaliger* also made use of this same word in this Sence, in the place which hath been cited of him, *Quantum sententia postulat, rythmus nunc longior, nunc brevior est*: He means that the Verses are more or less long, and consequently that the Cadence hath more or less extent, according as the sence demands more or less words: Yet *Mr. Ferrand* censures him in his Preface upon the *Psalms*, as if he had understood Rhimes thereby. *Scaliger* was too good a *Grecian* to commit such a Fault as that. *Mr. Ferrand* then was mistaken in the sence he gave to the words of *Scaliger*, as he is also mistaken in what he adds after *Buxtorf*, that if there are Rhimes in the Poësie of the *Hebrews*, it is but by chance. What hath been said, sheweth sufficiently the contrary, and this Remark is made but upon the occasion of the Term *Rythmus*, whereof we thought we should say a word, fearing that some being mistaken in the sence which is given it in the modern Languages, should without reason think that we were obliged to cite *St. Jerom* and *Scaliger*. But we have undertaken to refute no body, because then there should be made a Book on purpose for that, which would be very unusefull, after the direct Proofs which have been related.

2. When the *Psalms* shall be seen disposed in form of Rhimed Verses, it will perhaps be imagined that there was nothing so easie as to find these Rhimes: But that which appears easie, after it hath been expounded, was often very difficult before the Exposition. Enigma's are clear as the day, when we see the mystery of them, and we often wonder that we could not understand them at first sight, when we learn what they signifie. It is the same with the Poësie of the *Hebrews*, on this occasion; the difficulties which hindered its

discovery being taken away, nothing will appear so easie, but this is what rendered the discovery. The Verses are not distinguished in the Books of the *Hebrews*, but written all after one another, even as Prose, which was the Cause that tho' we knew that certain Books are Poësie, yet it hath been insensibly forgotten in what these Verses consisted, and how they could be distinguished. Two things besides have much contributed to this: The one is, that several of these Verses are extremely short; and the other is, that their Rhimes are not always very happy. If one writ at length irregular *Spanish* Verses composed of *assonant* Rhimes, there are very few People who could guess them to be Verses, if the Style did not make it known, and without a good knowledge in *Spanish* Poësie, it would scarcely be possible to distinguish between the beginning and end of these Verses. It is the same with the *Italian* irregular Verses, which rhyme sometimes, and sometimes the rhyme is neglected, as is thought fit. We are well assured that very few *Ultramontans* could in the form of Verses write again this Period of a famous *Italian* Poësie, *Tempestoso furor non fu mai Pira in magnanimo petto; ma un fiato sol di generoso affetto, che spirando ne l'alma, quando è più con la ragione unita, la desta e rende à le bell' opre ardita*. As in this would appear but four Rhimes amongst so many words, it would be suspected either that some of them were lost, or that those which are in it came by chance: Yet these are six Verses which may be read in *Scene V.* of the *V. Act.* of *Pastor Fido*. To this must be added, that to find out the beginning and ending of Verses thus written, one must know how to pronounce them, which is not easie for Strangers, as all those who have some knowlege in *Italian* Poësie are sensible. And it is a thing which is yet more difficult as to the Hebrew Tongue, whose Pronunciation is as rude as that of the *Italian* Tongue is sweet: So the manner of writing Poësie without distinction of Verses, their inequality, the smallness of some, the neglected Rhimes, or omitted, and the difficulty of the Pronunciation, were Obstacles great enough to hinder the easie disentangling the Hebrew Verses.

3. Hereby we see that though Copiers should have Committed never a Fault, it would be still hard to find out these Verses: But we ought to Judge that the Copyers might have sometimes without thinking on't, transpose the Order of words, not knowing the measure of the Verses they did Copy. So we see that the ancient Manuscripts, not only of the Greek and Latin Authors, who have written in Prose, but also Poets, whose Verses have no very sensible Cadence, vary extremely amongst themselves in the disposition of the words. Hereupon may be consulted the Lyrick and Dramatick Poets of the Greeks and Latins, where the Learned have often remarked some Transpositions. If there have happened such changes in the Books of the *Grecian*

cians and Latins, which have been carefully enough Copied, and by Copiers who understood well those two Tongues, it may be easily judged that the Hebrew Tongue being lost in the Captivity, and the Books of the *Hebrews* having been Transcribed by Copyers who understood them but by halves, there wou'd some slight changes have slipped thereinto, which though they did nothing to the sense, would yet disorder the Verse. We think we can shew that there are in effect some transpositions of words in the *Psalms*, which do quite disorder the Rhime, and which render the sense more difficult; an Example on't hath been related heretofore, drawn from *Psal.* 9. Thus in *Psal.* 71. ver. 6, and following, the rhimes are disturbed, and the sense less clear: The Version of *Geneva* hath thus Translated this place, *I shall speak of thy Justice only: O God, thou hast taught me from my Youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wonders: Now also when I am old and grey-headed, O God, forsake me not! &c.* It's easily observ'd, that these words are entangled, but it will be yet easier, if the Original is read, where one will hardly find out as much as *disjecti membra Poetae*: On the contrary, in disposing them so that the Rhime may be found, they are Translated thus, *Lord, thou art the only God, I will celebrate thy Justice, I will declare thy wonders: O God, thou hast instructed me from my Childhood until now: O God, forsake me not until Old Age, &c.* Not that there was frequent need of transposing the words, to find the Rhimes, it hath almost always presented it self without that; but a transposition, as that which offers it self by chance to one who seeks whether the *Psalms* are composed of rhimed Verses, is sufficient to make him believe that if there be rhimes in them, the Hebrew Poets made them without taking any heed thereto.

4. Besides the Transpositions which may happen in the *Psalms*, there may also be some places where the Copyers have taken one word for another, or have even forgotten some. Those who have a little understanding in Criticks, or who have sometimes examined the Varieties of reading of the New Testament, which are in the Editions of *Courcelles*, or in that of *Oxford*, will easily agree hereunto; and those who would deny the possibility of these kinds of oversights, should shew how that which is happened in respect of the New Testament (transcribed by Christian Copyers, whose Mother Tongue was the Greek) was impossible, in respect to the *Psalms*; which have been Copied since the Captivity, by Copyers who only knew the Hebrew by Study. But it is not only very possible that the Copyers have committed some Faults that indeed happened, as *Cappel* and several others have shewn: To be convinced hereof, we only need to compare *Psal.* 14. with 53. which certainly are the same, and it will be found that the 14th. is the less correct, that there are some words missing in it, and that the Copyers have been mista-

ken in some others, which hath wholly alter'd the sense and the rhime: Besides, we need but to compare *Psal.* 18. such as it is in the Collection of the *Psalms*, with the same Psalm, as it is related in *ch.* 22. of the 2d. Book of *Samuel*. Those who can read Hebrew, may remark there more than fifty examples of Omissions, of Transpositions, or of words taken one for the other, because of the resemblance of some Letters.

5. *Lewis Cappel* hath treated on this matter with so much Care in his *Sacred Criticks*, that it would be useless to stop at it after him: He hath also shewn that the Point Vowels of the *Hebrews* are of the Invention of the *Masorites*, and that they have not Pointed well some places, which is also one of the Reasons for which it hath been hard to discover the Secret of the Poésie of the *Hebrews*: For Example, in the first Verse of the *Psalms*, they have put *halach* for *holech*, which lost the rhime. It is true, one ought not to swerve from their Punctuation without reason, and that if there are formed some rhimes in Pointing otherwise, it is good to give some Example thereof, as may be done concerning the Rhime whereof we speak, and even of a great many more.

Moreover, the true sound of divers Vowels is not well known, as of the *Kamets magnum*, which seems to have been pronounced as an *O*, perhaps sometimes as an *A*, just as the *Fatha* and the *Damme* of the *Arabians*, have each two sounds, which can only be known by Use in divers obvious places.

The *Masorites* have purposely changed the Punctuation of some words, as that of *חור*, which comes into the *Psalms* very often, and whose true Pronunciation must be necessarily known, to discover the Rhime. *Cappel* hath shewn that it ought to be pronounced *Jahroch*, and it hath been acknowledged by the necessity of the Rhime, in several places of the *Psalms*.

Thereby we see that the Rhimes have been necessarily very much disordered by the Punctuation of the *Masorites*, and the same thing ought to be observed concerning the Cadence. They have diminished or augmented the Number of Syllables, in putting a *Scheva moveable* or *quiescent*, under certain Syllables which were otherwise Pointed in times past, as appears by an infinity of proper Names, as *שלמה* *schlomo* for *schalamo*, as divers Learned Men have already remarked.

These difficulties, which have until now hindered the discovery of the Cadence and Rhimes of the Hebrew Verses, hinder also our hopes of re-establishing them perfectly; for although they may be surmounted in part, no man can promise himself, without a ridiculous temerity, to surmount them all. But it sufficeth, I think, to shew by clear places, which are in great Number, what may be supposed of those, which we grant we cannot well go through. There are places in the Fragments which remain amongst us of the ancient Dramatique Au-

thors, both Greeks and Latins, which shew evidently what sort of Verses they used, though in some places it is not possible to re-establish them: We therefore do declare that we in no wise do flatter our selves of having, or of being able to put in their true Order all the Poesies of Holy Writ: But it may be said, that it's believed we may apply to three quarters of these Poesies the Rules which we have given, and convince after a sensible manner those who may doubt thereof.

6. We have nothing more to remark here-upon except one thing, which comes not from the difficulty of the Hebrew Poesie in it self, as the precedent, but from a false Judgment which some Ancients have made on this subject; which is, that knowing no other Poesie but that of the Greeks and Latins, they have fallily judged that that of the Hebrews should resemble it. It is a Fault which St. Jerom hath committed, as may be seen by what he saith on't in his *Preface upon Job* and elsewhere: 'Tis true, 'tis not he that speaks thus the first, he cites *Origen* and *Eusebius*, who had said the same thing as he; and the last could defend themselves by the Authority of *Philo* and *Josephus*. This Historian assureth, that the Song of *Moses*, which is in the 15th. of *Exodus*, is in Hexameter Verses: But there is nothing so far from truth, and it is not the only Mark which *Josephus* hath given, that he understood but very little the Hebrew of Scripture no more than *Philo*. It may be also he spoke thus to accommodate himself with the Heathens, whose Sacred Hymns were ordinarily in Hexameter Verses, as appears by those which are attributed to *Homer*, and by those of *Callimachus*. Others have already marked in divers places where this Author accommodates himself to the relish and Opinions of the Pagans; but whether it be through ignorance in the Hebrew, or to make himself understood by the Pagans, that *Josephus* hath spoken thus: It's certain there is no Hexametrum in *Moses*, as those who know a little Hebrew, and know how to scan Hexameter Verses may assure themselves. On the contrary, all this Song was disposed into pretty good rhimes, and it might be published so if it were needful.

St. Jerom, who found Lyrick Verses in the Psalms, seems to be of this Opinion, because others had said it before him: For it was the Custom to Copy *Origen*, without too much examining, if what he Copied was true or not, as he confesseth himself. Some Learned Men have notwithstanding essayed to excuse him, and amongst others *Strenchus* and *Cappel*; but it seems it were better to grant downright that he was mistaken herein, as in several other things, not being able in no wise to pass for an exact Author, and one who saith nothing but after a mature examination.

7. What we have said of the Ignorance of *Josephus* and *Philo*, and what hath been advanced of the Errors of the Copyers, sup-

poseth a thing which we think should be marked here more distinctly, for to take away the scruples which may arise from thence in the mind of Persons, who have only a superficial Knowledge of the Criticks of Holy Writ, viz. People imagine commonly that the ancient Hebrews had a very great Care of their Books, and that the Jews have never discontinued to Study with application to the Hebrew Tongue; thence it's concluded that the Originals which we have now, have been so well preserved, and transcribed by so able men, that the very New Testament is not almost so Correct as the Old. But these Prejudices will be laid aside, which are founded upon nothing else but the Authority of the modern Jews, and upon some reasons of Metaphysicks, if we consider with Attention these six things:

First, The Law of *Moses* hath almost never been observed with any exactness by the Jews, as their History, and the reproaches the Prophets use against them thereupon, do clearly shew it. So although *Moses* had Ordered the Kings to have always a Copy of the Law for their Instruction, this Law was so little observed, that *Josias* after having reigned eighteen Years, knew not what the Book of the Law contained; see 2 *King*. 22. 10. It appears by this History, that the Copy which was kept in the Temple was not to be found, and that it was not read, as it should have been; whence it may easily be concluded that the Jews had no great Care for their Books in that time.

Secondly, Though several Ancients have said that *Esdra*s re-established the Sacred Books, which had been neglected during the Captivity of *Babylon*, and formed thereof a Volume which was preserved from that time in the state wherein it is; yet if the Genealogies be examined carefully, which are in the Book of *Esdra*s, there will be Omissions found in it, which can only come from the Negligence of the Copyers, as that of *Ch*. 7. 3. where there are three generations omitted in the Genealogy of *Esdra*s. There is moreover so great a diversity of Calculation betwixt the Books of *Esdra*s and *Nehemiah*, touching the Number of those who returned from the Captivity, that there is no means of resolving this difficulty, but in saying that the Copyers have not been so exact as they should, in describing these Books.

Thirdly, We ought to remark, that since that time Hebrew was no more spoken, but Chaldean, amongst the Jews, so that the Hebrew Tongue could not be known, but in Studying it. In those Ages they had not opportunity to Study a dead Tongue, by those assistances which have been invented since, seeing there were neither Dictionaries nor Grammars, and it was but by an Oral Tradition that the Knowledge thereof was preserved, as the Jews have also done several Ages. It is manifest that it was impossible to acquire by this means an exact Knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue; for with-

without a fixed Grammar, one is mistaken at every moment in the Construction of words, and without a Dictionary one necessarily forgets the signification of an infinity of terms, and chiefly of those which are but once in Scripture, or whose sense is not clearly determined by the sequel.

Fourthly, It must be acknowledged, that the *Hebrews* had not at that time the Use of Points, so that retaining the Pronunciation of the words of the old Hebrew Tongue but by heart, it was impossible but a great deal of Changes should happen therein. *Lewis Cappel* hath clearly proved the one and the other, in his Treatise of the Points of the *Hebrews*, and in his Sacred Criticks.

Fifthly, If some Books of the Hebrew Text be compared with the Version of the *LXX*, it will be found that these Interpreters have Translated an infinity of places by guessing, without knowing well the meaning of the terms which they Translated, that they went ill enough through the hard places, where they have made in their Version nothing but pure gallimaufry, that they have not often understood the Construction of the words; that finally either they had a Copy written very neglectfully, or that they have unreasonably taken some words for other some, in a very great Number of places. I know full well that Learned Men have endeavour'd to excuse some of their Faults, and that they have even shewn that they were often censur'd unreasonably; but its certain there is an infinity of unexcusable Faults, and its what may be clearly seen in the *Critical Notes* of *Lewis Cappel*, which are now in the Press, where he hath compared the Version of the *LXX* with the Hebrew. As he acknowledgeth justly that much light may be drawn from this Version, that its manner of reading is sometimes the best, and that the Copyers have done it much wrong, he remarks so great a Number of absurdities in it, that it is impossible but to doubt that the Copy whereof they made use was not of the best, nor they very skilfull in the Hebrew Tongue: Notwithstanding, the Jews used this Version before the coming of Jesus Christ, and the respect they had for it, sheweth clearly that they had extremely neglected the Study of the Holy Tongue.

Sixthly, The Study of the Jews of that time, and in the following Ages, consisted only in the Ceremonial Law, Tradition and Allegories, nothing being remarked in their Writings which may make one suspect that they were skilfull in Grammatical Knowledge and Criticks, if it be lawfull to speak thus of the Hebrew Tongue. It is seen even in the time of *St. Jerom*, they had no exact Grammar, because in his Version he often offends against the common and undoubted Rules, and commits the same Faults which have been remarked in the *LXX*, particularly in the difficult places, he hath commonly

no regard to any Construction, and draweth himself out of trouble by some obscure Phrase. The Admirers of *St. Jerom* and the *LXX* will find perhaps these Terms somewhat bold, but in facts as clear as the day; why should not things be called by their Names?

It's needless to extend further upon this matter, because what we have said sufficeth to make it understood why the secrecy of the Hebrew Poësie hath been so long hidden. If any one should draw any ill consequence from the Principles we have set down, we declare we acknowledge none of these consequences; and those who may believe these consequences are well drawn, are desired to consult the two Works of *Cappel*, who hath been already cited several times, where he hath shewn that Religion can only draw great advantages from the Disquisitions of Criticks, which some Persons either malicious or unskilfull, have unseasonably endeavour'd to decry: In matters of Fact, as those are, History ought to be consulted, as also ancient Monuments, and we ought to build thereupon, and not continually to reason, and then to contradict History, because it is not conformable to these Arguments.

VII. That the Reader might see an Essay of the Poësie of the *Hebrews*, we have chosen *Psal. CL* which is short, and which is visibly in rhyme, and it hath been put into a Tune proper to the words, as we have already Noted. As to what concerns the Version in French Verses, the Author was satisfied to keep the sense in general, and the Number of Syllables, without sticking too much to the words, because he would but give an example of a Poësie like to that of the *Hebrews*. So the Names of the Instruments which are in the French Verses answer not to those of the Hebrew Verses, but they agree better amongst themselves, and are chosen according to the Rules of our Musick.

It only remains to join some remarks here upon the Hebrew Verses of this Psalm, and upon the French Version in Prose, we shall show thereby both the Truth of what hath been said of the Hebrew Poësie, and what could be done upon the Psalms, if we undertook to make Notes upon this Book.

P S A L M C L

Disposed according to the Rhimes.

הללוהו

הללוהו אל בקדשו

הללוהו בקדושתו

הללוהו בקדושתו

הללוהו בקדושתו

הַלְלוּהוּ בְּתִקְעַת שׁוֹפָר 5.

הַלְלוּהוּ בְּנִבְל וְכִנּוֹר

הַלְלוּהוּ

בְּתִרְחֵף וּמִחֹל הַלְלוּהוּ

בְּמִנִּים וְעִנּוּב הַלְלוּהוּ

בְּצִלְצְלֵי שִׁמְעַת הַלְלוּהוּ 10.

בְּצִלְצְלֵי תְרוּעָה

כָּל הַגִּשְׁמָה

תְּהַלֵּל יְהוָה

וְהַלְלוּ יְהוָה

The Version of the CL. Psalm.

HALLELOUJAH.

- (1.) Praise the Holiness of God. (2.) Praise the extent of his Power. (3.) Praise his Might. (4.) Praise his extream greatness. (5.) Praise him in sounding the Trumpet: (6.) Praise him upon the Lute and Violin: (7.) Praise him. (8.) Upon the Drum and Flute: Praise him (9.) Upon stringed Instruments and upon the Organ: Praise him (10.) Upon sounding Cymbals: Praise him (11.) Upon the unequal sounding Timbrel: (12.) Let every thing that breaths (13.) Praise the Lord: (14.) Praise the Lord.

Remarks upon the CL. Psalm.

HALLELOUJAH. This word seems to be taken from this Psalm, as of some others, which solely contain the Praises of God, see *Psal. lli. 1.* therefore the *LXX.* have retained it in their Version *Ἀλληλουῖα*, whence the Christian Church hath taken it. It cannot notwithstanding be concluded from thence that the true Pronunciation of this word is JA, and not JO, or JAO, because the *LXX.* may have read this word otherwise than they ought, out of design to conceal its Pronunciation from the Pagans, as they did in regard to the whole word *יהוה Jahvoh*, whereof this is but an Abridgment. Its known, that instead of Translating *יהוה*, they have put every where *κύριος Lord*, by a Judaick Superstition, which made them believe that this Name, which the Hebrews call the proper Name of God, should be only pronounced by the High Priest; *Drusius* and *Anama* may be seen thereupon. This word *JOH* hath been printed, because it was known by the Rhime that it should be thus punctuated, and because we ought to pronounce *JAHVO*. All the *Schevas* of this Psalm have been also looked upon as *quiescent*, excepting those which are under the first Lamed of the Verb *Halal*, and under the Thau of the word *Theallel*, because of the following *He*.

1. Praise the Holiness of God. Here are seen six Verses which begin by *Halelouhou*, and four which end by this same Word, which is extreamly proper for a Tune of *Fanfare*. The *LXX.* have Translated the word *bkodscho* *ἐν ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ*, in his most holy place, for *ἅγιος ἁγίων* in the Holy of Holies, as as may be seen by *ch. 9.* of *Epistle* to the Hebrews. True it is, that the Hebrew word signifies that often, but as it signifies also Holiness, this sense hath been preferred by reason of the following Verses, the last words whereof mark not a place, but a Propriety of God: But it hath not been thought fit to take the turn of the Hebrew, Praise God in his Holiness, because its visible that it signifies nothing else but what hath been said, and it may even be that the Author hath taken it but for the Rhime. At least, the ordinary turn of the Hebrew Tongue would have been *הללו את קדש* *halelou eth kodesch jahvoh*, Praise the Holiness of the Lord.

2. Praise the extent of his Power. The *LXX.* have translated in the firmament of his power, to wit, in Heaven, which his power hath made; *buzzo* and *kodscho* are but assonant Rhimes, to speak as the Spaniards, but they are joined in other places of the Psalms, as *Psal. 105. 3, 4.*

3. Praise his might. The Hebrew word is in the plural, his mights, because this Number is more emphatick than the singular in this Tongue.

4. Praise his extream greatness. Word for Word, in the multitude of his greatness; for *גדולו* *gudlo*, his greatness, is read here *גדולותיו* *gedoulouthaw*, his greatneses, because of the Rhime. This word may be seen in the plural, joined to that of *גבורות* *gebouroth*, *Psal. 145. 4, 5, 6.*

5. Praise him in sounding the Trumpet. The Rabbins say, that when the Trumpet was sounded on, at first it made a long and equal sound, which they call *thekouba* *תקועה*, afterwards a varied sound, which they call *therouba* *תרועה*, and finally an equal sound: Some such thing is remarked in the same sound of our Trumpets, and we see there was a difference betwixt these two sounds by the 10th. chap. of Numbers. Indeed the root *רוע* *rouah*, signifies sometimes to break, and it may be they had in Hebrew a Phrase like that of the Latins, who say *frangere sonitum*, speaking of the Trumpet as in this Verse of Virgil,

Fractus sonitus imitata tubarum.

6. Praise him upon the Lute and Violin. They are such like Instruments. The *Nebel* was, according to the Relation of *Josephus*, *Ant. Jud. l. 7. c. 10.* an Instrument of ten touches, whereupon they play'd with their Fingers. There are some properly of ten sounds *עשר צלצלים*, which seems to mark nothing else but touches. If these Instruments of the Hebrews were made as the Lyre of the Greeks, with ten Cords, there may be a Figure on't seen in the Book of *M. Vossius de Poematum Cantu*, p. 97. The *Chinnor* was an Instrument with ten Cords, and which

which was touched with an Archet, or a Bow. They make שופר and כנור to rhyme, because we read Schophor: The same rhyme is found Psal. 98. 5, 6.

7, 8. Praise him upon the Drum and the Flute. תוף Toph seems to be a kind of Drum, as that of the Basques is, which the very Women beat with their hand (Exod. 15, 20. Jer. 31. 3.) in singing and dancing: It's what made the LXX. translate the following word מַחֹל machol, dance, which others translate Flute; but this latter sense hath seem'd better, because we speak here of Instruments of Musick.

9. Upon stringed Instruments and upon the Organ. The LXX. have been followed, who have translated ἐν ᾠργανῶν καὶ ἐν ὄργανοις, but it cannot be assured whether this Version is just or not.

10. Upon sounding Cymbals. The Hebrews have two sorts of Tsilsel, which were both of Brass; the one was round, and seems to have had bottoms, as our Kettle-Drums are, excepting that these bottoms were of Brass: The other was in an Oval Form, after the shape of a Racket without a bottom, with holes on the sides, whereinto Brass bars passed, longer than the Oval was broad, and which freely moving in these holes, made

a noise when they were moved: This latter Instrument was called a Timbrel, and its Figure may be seen in divers Engravings and Reliefs of the ancient Egyptians, and in p. 214. of the first part of the Gemme antiche of Leonard Agostino. It may be it is what ought to be understood by Tsilsel tberouha, from the following Verse, to wit, of the Timbrel whose sounds are unequal; see Bochart in his Phaleg. l. 4. ch. 2.

This is what we had to say upon the Poësie of the Hebrews, and upon Psal. 150. We shall still advertise the Reader of two important things: The first is, that tho' we have cited but a few Examples to prove what we have advanced of the Verses of the Hebrews; not but that we might draw a great Number of them, but the brevity in which we were bounded to be included, hath hindered us to bring more. The Reader then ought to be assured, that if it was needfull, we could have produced a far greater Number. The second thing is, that we have not chosen Psal. 150. because we thought we have gone through it better than in most of the others, but simply because it is short, and that one may in some wise conjecture what Tune it might have had.

Tttt

Lou—ez

Lou—ez le Dieu des Dieux, Que sa majes—té soit be—ni—e; Sa pu—
 issance est in—fi—ni—e. Peuples, réve—rez l'en tous lieux. Chantres, entonnez des
 Ains : U—nif—sez, u—nif—sez par de saints concerts La Tromper
 —te, le Haut—bo—ïs & la Muzet—te, Le Cornet, l'Orgue & le Bas—
 son, Et que la Flûte au doux son Leur réponde. Qu'en ce beau jour,
 Tout le monde, tout le monde, tout le monde, chant à son tour. tour.

The musical score is written on ten staves. The first five staves are for the vocal line, and the last five are for the instrumental line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ornaments. The lyrics are in French and are written below the staves.

We have given this *CLth. Psalm* in the *French* Version as we found it, and have added this *English* Version, which bearing the same quantity of Syllables, is also applicable to the same Musical Composure: And as the *French* took a little Liberty, as may be seen from the former Translation of this Psalm just after the Hebrew, so have we; only instead of their repetition at the last, we have made one Verse in a proportionable length.

That Holy God, whose might is hurl'd

Throughout this vast material World!

Praise him! Oh, Praise ye him each hour!

Extol his great, his mighty Power:

Awake ye Harps, ye Timbrels sing

Eternal Praises to this King.

Let Trumpets raise

Their Noblest Accents to his Praise:

Drums, Organs, Violins and Lutes,

Cymbals, String'd Instruments and Flutes,

Shall all combine

To Praise the Lord.

Let all the Universe in this great Chorus join,

PRAISE YE THE LORD.

Seldeni Otia Theologica, &c. at Amsterdam: in quatuor Libris.

THIS Work is very Curious, and very agreeable to those that don't care for the trouble of gathering dispers'd Materials together: The Author, who is very Learned, and has read much, spares them the trouble, and gives them his Opinion, as well as that of many others upon a great Number of Critical Questions in Divinity. Thus I ought to call the Subject of this great Treatise: For altho' he there explains some places of Divinity generally receiv'd, he does it not after the way of the Schools; he very ingeniously discourses upon sacred and prophane Antiquity: Besides that, the generality of the Examinations entirely respect certain Persons, or matters of Fact, which the Scripture speaks of, or of certain things which are different from common receiv'd Notions in Divinity.

As to what regards the Sentiments of the Author, we ought to acknowledge this on his behalf, that he proposes them with much modesty, and makes use of that honest liberty which Men of Learning may safely do.

He is very exact in citing those that he borrows any thing from, and desires the Reader not to take this exactness as an Ostentation of his Learning, which certainly is a better way than barely to cite such Authors as are serviceable to him.

He divides his Work into four Parts, which in all contain forty one Dissertations, in each of which many different Subjects are Treated on, as happens in Persons who know much, or who wou'd divert the Reader with variety of Objects. We shou'd almost make a Book it self, if we shou'd speak to every one of the Dissertations: It

shall suffice to give the Analysis of the first; where it is examined who was the first Writer, and a Judgment may be made of the rest by this Piece.

The first thing this Author does, is to relate the Dispute formerly rais'd amongst the Doctors, concerning the Prophecy of *Enoch*, which the Apostle *St. Jude* makes mention of: Some said this Patriarch's Prophecy was committed to Writing, others maintain the contrary; many Fathers, and especially *St. Augustin*, was of the first Opinion, they often spoke of the Book of *Enoch*: Some have made no difficulty to hold it as Canonical, and wou'd prove by it that the Angels begat the Giants, by the Commerce they had with Women. There are some which say the Prophecy of *Enoch* contained four thousand and eighty two Lines, and that it spoke of all that shou'd happen to the Posterity of the Patriarchs, of the Crimes and Chastisements of the *Jews*, of the Death that they shou'd make the Messiah suffer, of their being dispersed through all the World, and of the second Coming of Jesus Christ to judge Mankind. They also pretended they found many Mathematical Opinions, and that *Noah* had taken a great deal of Care to secure this Work in the Ark.

After that the Author relates also many more ridiculous Fancies; some have said that the Angel *Raziel*, Tutor to *Adam*, gave him a Book containing all Sciences, and that after he was put out of the Garden of *Eden* he had it again, suffering him to touch it at his humble Entreaties. Others say that *Adam* did not receive this Book till after he had sinned, then having besought God Almighty to grant him some

small

small Consolation in the unhappy State he had reduced himself to; they say, that three days after he had thus begg'd of God, the Angel *Raziel* brought him a Book, which discovered to him all the Secrets of Nature, the Power how to Command both good and bad Angels, and the four parts of the Earth, of Interpreting Dreams and Prodigies, and foretelling whatsoever was to happen in the time to come: They say also that this Book pass'd from Father to Son, 'till it fell into the Hands of *Solomon*, and that it gave to this learned Prince the Virtue of Building the Temple, by means of the Worm *Zamir*, without making use of any Instrument of Iron.

Mr. *Selden* afterwards speaks of those two Celebrated Pillars that some say the Successors of *Seth* built, to engrave upon them the Discoveries that they made in the Sciences. He also speaks of the suppositious Books of *Enoch* and *Noah*, that *Postulus* forg'd in the last Age; of the Book that *Philo* makes mention of as *Abraham's*, which was Translated from Hebrew into Latin by *Ritangelius*; of the Book that is entituled *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the Fable of the *Rabbins*, who said God writ his Law two thousand Years before the Creation of the World: He might have added to all these Fabulous Works, the Testament of *Jacob*, the Ladder of *Jacob*, (which was a Book very much esteem'd amongst certain Hereticks call'd *Ebionites*) the Books of *Enoch* upon the Elements, and some other Philosophical Subjects; those of *Noah* upon the Mathematicks, and Sacred Ceremonies; those that they attributed to *Abraham* teaching Philosophy in the Valley of *Mamre* to those he lead against the five Kings that had taken *Lot* his Nephew Prisoner. Father *Kircher* says, that the *Abyssines* pretended to have all these Books, and a great Number of others, in the Library of the Monastery of the Holy Cross upon Mount *Amara*, and that the Queen of *Sheba* received them as a Present from *Solomon*. They pretend moreover, that she Compos'd many Books that they have in the same Library, and that she had a Son born by *Solomon*, who was Prince *Melilech*, that had also Compos'd many Books they had in the same place. Those who cannot get the Works of Father *Kircher*, may find what I have said, in a Treatise of Bibliothèques publish'd 1680. If the *Abyssines* had only said that *Solomon* gave many Books to the Queen of *Sheba*, and that he lay with her, they wou'd have said nothing so very improbable; for a Prince so Learned as he was, and which is more, an Author of such a multitude of Books, wou'd not without doubt, send away a Princess so Curious as the Queen, without giving her a Copy of his Works, and some other rare Treatises: Besides, he hated not the Sex, and perhaps she was touched with the same desire, and a long time after that obliged the Queen of the *Amazons* to make a Visit to *Alexander*. And

it is apparent enough that *Solomon* had as much Complaisance as the King of *Macedon*: But these are things which are so insignificant, that all the World may be permitted to believe what they please of it.

The Author then considers the Vanity of the *Egyptians*, who gave 100000 Years Antiquity to their Writings, and sends us to *St. Augustin*, who refutes them in his eighteenth Book of the *City of God*, the 29th. Chapter. He relates what was said of *Zoroaster*, concerning the making of a Book entituled *The Similitude*, which was edged with Gold, and required for a Covering twelve hundred and sixty Oxes Hides; some think this *Zoroaster* was *Cham* the Son of *Noah*. He omits not that it was said of *Trismegistus*, that he had Compos'd twenty five thousand Volumes, or else thirty six thousand five hundred and twenty five; and that the Science of the *Egyptians*, in which *Moses* was so well Vers'd, was contained in this great Number of Books, and that *Moses* himself took some thoughts from 'em to insert in the *Pentateuch*. He forgets not likewise to speak of the *Sybil*, Daughter (or rather Daughter-in-Law) to *Noah*, nor the Book of *Job*, according to some writ before *Moses*; for there are some which pretend that *Moses* found it perfect at *Jethro's* his Father-in-Law, in the Land of *Midian*, and thinking it proper to Comfort the *Israelites* in their Misery, he took it with him into *Egypt* to show it them. Mr. *Huet* dissents from this Opinion, and believes only that *Moses* Compos'd the History of *Job* during the Servitude of his Brethren, to the end to propose to them a great Example of Patience and Hope.

After all these ridiculous and fabulous Traditions, the Author concludes that there is great probability that the Custom of writing Books was in use before *Moses's* time, but nevertheless that the *Pentateuch* is the most Ancient of all Canonical Books, and even of all Books whatsoever that are now extant. He maintains that the Prophecy of *Enoch* was not written, and that *St. Jude* had no knowledge of it, only by inspiration; that the Book that formerly bore the Name of this Patriarch, was made by some Cheat, and that *St. Augustin* did not well consider the Text of the Apostle, since he makes him say that *Enoch* writ Prophecies. He makes the same Judgment of the other Works that go under the Name of the Patriarchs: As to the two Pillars of the Descendants from *Seth*, he is of their Opinion who conclude it to be one of the oversights of *Josephus*; he also takes occasion by this to reproach him with having corrupted the sense of a Passage of *Moses* to flatter the Idolaters; 'tis where he * says that *Moses* forbid the speaking ill of the Gods of other Nations, and the destroying their Temples. As to what concerns *Zoroaster*, the Author says that we have

* *Antiquit. Jud.*
l. 4. cap. ult.

have no certainty; and after having related a long passage of Mr. *Huet's*, who believed he should find *Moses* not only in *Zoroaster*, but also in all the false Gods, and in all the first Heathen Poets, he gives his own Judgment upon this Opinion with much equity. He shows after that by a Passage of *Eusebius's*, that *Moses* having lived in the time of *Cecrops*, the first King of the *Athenians*, he was before the most ancient Greek Poets, *Orpheus*, *Linus* and *Museus*, and gives the Reason why some maintained that *Cecrops* and *Moses* was the same Person. He says also, that nothing certain can be established concerning the History of *Mercurius Trismegistus*: He gives the Title of some of his Works which *Clement of Alexandria* has spoken on, and sends us to *Causabon*, where we may see that instead of *Moses's* Copying any thing from the *Egyptians*, it must be confes'd that all the wise Heathens have borrowed something from him: The Work that he cites of *Causabon's*, is the 10th. Article of the *Exercitationes against the Annals of Baronius*; *Causabon* justifies that the *Pimander* of *Trismegistus* was writ since the Apostles time, by one that was half Christian and half Platonick. In fine, Mr. *Selden* observes, that that Treatise of *Origen's* is a suppositious Work, which says the Book of *Job* was found in the House of *Moses's* Father-in-law. Our Author refutes those that believed *Job* was the same with *Jobab*, in the 36th. Chapter of *Genesis*, who was the great Grand-son of *Esau*: He does not believe *Job* Compos'd his History himself, because it is writ in Verse, and he does not disapprove the Opinion of Mr. *Huet* upon it, who says that *Moses* having Collected divers Memoirs which were in Manuscript, concerning the Life of *Job*, and heard upon that the Relation of many Persons, compos'd a Work with all these Materials. We shall hardly give Credit to this Proof that the Author makes use of; for altho' he had a very great reason to say, that a Man in such Afflictions as *Job* was, cou'd not entertain his Friends in Verse, yet a Poetical Discourse is as likely on this occasion as in those that are recited in *Tragedies*, or sung in *Opera's*; yet it is not improbable that *Job* himself, after his Affairs were re-established, might give the History of his Misfortunes in Verse. This is an Abridgment of Mr. *Selden's* first Dissertation, which is about eighteen Pages.

In the second he examines whether *Moses* was the Author of the Pentateuch, and answers in the affirmative, and refutes the Objections of *Spinoza*. He thinks it very unadvised that some writ in *Dutch* against this impious Author; because, says he, this wou'd make us fear, that the Curiosity of the People wou'd be stirr'd up, if these Disputes were manag'd in a Language that they understood not.

I believe that our Author speaks principally in respect to the Philosophical Works of *Spinoza*; many think it strange

that some Learned Men have not solidly refuted them; but others on the contrary say, that it's better to make no Answer to 'em at all in any Tongue, least a Man indifferently Vers'd in the Sciences should oppose him, and not know how to refute what he undertakes; or if it be an ingenious Man, by discovering this Doctrine he wou'd render it more dangerous; because all those that have the impertinent Vanity to desire to pass for followers of *Spinoza*, altho' they understand him as little as they do Arabick, will become in effect what they have yet only the Name of, if these impieties are made more easie to be apprehended. It is better therefore to suffer them to continue in that impenetrable darkness which the Author has left them in, and not to seek any other Antidote than their own Obscurity. Mr. *Selden* also makes many remarks upon the Critical History of the Old Testament: Least the Extract should be too long, I shall content my self with speaking of these things, and make an end after having observ'd the chief Subjects of the other Dissertations. There is one touching *Pre-Adamites*, another of *Self-Love*; one upon the Waters of Jealousie, which gives him occasion to speak of many Proofs of Chastity us'd in divers places: One upon the 18th. Verse of the 23d. Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where God forbids the offering the Hire of an Harlot or Price of a Dog: One upon the White Stone that Jesus Christ promises in the *Apocalypse* to those that shall overcome: One upon the Thorn that *St. Paul* felt in the Flesh; another upon the Terrestrial Paradise: One upon the Fratricide of *Cain*: One upon Polygamy: One upon *Judas Iscariot*, in which the Author declaring for the Opinion of *Pricens*, incurs the Censure of Mr. *Gronovius*: One upon Excommunication; another upon the Priviledges of those that the Jews call'd *Zelotars*, who in certain Cases might unreveng'd kill in cool Blood, upon which the Author speaks very finely according to *Selden*: One upon the Divinity of the Book of *Esther*: One upon Eunuchs: One upon God-fathers; another upon the Obligation of an Oath, &c. As Mr. *Selden* adds to each of his Questions whatsoever he has met with that is Curious, we may very well believe that there is a very fine Mixture. The Dissertation about the *White Stone* ends with reflections upon the *Philosophers Stone*, because some Philosophers have said that this *White Stone* was nothing else but that great Work. He relates a pleasant Story upon Pope *Leo X.* A certain Chymist presented him with a Stone, whereby he pretended he had found out the manner of making Gold, in expectation of receiving a magnificent Reward from him: the Pope sent him a great empty Purse, with this Message, *That since he knew how to make Gold, he had no need of any thing else but a place to put it in.* The Dissertation upon *Self-Love* speaks of a Book of the famous *Madam Schurman*, entituled *εὐλογία*, where she gives the reason of her retreat,

retreat, and of her joyning her self to the Schism of *Labbidia*.

All those who have heard of the extraordinary Qualities of this Gentlewoman, know not that she dy'd a Schismatick; the World takes occasion from thence, and some other examples, to insult over all Learned Women; the least thing that they can say of them is, that they have lost their Wits: The truth is, this can only be said of 'em, because People generally love 'em better when they have had a trifling Education, since such Women are more easily mortify'd than others.

Jacobi I. F. F. Gronovii Exercitationes Academicae, de perniciē & casu Judae ἡ περὶ τοῦ, in Quarto, Lugd. Batav. apud Danielelem Gaesbeck. 1683.

There are but few apparent Contradictions in Scripture, which puzzled Interpreters more than this of the Death of *Judas*. *St. Matthew* tells us that this Traitor brought into the Temple that Money that he had receiv'd to betray his Master, and then went and strangled himself; but *St. Peter* tells us, that he Hang'd himself and burst asunder in the middle, and all his Bowels gushed out; one can't well see how a strangled Person can have this Accident *St. Peter* here mentions. The Criticks have endeavour'd to remove this difficulty, but says our Author, they have not yet done it. He is a good Judge in these kind of Matters, his Learning is very profound, and he worthily keeps up the Reputation which his Father has acquir'd throughout all *Europe*, as may be seen in the Letters of *Monsieur de Balzac*: He is a great Honour to the University of *Leyden*, where he is the Professor of History and the Greek Tongue.

He first refutes the Sentiments of *Theophilact*, that *Judas* did not think to push on the matter so far against *Jesus Christ*; and having found, contrary to his expectation, that he was Condemned to Death, Despair put him upon fastening an Halter about his Neck, but the Tree which he ty'd himself to, bended down with his weight, so that he dyed not; afterwards he got so strange a Dropsie that he took up more room than the breadth of a Chariot, whence it happened that falling down once he burst asunder: Others say he was run over with a Chariot. He refutes these and other like things, and maintains that *Judas* dyed before *Jesus Christ*.

Afterwards he refutes many Learned Interpreters, who by the Words of *St. Luke*, compar'd with those in the *Acts*, *περὶ τοῦ γυμνωμένου*, understand the Posture of an Hanging Man, he remarks after *Monsieur de Saumaisius*, that the Custom of Hanging Criminals was not known in the Empire of *Rome* before the times of *Constantine*; that all the

Passages of the most ancient Authors who mention this kind of Death, ought to be understood of some particular Persons who Hang'd themselves. In mentioning the Posture of Hanging, attributed by some to *Judas*, he Corrects a pretty Passage of *Petronius*, cap. 54. where 'tis ordinarily read, *Et jam semicinctior stanti ad perietem spondam junxeram*; instead of which we must read according to our Author, *Semicinctio insitam ac parieti spondam junxeram*, to signify that he that won'd Hang himself, ty'd his Girdle with the Cord which held up the Bed, and pusht the Bed a little nearer the Wall. He concludes that *St. Peter* did not mean by these words, that *Judas* was Hang'd; and he confirms it, because the sequel of his Discourse touching the broken Entrails of *Judas* has so little relation with the Action of Strangling, that we must make a thousand suppositions to join these two things together.

Next after, the Author examines the Opinion of *Causabon*, that *St. Matthew* only related the beginning of *Judas's* Punishment, and that *St. Luke* mention'd the rest. *Causabon* pretends that this Wretch was Hang'd, but that the Cord being broken, he fell (*περὶ τοῦ γυμνωμένου*) downwards, upon a sharp Stone, which broke his Belly, by the immediate hand of the Justice of God. This Opinion was follow'd by *Conradus Detericus*, *John Gerrard*, *Calixtus*, and many Authors, but Mr. Gronovius does not at all approve of it; and shows first, that the term which *St. Matthew* makes use of, *viz. ἀνέσθη*, signifies rather to be Hang'd, than to Hang himself; he proves it after such a manner, as denotes his great Knowledge in the Greek Tongue; and he infers from this proof that 'tis false, that *St. Matthew* did not express the kind of Death which made a full end of destroying *Judas* at once. He refutes (in the second place) the Observation that *Causabon* made upon the word *ἐλάκυσσε*, and says in general, that all the suppositions of this great Critick upon the breaking of the Cord, the falling with his Belly upon a Stone, from the Posture of a Hang'd Person, don't at all agree.

He refutes, after this, the Opinion of *Daniel Heinsius*, who says, that *St. Matthew* did not say that *Judas* put a Rope about his Neck, and Hang'd himself; but that the meer Power of his Despair took away his respiration, and Choak'd him to Death. Now if the Rage that possess'd him was capable of Suffocating or Choaking him, we may also suppose that it was able to burst his Belly, as inclos'd Vapours in a Vessel being rarify'd make it burst asunder: He pretends to Authorities, to prove that the Term which *St. Matthew* makes use of, signifies in general that he was Strangled; whether by a Cord or by something that he had swallowed, or by an Effort of fadness; a Passage in *Tobit*, cap. 3. 10. seems to make for this sence, since 'tis read *ἐλυτμήθη σπλάγχνα ὡς ἐν ἀνέλεσται*, She conceiv'd such

a displeasure, that a Suffocation strangled her. He forgets not to cite the Words of Virgil,

rumpanitur ut ilia Codro;

and many other Passages of ancient Authors; but Mr. Gronovius is not of his Opinion, but shows clearly that the Book of Tobit does not at all favour the Opinion of Heinsius, seeing that immediately before the Words alledg'd, 'tis plain that Sarah spoke and pray'd fervently to God, (which shows that 'twas not Grief that strangled her) that because she made a reflection which visibly denotes that her sadness had inspir'd the thought of Hanging her self; *I am the only Daughter, says she, and if I do this, it will reproach my Father, and I shall dye in grief;* These Words would be Nonsense if the word *ἀνέχουσαι* signify'd that a Suffocation strangled her, for this would not dishonour her Family. As for the Quotation out of Virgil, it's plain they don't signifie a true rupture, or at least that they signify'd not an external rending, no more than when we say, *Let him burst himself if he will, he can bear it:* We don't precisely mean a true Laceration of the Skin and Flesh, which cover the Intestines, but 'tis a vehement manner of speaking. If we exclude this kind of Death, which is properly call'd Bursting asunder, then we have no longer an express Idea of any thing else. This Author makes many Learned Remarks upon the word *πενθεις*, and by the by Censures Pool's *Synopsis Criticorum*, because in relating the Opinion of Heinsius, he has so mangled it, that having omitted a Passage of Aristophanes, which Heinsius made use of, he left out the true Application; the Passage of *Synopsis Critica* is this, *Quod desperatus pastor apud Theocritum discit, mori me denique cogit ἀνέχουσαι ut vivens, Virgilius reddidit mori me denique togis, ex cursu enim nimio summa Spiritus angustia:* He apprehends nothing in these last words, because he knew not how to apply them to the Passage of Theocritus, or that of Virgil, which Heinsius also did not apply them; but to another Passage of Aristophanes, which the Compilers have retrench'd, viz. *ἀνέχουσαι τρέχων*, the sense whereof is, that he ran away to Hang himself, and not that he was Choak'd for want of Breath, thro' the vehemency of his running, as Heinsius understands it.

The Opinion of Grotius comes next under his Examination, but he stays not long upon it, there being scarce any difference betwixt it and that of Heinsius, which he refuted before. Next he attacks Saumasius, but with a great deal more mildness, giving him a very Honourable Encomium, he does not reprehend him for having said that the Text of St. Luke signifies that Judas fell down headlong, and that the two Evange-

lists have given different Relations of this matter, because they are accommodated to two manners of speaking. He abuses Priceus, who believed that Judas fell down headlong, and that the Text of St. Matthew only signifies a Resolution of dying. He flatters not Lightfoot, whose Opinion was that the Devil lifted up Judas into the Air, strangled him there, and then cast him down with such a force, that his Entrails burst out; he is certain the Narration of St. Matthew can't suffer that sense, since it marks very clearly that Judas strangled himself, tho' he forgets what he said before, viz. that the Original rather signified to be strangled than to strangle.

After having examin'd the Thoughts of all these great Men, he built upon their ruines his own Opinion, and having carefully consider'd the Words of St. Matthew, he says, 1. That Judas made haste to his Death, after he had given the Price of his Crime to the High Priests. 2. That the word *ἀνέχουσαι* (according to the Observation of Saumasius) was never used, but to express that a Man was strangled with a Halter, the Greeks having other terms, as *πνίγειν* and *ἀποπνίγειν*, to signifie all other manner of stranglings, whether by Hand, a Handkerchief, or something swallow'd. He proves this very learnedly, by many Passages, and concludeth that Judas strangled himself with a Cord. 3. That the Vulgate hath very well translated the Words of St. Luke *πενθεις γυμνωτος* by *suspensus*, hanging. 4. That St. Luke had no design to show the Death of Judas, but only what hapned to his Carcase after his Death, which was thrown upon a Dunghill, where he supposes there might be sharp Stones, which tore the Body that was cast upon them: He confirms this Conjecture by many Learned Observations.

Besides he declares upon the Subject of the word *ἀνέχουσαι*, that those who are well acquainted with this Language, may not only say that such a Word signifies this or that, but also that it was never taken otherwise; and he believed, that if he was always oblig'd to speak with this moderation, it seems that this word hath a like signification, this would ill recompense the Labour that is given to the Studier of Languages: *Ab sit enim, says he, ut tot laborum qui ad illustrandas linguas impensi sunt, non alius sit fructus nisi ut tantum dici possit, hujus & illius vocis hanc videri significationem esse, non vero certo possumus affirmare, hanc & non illam esse.* This is much more commodious for those who love to decide, than to follow the manners of ancient Rome, where Judges only pronounc'd their Sentence in a *Videtur*, It seemeth good to us, and the Witnesses who swore to relate what they had seen with their Eyes, speak not but an *Arbitror, I believe.*

Dr. Sprat's History of the Royal Society. Printed at London 1667. in 4°.

THe Author Dedicates it to King Charles the second, who indeed was the fittest Patron, for he encouraged the Noble Design of this Society by his own Personal Example.

The Treatise it self, which is writ in an admirable Style, and very agreeable to the Modesty of the Author, is compos'd in three Parts. The first gives a brief Account of the Ancient and Modern Philosophy, and shows that we owe the Original of all Science to the Eastern Parts of the World; bringing for Example the Noble Endeavours after it by the *Chaldeans, Egyptians, Arabians* and *Romans*; the Revivers of the Ancient Sects, and an Account of the Moderns in particular, with the Authors of each Subject; so that by this method he has observed the Excellencies and Defects of all our Predecessors, and given us hopes of what may be expected from this New experimental Method.

The second contains the Narration it self; in which the Dr. (having seen their Journals) gives an Account of their first Meetings, their Encouragements, with the particulars of their Society as to their Aim, Ability and Number, the way of proceeding by Weekly Assemblies; the Method of their Enquiries, their Registring every Subject under its proper Head; the Progress they have made from their first beginning. Thus being well established, and having pass'd all difficulties, the Author does not doubt but all ingenious Persons will be pleas'd with their Performance, since they have already given such good Proofs of it in their Method, of which by this short Specimen, the rest may be judg'd of.

Queries and Directions sent abroad.
Proposals and Recommendations made.
Relations received.
Experiments try'd.
Observations taken.
Instruments advanced or effected.
Theories propos'd.
Discourses of theirs in Manuscript or Print.
And Histories of Nature or Art.

Each of which Subjects have been very Curiously managed, with all possible Care to

discover and advance the Truth, and perhaps with much better success than their envious Detractors cou'd imagine. They are *already above * This was 700 in Number; Experiments in *Ar.* 1667. and Observations together, more than 350; Relations 150; Queries, Directions, Recommendations and Proposals, above 80; Instruments 60; Relations both Artificial and Natural more than 50; Theories and Discourses as many: And our Author gave us this Account, when the Society was but little more than just begun; therefore what happy Discoveries may the World expect from such a Body of Ingenious and Noble Undertakers.

After which he describes the Library and Repository, that the Liberality of two of their Members bestowed upon them; and adds some Examples of their Experiments, and whatsoever they have engaged in. The Dr. concludes, that if this shall not satisfy any Cavillers, they are not worth the refuting, since nothing would please them (if the search after Nature is not sufficient) but Proposing to solve such Chimera's as the *Philosophers Stone, Squaring the Circle, &c.* which is only an Argument of the Vanity of such Persons Expectations.

The Third Part declares both the Innocency and Benefit of this Design, on the Account of all Professions, and especially of Religion it self. The Promoting of Experiments according to their Method, will be so far from injuring Education, or the least disadvantage to the Universities, that it will introduce many profitable things in the stead of such as are no way advantageous to Youth, and may be laid aside without prejudicing any one whatsoever; it being evidently the most profitable to secure Truth by Experiment, and the least danger of ever being deceived; whereas other Methods make us more fit for Wrangling and Disputation, than the finding out things as they are in their own Nature, the Theory being always too much, except the Practick were more observed; the speculative Man always pursuing Airy Notions, whilst he that Experiments is certain of finding the Truth.

THE

Apostolici, or the History of the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of those who were Contemporary with, or immediately succeeded the Apostles, and of the Chief Fathers of the Church of the three first Ages; to which is added, a Chronology from the Birth of Jesus Christ unto the end of the Third Century; by William Cave Doctor of Divinity, and Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. The Third Edition Corrected. At London in 1687. Fol. Pag. 335.

Dr. Cave's History contains an Account of the Chief Fathers of the three first Ages, with Remarks on their Writings, distinguishing with Care those that have been Supposititious from the true. These are their Names.

1. St. Stephen, the first Martyr.
2. St. Philip, Deacon and Evangelist.
3. St. Barnabas, an Apostle.
4. St. Timothy, Apostle and Evangelist.
5. St. Titus, Bishop of Candia.
6. St. Denis, the Areopagite.
7. St. Clement, Bishop of Rome.
8. St. Simeon, Bishop of Jerusalem.
9. St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch.
10. St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna.
11. St. Quadratus, Bishop of Athens.
12. St. Justin, Martyr.
13. St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons.
14. St. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch.
15. St. Melito, Bishop of Sardis.
16. St. Panten, Catechist of Alexandria.
17. St. Clement, of Alexandria.
18. Tertullian, Presbyter of Carthage.
19. Origen, Presbyter and Catechist of Alexandria.
20. St. Babylas, Bishop of Antioch.
21. St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.
22. St. Gregory, Bishop of Neocesaria.
23. St. Denys, Bishop of Alexandria.

I shall not undertake to give an Abridgment of each of these Lives; yet that the Reader may in some manner judge of the Usefulness of this Work, I have made choice of Three, to give an exact Extract thereof, viz. St. Stephen, St. Justin Martyr, and that of Origen: Wherein may be seen a perfect Sample of the History of the three first Ages, the Author having added to that of these Fathers, an Account of the Events, Opinions and Customs of those Times.

Before I enter upon the Work, I must advertise the Reader of a long Introduction at the beginning of it, where from the Birth of Jesus Christ is an Abridgment of the History of the Ages wherein these Fathers lived. This Book is divided into Three Parts, The first containing the Life of our Saviour, while on the Earth; the second that of the Apostles, and the third the Preservation and Growth of the Christian Religion from their Deaths, until the time of Constantine.

In the Life of Jesus Christ, a Letter is made mention of from Achar King of Edessa to our Lord, and the Answer that this Prince received from him, (as Eusebius

relates.) is not contradictory to those pieces which have had the Reputation of Authentick. There can nothing very solid be opposed to this, except the Silence of the Evangelists, who have not spoke of it in the short Account they have given us of the Life of Christ; though perhaps the Reason that Eusebius was the Person that first takes notice of it, might be this, that these Letters lying in the hands of the Arch-bishop of Edessa, were not come to the knowledge of the Greeks, because they were written in Syriac, and that Eusebius first Published them in the Greek. He cites also other Pieces that many Learned Men have censured as Counterfeit, among which are the Acts of Pilate, from whence Tertullian hath taken what he saith in his Apologetic, touching I know not what Design of Tiberius to put Jesus Christ into the Number of the Roman Deities. See what Mr. Le Ferriere saith of this History in his Epistles.

Dr. Cave makes no long stay on the Preaching of the Apostles; but passing to the Third Part, he there considers first, the Progress that the Christian Religion hath made in the World, after the Apostles time; secondly, What contributed to so great and swift a Growth as that of Christianity, in spite of all the Persecutions that it suffered; and then gives a brief History of them. Of which, according to the common Opinion, he reckons up Ten, and he advances many other things that the Learned have contested about, as the silence of the Oracles, &c. It is not long since the Ingenious Dodwell made it appear, that the number of these Persecutions was very dubious, and that an Author of the United Provinces shews there was no certainty in the Reason that was generally given for the pretended silence of the Hea-then Oracles.

1. Without rehearsing what all the World knows of Saint Stephen by reading the Acts of the Apostles, he tells us ancient History teacheth nothing certain of the Extraction, Place, Birth nor Life of this first Martyr. * Baronius maintains, as he says, upon the Authority of Lucian Presbyter of Jerusalem, who lived about the beginning of the Fifth Age, that Saint Stephen was a Disciple of Gamaliel as well as Saint Paul, who became his Enemy after he was Converted to Christianity. But Dr. Cave saith he found nothing like it in this Letter.

† Others say he was one of the Seventy Disciples. Be it as it will, he was certainly one of the Seven first Deacons, that the Apostles Establish'd in the Christian Church, and who were supposed to have been all Greeks by Nation, but of the Jewish Religion. As Nicholas, one of them, being a Profelyte of Antioch, 'twas thought all the rest might be Profelytes of Jerusalem.

The Apostles being employ'd about things of greater Importance, were obliged

ged to remit to other Persons the Care of *Serving the Tables*, which was to make it their business to relieve the Poor, and buy sufficient Provisions to refresh them; this they called *Agapes*; to manage the Treasure of the Church, and to distribute to each according to his Necessity. The Office of *Deacon* answers very well to the Signification this word hath in the Heathen Authors, where *Διδων* signifies a Servant, whose place it was to wait on Guests at the Table, or a kind of *Carver*.

Dr. *Cave* believes that the Charge of *Deacon* extended much farther, and that when the Eucharist was celebrated in these *Agapes*, the Deacons were employed to distribute it. As was practised in the Christian Church in *Justin Martyr's* time, which his second Apology sufficiently testifies, where he says, the Deacons distributed the Bread and Wine to the Assembly, after it had been consecrated by the President. Besides which, they Preach'd, Baptiz'd and Absolv'd Penitents, especially when they were empower'd by the Bishop.

The Apostles establish'd but seven Deacons; the reason is apparent, without seeking for Mysteries, 'twas because that number was sufficient. Nevertheless the Fathers of the Council of ** Neocæsaria* ordained there should never be more than seven Deacons in one City, founding their Canon on this Practice of the Apostles. *† Lib. c. 13.* *† Sozomen* tells us also, That in his time there was no more at *Rome*, altho' in other Churches they observed not this Rule.

These Deacons made by the Apostles met with violent Opposition, in performing their Office, from one or other of the Synagogues, whereof, if the *Rabbins* are to be credited, there was at *Jerusalem* to the number of 480, besides Colleges, in which, Dr. *Cave* believes, young Persons were instructed in the Law. *St. Stephen* was first set upon by those of the Synagogue of the *Libertins*, *Alexandrians*, the *Cyrenians* of *Cilicia* and of *Asia*, on whom the Author makes some Remarks, and particularly upon the first. To understand who these *Libertins* were, 'tis necessary to know, that *Pompey* having subdued *Judea*, brought from thence a great number of Slaves to *Rome*; and the Governors of *Syria* and *Judea*, who succeeded *Pompey*, did the like; there was so many of them, when the Jews sent Ambassadors to *Augustus*, that *Josephus* says there was near eight thousand of their own Nation that joyned themselves to them: They continued in that Slavish Condition, till by degrees they were all made Free; which happened in the time of *Tiberius*, who permitted them to live a little beyond the *Tyber*, as *Philo* informs us. Among these Jews were without doubt no small number of *Libertins*, or Free-men, who had their *Proseuques*, or Chappels, where they assembled together to pay their

Devotions. Every Year they sent a Summ of Money to *Jerusalem*, instead of first Fruits, and deputed some among them to offer Sacrifices in the name of the rest. ** Tacitus and Suetonius * Ann. lib. report, That afterwards the 11. c. 85. Senate sent to Sardina four thousand young Men of the Jewish Nation, that were Free, to clear that Isle of the Thieves that were very Incommodious to it. Tacitus likewise says, That all the other Jews and Profelites were banished from Rome, and even Italy it self. Dr. Cave supposes, many of these Enfranchised Jews took occasion from thence to return to Jerusalem, and established a Synagogue there, which was call'd, The Synagogue of the Libertins. Of the Members of this Society 'tis, that St. Luke speaks, when amongst those that were at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, he says, There were Strangers from Rome, Jews and Profelites.*

The Violence of these Men was so great, that they run upon *St. Stephen* to Stone him, without observing the accusom'd Formalities in the like cases, * if what the *Rabbins* report thereof is true. ** Thalm. in As thus, when they brought the Sancheor. Delinquent to the place of Punishment, a Man stood at the Door of the Sanhedrin with a Handkerchief in his Hand, which he waved to an fro, that some one might undertake to speak in Favour of the Criminal, and by this sign to advertise a Man on Horse-back, which was at some distance, to ride full speed to bring back the accused Person, and defer his Punishment, till they had heard all that could be said in his Favour. Sometimes he was brought back four or five times, if he said he had any thing to represent to his Judges in defence of himself. But as the Laws of the Thalmud often much resemble those of Plato, it is no small Difficulty to found any thing thereon. It seems the People sometimes stoned those that were accused, without staying for any Sentence or Order of the Judges, * accord- * Ovid. in ing to the Custom of the Romans. Nuce.*

*Obruere ista solet manifestos pœna nocentes,
Publica cum longas non habet ira moras.*

Whether it was so or no, they observed no Formalities towards *St. Stephen*, except the Witnesses, according to the Law, *Deut. 17. 7. The hands of the Witnesses shall be first upon him, to put him to death, and afterwards the hands of all the People.* The Law most wisely established this, That provided he that was put to Death was Innocent, the Witnesses who were the cause of his Condemnation, were only guilty of his Death, since he was kill'd by them before the rest of the People cast any Stones against him.

Some say the Martyrdom of *St. Stephen* was three Years after the Death of *Jesus Christ*: *Eusebius* supposed it to be a little after his Ordination; and the *Excerpta Chronologica* published by *Scaliger*, places his Death

Death at the end of the eighth Month, after the Ascension of our Lord. *Lucian* the Presbyter saith, *St. Stephen* was Stoned in the North of *Jerusalem*, at the side of the Brook *Cedron*, a little without the Gate that hath since been called the Gate of *St. Stephen*, and formerly according to some, the Gate of *Ephraim*, after others the Gate of the Valley, or the Gate of the Fish: Some Travellers to the Holy-land tell us, that they have seen the place where *St. Paul* kept the Garments of those that Stoned this Martyr. The Empress *Eudocia* had formerly caused to be built near this place a Temple, which bore the name of *St. Stephen*. And as those who are curious after the Search of Relicks, never fail to find what they please, so they have discovered not only the place where *St. Stephen* was stoned, but also the very Stone that he kneel'd upon, which was afterwards carried to Mount *Sion*, and placed in the Church that was built in Honor of the Apostles. *Baronius* also relates, That some devout Persons kept one of the Stones with which *St. Stephen* had been stoned, and that it is still to be seen in the Treasury of *Ancona*.

I shall rehearse these things as *Dr. Cave* has done, without refuting of them, tho' he says enough to testify he does not give Credit thereto. He yet reports other Circumstances drawn from *Lucian's* Epistle, and from the *Memology* of the Greeks, which I shall not repeat, lest it should favour too much of the Legend; and only relate what *Lucian* Presbyter of *Caphargamala* in the Diocese of *Jerusalem*, saith, that in the 415th Year of our Saviour, that *Gamaliel*, formerly Lord of that City, after being converted from the Jewish to the Christian Religion, had revealed to him in a Vision, that *St. Stephen* was buried there. The Bishop of *Jerusalem*, thus advertised by *Lucian*, made these Relicks be taken up, and carried to Mount *Sion*, from whence they were sent to *Constantinople*, as *Nicophorus* informs us, who hath been very diligent to relate all Histories of this Nature.

With a great deal of Reason *Dr. Cave* observes, that excessive Veneration to Relicks was one of the Defects of that time, by consequence one cannot much confide in these sort of Histories. He brings another out of * *Baronius*, not less Marvelous than the precedent. 'Tis thus, that a Viol full of the Blood of *St. Stephen*, brought to *Naples* by one *Gaudois* an African Bishop, used to boyl of it self every third of *August*, according to the account of Ancient time, as if it had been just shed. But since that Pope *Gregory XIII.* having corrected the Calender, this Blood doth the same at the end of the thirteenth of *August*, in which day, after the new Reformation, the Feast of *St. Stephen* is kept; a manifest Proof, say they, that the Gregorian Calender is received in Heaven, altho' in some Countries Hereticks have refused to follow it.

* Annot. in
Mart. Rom.
ad Aug. 3.

The Author adds not so much Faith to Modern Miracles, as to those who did them, and to what is spoken of in the time of *Honorius*. It seems not Irrational to believe, that there was a great number of Sick Persons, who were cured by the admirable Odour that proceeded from *St. Stephen's* Tomb the first time it was opened, if we may give credit to *Lucian* and *Photius*. But he relies more on what *St. Augustine* says in his *City of God*, Liv. 22. c. 8. of Miracles done in a Chappel where some of *St. Stephen's* Relicks were kept, carried from *Jerusalem* into *Africa* by *Orosius*. *Dr. Cave* believes God might do Miracles then, to convert the Heathens which were in great Numbers amongst the Christians in those days; where altho' there was no necessity of them, yet he could not tell what might be done. The Author of the *Logick* of the * *Port Royal*, speaking of * 4 p. c. 13. the same Miracles, maintains, that all men of Sense, whether they had Piety or not, must acknowledge them as true. But one of a good Understanding, and Pious too, could not well think, that *St. Augustine* should suffer himself to be deceived in things of that nature, and upon slight ground would take that for a Miracle which was not so, or that he made use of them as proper means to convert the Heathens, without examining whether they were Matter of Fact or not; it is very certain that he relates them with great Assurance; and at this day apparent Falshoods are advanced with no less Confidence: Tho' this is not a place to examine the Miracles of *St. Augustine*: 'Twill be more to our purpose to pass to the Life of *Justin Martyr*; * Who was born in a City of *Samaria*, formerly called *Sichem*, * P. 140. afterwards by the Inhabitants *Mabarta*; and in fine by the Romans *Neapolis* and *Flavia Cesarea*, because of a Colony sent thither by *Vespasian*. His Father, whose Name was *Priscus*, brought him up in his own Religion, and took a great deal of care to have him well instructed in Philosophy. He engaged himself particularly to that of *Plato*, which was a means, as he himself has declared, of his embracing Christianity. Having conceived a dislike against the other Sects of Philosophers, he becomes a perfect Platonist, and from that a Christian, after he had some Conference with an Old Man of that Persuasion in *Palestine*. He gives an account of his Conversion in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*, but the Learned receive this as a feigned History, or at least look upon it to be extremely imbelish'd. *Dr. Cave* believes it to have been about the 132d Year after our Lord.

Nevertheless he quitted not his Habit of Philosopher, for amongst the Greeks, they were not attired like other Men. *St. Jerom* says the same of *Aristides* an Athenian Philosopher, and *Origen* of *Heraclius*, who was since Bishop of *Alexandria*. The common

* Exorat. 71.
Dion. Cris.
πρεσβυτε-
ρας.

common People generally wore a single Tunick without a Cloak; those that were of a better Quality, or Richer, had always a Cloak besides; which the Philosophers had also, but no Tunick, so that they were half naked. Besides which they suffered both their Beard and Hair to grow. This Dress, with their particular manner of Carriage, drew many Children after them, and exposed them to their Ridicule: Yet for all the apparent Severity, they were very debauched; as they walked the Streets this Asperision was often cast upon them, especially when out of Greece, ἡμετέροις ἐμπόροις, *Grec imposteur*. Their Garments were generally black and dirty, and if any one was seen to affect the same Slovenliness, he was certain to have the same Reproaches rendered him, as St. Jerome makes appear in his Epistle to Marcellus, upon the Infirmary of Blasill. The Christian Monks with their habits inheriting the Vanity of the Philosophers also, it is believed by some Authors, that the Heathens called them through Contempt μελανέων εντας,

* Liban. in
Orat. de
Templo.

Black Casacks, and said * they were no mark of Virtue; so that it was but wearing a Mourning Dress; and that it imported not what they appeared outwardly, since

† Eunap. in
vita. Acdesii.

† there was nothing but excessive Vanity within. Now to return to *Justin*, Antiquity assures us he lived very conformably to the habit he wore. He went to Rome in the beginning of the Reign of *Antonine* the Pious, and fixt his Abode there; applying himself to the defence of the Christian Religion against the Heathens, *Marcionites*, and other Hereticks, in pursuit of which, he writ several Books that have been lost. About the hundred and fortieth Year of the Blessed Jesus, he Presented to *Antonine* his Apology for the Christian Religion: Which seemed to be the Cause that the Emperor publish'd an Edict, and sent into all *Asia*, commanding that the Christians should be proceeded against according to the ordinary Forms of Justice; whereas before they took away their Goods, banished them, and sometimes put them to death without any Formalities at all. In Dr. Cave there are some critical Observations on the date of this Edict, by which he plainly proves that it was *Antonine's* and not *Marcus Aurelius's*, as some Learned Men have supposed.

After having Publish'd this Apology, *Justin* makes a Voyage into *Asia*, where he came acquainted with *Trypho* the Jew, which Dr. Cave believes to be *R. Tarpho*, who was Friend to *R. Akiba*, that is so often spoke of in the *Thalmud*. *Trypho* had retired from *Judea*, after the War of *Barchocheas*, and *Justin* finding him at *Ephesus* disputed with him for two days, of which he gives an account to the Publick, in a Book Entitled, *A Dialogue with Trypho*.

From thence returning to Rome, he

composed that Apology which is called the First, tho it was really the Second, and Presented it to *Marcus Aurelius*, *Lucius Verus*, for a certainty not being at that time at Rome. *Justin* had great Contests also, with one *Crescens* a Cynic Philosopher, who under the pretended Austerities of a Philosophical Life, concealed many shameful Disorders: Wherefore *Justin* calls him a Philosopher and no Philosopher φιλοσοφον & φιλοσοφον. This Man enraged against *Justin* resolved to do his utmost to ruin him; he found it not difficult to make use of the excessive Superstition of *Marcus Aurelius* to that end, who had also a very ill Opinion of the Christians, as is evident by these words of his Book 11. §. 3. Such is the Disposition of the Soul, that it must be separated from the Body, whether it be extinguish'd and dissipated like a Vapour, or whether it Subsists. This Disposition must proceed from its own Judgment, not from a Passion purely which troubles it, as is often seen in the Christians, but from a calm and solid Reasoning; such as may be inspired to another without making use of Discourses full of Figures and Exaggerations.

The Circumstances of *Justin's* Death, may be seen in the Account of his Martyrdom, * which Dr. Cave believes to be true: Their shortness, he says, being no little sign, that they have been taken from ancient Memoirs, without being corrected, and added to in latter Ages, as many things of the like nature have been. It is true, that some have doubted whether those Acts contained the Martyrdom of *Justin* according to matter of Fact; but their Suspicion seems not to be well grounded, because there is nothing but what agrees very well with it, especially the Time and Death of this Martyr, which was when *Rusticus* was Praefect of Rome, as St. *Epiphanus* confirms.

Rusticus was a great Man both in the Wars and State, very much enclined to Philosophy, and particularly that of the Stoicks. He had been Governor to *Marcus Aurelius*, as may be seen in the First Book of this Emperor, where are the chief Lessons that he learnt of him. Before this *Rusticus*, *Justin* and Six other Christians were brought, after they had been first put in Prison. He asked them if they were Christians, they all freely confessing it publickly, and refusing to Sacrifice to the Roman Deities, were Beheaded. *Baronius* concludes it to be in the 165th. Year after Christ, as agrees very well with the *Alexandrian Chronology*, that faith, a little after *Justin* had presented his second Apology to the Emperor, he received the Crown of Martyrdom.

Dr. Cave after the Relation of *Justin's* Death, gives a Character of his Virtues and Learning, in the * manner of a Panegyric, as he does to * P. 152. all the Lives he has Written, where, all along he mingles Eloquence with

* Ap. sur. ad. 12.
Fun. & Baron.
ad Ann. 165. n.
2. & seq.

with the Critical part of his History. He tells us, that although Ancients have extremely praised the Learning of *Justin*, this Holy Man had no knowledge of the Hebrew, as appears by the Etymology he

gives of the word * *Satanas*, * *Dial. cum*. which he saith comes from *Tryph. p. 331*. *Sata*, and from *Nas*, that in Hebrew and Syriac signifie an Apostat: Whereas 'tis known that the Termination in *AS*, is from the Greek, and is added to the word *Satan*, which signifies in Hebrew, an Enemy. The Etymology that *Justin* gave to this word, without doubt made *Trypho* Laugh; this shews that some Moderns have not been very well acquainted with the Writings of our Martyr, because that a false Etymology of the word *Osanna*, being found in his Book entitled, *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, They have concluded it to be none of *Justin's*, who according to them understood Hebrew very well, because he was born in Palestine. Mr. Rivet †

Lib. 2. also gives this Reason in his cap. 5. Book Entitled, *Criticus Sacer*, from whence *Sandius* hath taken it, and added to this Treatise *de Scrip- toribus Ecclesiasticis*, which consists almost of nothing else, but what others that have treated of the same matter have said before him. † Dr. Cave informs

† P. 153. us, that this Author who pretended to have read the Writings of the Ancients, his Citations of which favour infinitely more of Ostentation, than Judgment or Fidelity; hath sufficiently declared his Ignorance in what relates to the Fathers, with whom he has pretended to be so well acquainted, when he made that Remark on *Justin*. Though Dr. Cave does not look upon this Work as his, but rejects it for other Reasons, as well as many other that have been attributed to him.

Mr. Rivet perhaps might be deceived by a popular Prejudice that's received in favour of these Martyrs, who have always been lookt upon as Men of great Understandings; Supposing he could not Praise their Piety, without having a good Opinion of their Learning. 'Twas this made

* *Photius* guilty of the same, * *Cod. 135*. who is else a very Judicious Critic, and say that *Justin* was come to the highest Perfection of the Heathen, and particularly of the Christian Philosophy; that he had a very great knowledge in all Learning, especially in History. Whereas we are assur'd on the contrary, that he was no good Historian, as appears by many gross Faults that he hath committed. 1. In his *Exhortation to the People*, he makes *Herod* contemporary with *Ptolomy Philadelpha*, in speaking of the Seventy two Interpreters which he had seen in some of the Monks Apartments at Alexandria. 2. He Cites *Hystaspes* and the Oracles of the Sybils against the Heathens, which made them ridicule him, as *Blondal*

shews in his first Book of the Sybils, c. 2. where he hath Collected divers Contempts of this Holy Man. 3. Such another he made at Rome, taking an Inscription writ in honour to an old Deity of the Sabins, call'd *Semo Sangus*, to have been done in favour of *Simon* the Magician. The Inscription is now at Rome, being dug up the beginning of this last Age in the very same place that *Justin* said it was, *Nella isola del Terere*. 'Tis true, St. Irenæus and Tertullian have committed the same mistake, as many Learned Men have observed, and amongst the rest *Didier Herault*, in his Commentary on the *Apologetic* of Tertullian. But 'tis never the more excusable for that, as the Author proves which we have just cited, and who * judiciously observes, that the Christians in those Times, * P. 77. drew all Advantages possible, from the Actions, Words and Writings of the Heathens, which they often in favour of themselves interpreted contrary to the Opinion of the Author: *Omnia Gentium facta, dicta, scripta ita interpretabantur tunc temporis Christiani, ut ea omnia proposito suo accommodarent, aliquando contra Gentium mentem*.

But to return to our Author, although he hath very much praised *Justin* Martyr, he Remarks some Doctrins that he found in his Writings, which are not Conformable to those commonly received, and especially at this time.

1. He believed that *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, and other Virtuous Heathens may have been Saved, and to maintain this Opinion, says they were in some manner Christians, because they have in part known the Reason *Λόγος*, and have exhorted Men to live conformably to this Reason. Which Sentiment was founded upon one of the Platonicks, that says the Supreme God had before the Creation produced a Being, they called *Λόγος*, who stood between God and the Creatures, by whom he Created the World, and all rational Beings, which are such no farther than they participate of this Reason. Some of the first Fathers who were Platonicks, as *Justin*, *Origen*, and many others, have believed the *Λόγος* of which *Plato* speaks, was nothing else but the Reason or the Word. (for it signifies both,) that is mentioned in the first Chapter of St. John; so that *Justin* had reason to say the Ancients who spoke of the *Λόγος* knew Jesus Christ in part, and by Consequence might be Saved. St. Origen in a place that Dr. Cave hath cited, speaks after this manner: †

As he that is God over all things is call'd The God, (& Θεός) and not simply God; So even the Source of Reason that resides in each rational Being is call'd The Reason (& Λόγος) whereas that cannot properly be called so, that is in every rational Being, this Name belonging only to the first Reason. There is the same Relation between Reason which is in each rational Being, and the Reason that was in the

† P. 46. & 47. Ed. Huet. com. in Joan. T. 1.

begin-

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beginning from the Supreme God, as there is between the Reason and the Supreme God. For the same Agreement that is between God the Father, God himself, the true God, (*αὐτὸς θεὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς*) and between his Image and the Images of this Image, between the Reason it self, and that which is in every one of us: Both is as the Source, the Father of the Divinity, the Son of the Reason: Hence 'tis not said that Man is the Image of God, but that he is made after his Image.

If these words were taken to the utmost Rigour, it would be very difficult to distinguish this Opinion of St. Origen, and that of many other Ancients, from the Arians, whom they have been accused of favouring. For it may plainly be proved, that the *Logos* of the Platonicks according to these Philosophers is of a different kind from that of the Supreme God.

2. The second Error in his Writings, is the Reign of a thousand Years. He believed that after the Resurrection, Jesus Christ should come again in a visible manner, with the Patriarchs and Prophets into Jerusalem, which should be then rebuilt much more magnificent than before. Many of the Primitive Fathers were of this Opinion also, as Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, Nepos, Apollinaris, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius, and many others.

3. He believed the Souls of the Fathers of the Old Testament were before the coming of Jesus Christ in some manner under the Power of the Devil, and that since Jesus Christ the Souls of the Righteous ascended not to Heaven immediately after their Death, nor were received there till the Resurrection. Nevertheless they continued *ἐν ἀποκρίσει καὶ χάριτι* in an agreeable Place; even so the Souls of the Wicked are, where they are as much displeased with their Habitation, still expecting the day of Judgment.

* *Justin* repeats the same to confute some Hereticks, who denied the Resurrection, in supposing the Soul was received into Heaven immediately after Death. 'Tis not his Opinion alone, almost all the Ancient Fathers have said as much, among which St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, St. Hilary, Prudence, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine, &c. They have very agreeably described this Place which received the Souls of Good Men, under the Names of Paradise, and the Bosom of Abraham, which some of them have supposed in the midst of the Earth.

St. *Justin* had not a less number of Fathers on his side, in another point as visibly absurd. That the Angels, to whom, before the Deluge, God had given dominion over the Earth, becoming enamour'd with the Daughters of Men, marry'd with them, and so fell from the Excellency of their Nature.

4. I could also, says Dr. Cave, insist up-

on what some have so often repeated in our Martyr; which is, that he hath very much exalted the Free Will of Man, an Opinion that was generally received by the Fathers of the first Ages, before the Pelagian Controversies entred into the World; though the necessity of Grace has been acknowledged by many, as our Author proves from divers passages of St. *Justin*, St. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and even of Origen himself. Dr. Cave ends this Life, with an Observation, that he passes by many other speculative Notions in our Martyr, which are not Conformable to the Truth; and the occasion of them seems to be the great esteem he had for the Platonic Philosophy, endeavouring as much as possibly he could to make it agree with the Christian Religion.

By this 'tis plainly seen that Speculative Errors are not wholly inconsistent with true Piety, and that the most solid Virtue is not able to render a Man infallible, nor give him a Right to decide Controversies. These Remarks sufficiently testify one cannot take those Praises, that are sometimes given to the Ancients a little too profusely, as an absolute sign all their Opinions are approved on; since Dr. Cave, after he had very much praised the holy Martyr, relates divers Errors he was guilty of. 'Tis apparent by this how we must also understand the praises Mr. Du Pin hath given him in his Ecclesiastical Bibliothique, p. 169. where he says, He to Admiration understood the Holy Scripture, and Prophecies therein contained, had a perfect knowledge of our Religion; So that there was hardly one of the Ancients spoke more exactly of all our Mysteries than he has done.

There is not the least Reason to think Dr. Cave or Mr. Du Pin, approved this Thought of St. *Justin*, which nevertheless they have neither of them placed amongst the Errors of this Father. That although we should acknowledge Jesus Christ to be simply but a Man, born after the same manner as others are, might nevertheless be proved that he is the Messiah:

† It follows not, says he, in his Dialogue with Trypho, that Jesus is not the Christ of God, though I could not demonstrate his Existence before the beginning of the World, as Son of the Creator of all things, and as God, and that he is born Man of a Virgin, &c. It may only be said that I am mistaken, but it must not be denied that he was the Christ, although he was believed to be Man, born of Men, and that he is become the Christ by the Choice that God hath made of him: For there are some of our Religion, that in making a Profession, do believe that he is the Christ, maintain that he is Man, born of Men: However I am not of their Opinion, no more than the most part of the Christians, &c.

5. Origen was born at Alexandria, about the One hundred eighty sixth Year of our

Lord.

Lord. His Father, whose name was *Leonidas*, suffered Martyrdom in the Two hundred and second Year, after he had taken much care in the Education of his Son, whom he himself instructed in Learning and Religion. *Origen* from his Childhood was excessively Curious, and often tired his Father, in proposing too many Questions to him upon the Sacred Writ. As soon as he was advanced a little in Years, he studied under *Clement* Catechist of *Alexandria*, and afterwards under *Ammonius*, who had set up a new School of Philosophy, where he taught the Opinions of *Plato*, and those of *Aristotle*, as he believed reconcilable together. They called him *Ammonius Saccas*, because that before he applied himself to Philosophy, he had been a Porter, and gain'd his Livelihood by carrying Sacks of Corn. *Porphyry* saith he renounced Christianity, to embrace the Pagan Religion; but *Dr. Cave* makes it appear he was deceived in that, as well as when he said *Origen* was born a Heathen. *Ammonius* was so much esteemed amongst the Pagans themselves, that *Hierocles* calls him * *Origen* taught of God, and that *Plotin*, who could find no Satisfaction in other Schools, engaged himself with much Application to that of *Ammonius*. *Origen* learned the Platonick Philosophy under him, at the same time with *Plotin*.

Our Author observes here, that we must take care not to confound a Heathen Philosopher call'd *Origen*, with him whereof we are speaking. *Porphyry*, *Hierocles*, *Proclus* and *Eunapius* have made mention of the first with much Honor; and *Eunapius* saith, he was a Disciple of *Porphyry*, not at *Alexandria* under *Ammonius*, but at *Rome* in the School of *Plotin*. *Porphyry* had often seen our *Origen* at *Tyre*, but he was not his Fellow-Pupil, being much younger than he. *Lucas Holstenius* * wonders at the reason, that he did not say, *Porphyry* studied with *Origen* Son of *Leonidas*; but he should have concluded according to *Dr. Cave*, that it was not that *Origen* he meant, but another.

The tenth Year of the Reign of *Severus*, *Leonidas* Father to *Origen* suffered Martyrdom at *Alexandria*, where he took all possible care to hinder his Son from following him to the Stake. His Mother, to no purpose, employ'd her Authority, and Tears, to dissuade him from it; she could not hinder him from hiding his Garments so Artificially, that he continued in the Lodging with them by force.

Leonidas's Goods being confiscated, *Origen* had in an instant been reduced to great Misery, without the Charity of a Lady of Quality at *Alexandria*, who entertained him with many others, amongst whom was *Paul* of *Samosatenus* afterwards Famous for his Heresie. But *Origen* lived not long at the Expence of this illustrious Lady. He opened a School where he taught Lite-

rature, which gave him an Opportunity to become much more Learned himself, in instructing others. By which he acquired so great a Reputation, that at eighteen Years of Age, he was chose a Collegue or Successor to *Clement*, under whom he had studied: That he drew so great a Number of Auditors, he was soon obliged to leave off teaching his School, and apply himself entirely to the Instruction of the Catechumens, to whom he taught the Principles of Christianity. He was so happy in this Employ, that many of those he had instructed gain'd the Crown of Martyrdom; among which was *Plutarch*, *Serenus*, *Heraculus*, *Heron* and *Herais*, who, in spite of the Weakness of her Sex, died as constantly as any of the four Men I have named. During the Fury of these Persecutions, *Origen*, not content only to teach the Catechumens, visited those also that were put in Prison, accompanying them to the place of Execution, endangering his Life a thousand times, during the Government of *Letus* and *Aquila*, who were one after the other Governors of *Egypt*.

'Twas about that time, *Origen* did an Action, for which he was as much esteem'd by some, as blamed by others. Being unwilling to encumber himself with Matrimony, and finding he was of an unfit Temperament to preserve himself Chaste in a single Life, or it may be to shun the Suspicion of the Heathens, he resolv'd to take an effectual way to suppress all Youthful Desires. Some say he made use of the Application of some Remedies, and † others of a Knife. He thought himself Authoriz'd in it, from these words of Jesus Christ, That some make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven; which he believed ought to be understood in the Letter of the word. He was not the first that had designed the same, tho' perhaps he was that executed it. * *Justin Martyr* tells us of a young Man of *Alexandria*, that being brought before *Felix* Governor of that City, desired of him the Permission of a Surgeon, that he might put himself out of the State of ever being suspected of any Impurity. *Felix* refused, because the Roman Laws forbid it, as the Canons of the Church have done since. *Justin* related this, to shew those that accused the Christians of committing horrible Uncleanneſs in their Assemblies, were only Calumniators. *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, highly admired this Action of *Origen*, when first done, but afterwards becoming an Enemy to this great Man, it pass'd with him for an enormous Crime. *Origen* was so ill treated for it, that it is difficult to determine, whether this unkind Usage was not the cause, when he was advanced a little in Years, that he interpreted the words of Jesus Christ in

a figurative manner, and condemn'd those who had any way mutilated themselves.

The Emperor Severus, Persecutor of the Christians, dying the 211th Year of our Lord, Origen made a Voyage to Rome, a place he had always desired to see, but continued not there long, Demetrius recalling him, and obliging him to take again his Employ of Catechist. This Charge being too great for one, he joyned with himself one Heraclas who had been his Disciple, and bestowed his leisure Hours in Learning the Hebrew Tongue; for which he was so much the more to be praised, as he was the first amongst the Greeks that had dared to engage in so difficult a Work, and for which there was then so little help. It is supposed that his Master was one Huillus a Jew, Patriarch of those of his own Nation.

Origen had always a great Number of Disciples, that he instructed in Humane Sciences, and in Religion; among which, one of the most Illustrious was a Man of Quality named Ambrose, with whom he studied the Scripture with an extraordinary Application during many Years: Whilst he was in this Occupation, Demetrius received Letters from the Governor of Arabia, desiring him immediately to send Origen to instruct him in the Faith of the Christians. He went thither, but soon return'd to Alexandria, from whence he was obliged as soon to depart, to escape the Fury of Caracalla, who had entred into Egypt with an Army, designing severely to punish the City of Alexandria that had offended him. Origen retired to Cesarea in the Palestine, where whilst he was yet but a Laick, the Bishop desired him publicly to expound the Holy Scripture to the People. But Demetrius caused him soon to return to Alexandria, after having complained to Theodotus Bishop of Cesarea, and to Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem, that they had conferred on him an Employ that was never before given to a Laick, altho' these two Bishops produced to him many undoubted Examples thereof. They assure us, that Mammea, Mother to the Emperor Alexander Severus, being at Antioch, and having heard of Origen, sent often for him, and had many Conferences with him concerning Religion.

Being returned to Alexandria, he applied himself, at the Persuasion of his dear Ambrose, to compose Commentaries on the Scripture; in the Prosecution of which, he generally maintain'd seven Copyists, that in Latin are call'd *Notarii*, from *Nota*, to *Mark*, because they wrote in Cyphers as fast as Persons spoke. Who invented this manner of Writing is not certainly known; some attribute it to Cuius, others to Tyro the Freed Man of Cicero, and some again to one Aquila, a Freed Man of Mecenas. These Notaries were made use of in the Primitive Church, to write the Discourses of the Martyrs, both in Prison and upon

the Scaffold, as appears by what

* Tertullian and St Cyprian † faith, on the *Fasts of the Church*, and by Pontius the Deacon in the Life of St. Cyprian, where he assures us that it was the Custom to Register all the Acts of the Martyrs: By which may be seen, how the Interrogations and Answers of the Martyrs were preserved, the Debates held in Councils, and the Homilies spoken *Extempore*, whereof we have so great a Number, and all compleat. The Commentaries of Origen were so much esteemed, altho' they had much defamed him for his pretended Errors, that St. Jerom once a great Persecutor of his Followers, after becoming openly of their Number, said this in his Defence, That he would willingly draw on himself the same Hatred as Origen had done, to understand the Scriptures as well as he did; and that he laugh'd at those Shadows of Errors that he was accused of, which were fit only to fright Children, whose Imaginations are weak enough to receive Impressions merely from Appearances. * *Hoc unum dico, quod vellem cum invidia nominis ejus, habere etiam scientiam Scripturarum, flocci pendens imagines umbrasque larvarum, quarum natura esse dicitur, terrere parvulos & in angulis garrere tenebrosis.*

Origen was interrupted in this Work, by a Voyage he made into Greece, which was at that time troubled by some Heresies. He passed through Palestine, making a short stay at Cesarea, where Theodotus and Alexander ordained him Presbyter, without his seeking the least after it, and with no other design, than to make his Ministry more effectual. Demetrius had no sooner heard this News, but he thought he had found a fair occasion to discover a Hatred he had long conceal'd, for a Person whose Learning and Virtue had render'd him much more Illustrious than himself, thinking to cover his Malice under the handsome Pretence of defending Ecclesiastical Discipline. Then 'twas he reproach'd him with that Weakness committed in his Youth, viz. The cutting off that part of his Body which seem'd troublesome to him. He caused him to be condemned by two Synods, wherein they declared his Ordination void, and expell'd him Alexandria. But these Proceedings did no Injury to Origen, he was very well received wheresoever he went, and continued to execute his Office of Priest, without any regard at all to the Anathema's of the Synods of Egypt.

Nevertheless the Insults of his Enemies obliged him to think of quitting Alexandria for ever, and entirely to give up his Charge of Catechist to Heraclas, whom he had converted to the Christian Religion, a Man of a profound Learning and great Virtue. One thing which prevailed with Origen to take his Mind more easily off Egypt, and to depart from thence with less Regret, was as

* Epi.

* De coron.

c. 13.

† Ep. 37. ad cler. Carth.

* Pref. quest. in Gen.

*Epiphanius tells us, his falling into the Hands of some Heathens that were his sworn Enemies, who threatned to kill him unless he would resolve to satisfy the Brutality of an Ethiopian Woman, or Sacrifice to the Pagan Gods, and that in so strange a Choice, he rather preferred casting a few Grains of Incense to a false Deity. He adds, That Origen, after this, durst no longer continue at Alexandria. But Authors that lived in the same time with him, make no mention at all of it; nor was this Crime ever objected against him during his Life, as has been sufficiently proved by the Apologies writ in his Defence. Epiphanius was the first that ever spoke of it. So that it is not altogether without reason, Ba-

*Ad Ann. romius * hath conjectured that 253. n. 123. this Passage may have been added to St. Epiphanius. Dr. Cave believes likewise, that Epiphanius hath said enough on this occasion, to make an Intelligent Reader apprehend, that he ought not to give too easie a Faith to all that he hath related. He saith he hath spoken many strange things of Origen, which he himself did not believe to be true, and that he thought good nevertheless to insert them among his Writings. Besides those who have read but little of what he hath done, saith our Author, know how much his Faith was upheld by popular Reports, and having testified so much Zeal and Anger against Origen, he took care to omit nothing that might fully or lessen his Fame. In fine, the Relation we have had of Origen's Mutilation, and the Noise that it made in the World, would not permit his Enemies to offer him that Choice before mentioned.

'Twas in the 233^d Year of our Lord, that Origen quitted Alexandria, and retired into Palestine. St. Epiphanius, to confirm his Accusation, saith, That Origen being at Jerusalem, and desired to preach, he stood up and read these words of Psalm 50. 16. And God said unto the Sinner, why speakest thou of my Righteousness, and takest my Covenant into thy Mouth: That with great Sorrow he spoke these words, and then shut up the Book, and sat down covered with Shame, and fell into a violent Passion of Tears. That there might be nothing wanting to compleat his History, he hath made a Recantation under Origen's Name, where he confesses his Sin, and testifies a lively Repentance for it; but the Misfortune is, that the Style of this piece does not agree with that of the Author, whose name is affixed to it.

Origen having set up a School at Cesarea, drew many Men thither to him, and among others Gregory Thaumaturgus and Athenodorus his Brother, who were afterwards Bishops in that See. Firmilian Bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, a Person celebrated for his Virtue and Learning, was also one of Origen's Admirers.

The 235th Year Maximinus of Thrace succeeded Alexander Severus, and with the utmost Severity treated the Christians, who had some Rest in the time of his Predecessor. This occasioned Origen to write his Book entitled, *An Exhortation to a Martyr*, which he dedicated to Ambrose, and to the chief Presbyter of Cesarea, who had then signaliz'd themselves by a Courageous Confession of the Christian Faith. Origen at this time resided with a Lady of Quality called Juliana, who furnish'd him with Books, and particularly with the Version of Symmachus, and his other Works in favour of the Ebionites.

'Twas then that Origen took pains to collect the different Translations of the Old Testament, which were publish'd before his time: Whereof he made some Famous Editions entitled, *Tetraples*, *Heptaples* and *Octaples*, which Dr. Cave explains in order, as is his general Custom, according to the Idea's of St. Epiphanius. One may see in the second Tome of the Universal Bibliotheque, Page 407. the Disposition of this Work, according to the thought of Mr. de Valois, and Mr. Vossius, to the end that we may compare what these Gentlemen say thereof, with the common Sentiment that Dr. Cave has follow'd after Father Petau: Here is in short the common Order and Method of Origen's Works. The *Tetraples* were four Columns, which contain'd the Versions of Aquilas, Symmachus, the Septuagint and of Theodotion; in the *Hexaples* there were more than two Columns, where the Hebrew Text was in Judaick Characters, and the same Text collateral to it in Greek Characters. In the *Octoples* might also be seen, after the six Columns (whereof we are a coming to speak) the fifth and sixth Edition which were found not long since, one at Jericho, the other at Nicopolis near to Actium. It is evident, saith Dr. Cave, by what St. Jerom tells us thereof, these two last Versions were not compleat, but contain'd only some Books of the Old Testament, and particularly the Prophets; tho' we cannot determine whether it may be concluded from thence, that the *Hexaples* and *Octaples* were only one Work under different Titles, according to those parts to which the fifth and sixth Edition were added. Besides this, there was a seventh Edition, but it contained only the Book of the Psalms, and by consequence made no change in the name of the Work. The Reader will more easily comprehend the Method of this Collection, by a Copy which is here added to it, and drawn from an Ancient Manuscript of the lesser Prophets out of the Bibliothegue of the Barbarines. 'Tis the first Verse of the eleventh Chapter of Hosea, When Israel was a Child I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt.

To render this Work Fruitful, Origen Remarks on the Version of the Septuagint, that it contain'd either more or less than the Hebrew Text; when there was something more he noted it thus (†) and when

there was any thing Deficient, he thus distinguished it (*) and if confirm'd by many Versions, he added a Note which he call'd *Lemniscus*; and when two only agreed, he affix'd a *Hypolemniscus*. This Work which was a Labour almost impossible to accomplish, was begun at *Cesarea* and perfected at *Tyre*.

Nevertheless it seems that *Origen* made a second Voyage to *Athens*, where he writ his Commentaries on *Ezekiel*, and the *Song of Songs*. He pass'd through *Nicomedia*, where he met with his Friend *Ambrose*, who was retired thither with his Family. He there compos'd his Answer to *Julius Africanus*, touching the History of *Susanna*, who had fruitlessly endeavour'd to maintain it as a Truth: Returning into the last, he recover'd *Beryl* Bishop of *Botfra* in *Arabia* (as *Eusebius* calls him) from a new Opinion apparently destructive to the True Faith, which he soon renounced that he might be better instructed, and thank'd *Origen* for having disabused him. *Beryl* believed that *Jesus Christ* before his Incarnation did not so exist, that he had a distinct Essence, which was only proper to him; and that he had not a Divinity peculiarly his own, but only that of his Father dwelling in him. *Origen* did not apprehend this Opinion at first, but after divers Conferences with *Beryl*, and indeed it is difficult to understand what he meant, according to the words of *Eusebius*, when he comes to cite and translate him word for word from the Greek.

Dr. Cave thus expresseth it in * P. 229. English, * That our Lord, before his Incarnation, had no proper Substance nor personal Deity, but only a derivative Divinity from his Father. *Mr. de Valois* hath translated this Passage of *Eusebius* into Latin after this manner: *Servatorem antiquam inter homines versaretur non subtrahisse in propriae personae differentia (κατ' ἰδίαν ὥσπερ πρῶτον) nec propriam sed paternam duntaxat divinitatem in se residentem habere.* In his Remarks he says that the word *ὥσπερ* Essence, is plainly to be understood in this place for that of Person; but that *Beryl* was mistaken, when he said that *Jesus Christ* had no Personality before his Incarnation, yet he might reasonably maintain that he had the same Divinity with his Father, since if any other had been proper to him alone, there would have been more Gods than one: By this may be seen, that it is not always very easie to apprehend the Opinion of the Ancients upon difficult things; and above all, when they are related by their Adversaries. What *Dr. Cave* observes a little further, is more pertinent to *Origen's* case.

Origen was Sixty Years old, and ceased not nevertheless to take pains; at that time it was that he compos'd this Book against *Celsus*: He writ also about the same time Letters to the Emperor *Philip*, and to his Empress, which gave occasion to some to believe, tho' without any reason, that he was a Christian: He also applied himself

to confute certain Hereticks, who maintain'd that the Soul died with the Body, to rise again with it; and the *Helcesaites*, who were a kind of Gnosticks, and whose Errors were stifled in the very beginning.

Decius succeeded *Philip*, who violently persecuted the Christians, and in whose Reign *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as *Dr. Cave* relates in his History, died in Prison. *Origen* was also imprisoned with him, and suffered much thereby, but escap'd his own Death by that of *Decius*: He at last died at *Tyre*, being Sixty nine Years of Age, in the Year of our Lord 254. in the first of *Valerius*, as our Author has made appear, against some Ancients who were deceived therein: He was buried in a Church at *Tyre*, among the Ruins of which, his Sepulchre is yet to be seen, according to the Relation of some Travellers. *Dr. Cave* afterwards makes an Eloge of the good Works and Learning of *Origen*: He was of an Extraordinary Sobriety, and so little desirous of Riches, that he many times refus'd Presents that Rich Persons offer'd him. He even at the end of his Life, sold his Library to maintain him; and sold it upon this Condition, that the Purchaser should give him four Oboles, that is to say, five Pence a day during his Life: The extraordinary Pains which he took for many Years, procur'd him the Names of *Adamantinus* and *Chalkenterus*, that is, of Steel and Brass: He assures us that he wrote Six thousand Volumes, which appears impossible, except we make a Volume of each of his Homilies and Letters; if so, we may reconcile *St. Jerom* and *Ruffinus*, who have contended very hotly about it. To add the Judgment of the Heathens to that of the Christians about *Origen*, I shall relate here at length a Passage of *Porphyrus*, of which *Dr. Cave* has given us the Sense. It is to be found in the sixth Book of *Eusebius*, Cap. 19. what this Great Philosopher says of *Origen*, in a Work of his against the Holy Scripture. Some have chose rather to seek Solutions of the difficult Writings of the Jews, than to abandon them; and have been oblig'd to put such Interpretations as have contradicted themselves, and even agree not with their very Writings; which includes not so much the Defence of these strange Writers, as Advantageous Thoughts of their own Opinions; for after having spoken those things in Pompous Terms, which Moses gives the clearest Relation of in the World, they esteem'd them as Enigmas, and Enthusiastically maintain, that they ought to be receiv'd as full of hidden Mysteries; and they propose not their Explications till after they have confounded their Auditors with their lofty Language. And in a few words, a Man that I have known, being also very Young, may serve me for an Example: 'Tis *Origen*, who was then in great Esteem, and is so still, because of the Works that he hath left behind him, &c. As to what regards his Life, he was a Christian, and lov'd and obey'd the Laws of the Empire: But as for his Opinions and

Many great Men have formerly made Apologies for *Origen*, and among others, *Pamphilus Martyr* and *Eusebius*, but they are all lost. Nevertheless we may draw from the Ancients some general Remarks, which may render him more excusable. 1. He had written many things not dogmatically, and to Remark that he had thereupon determin'd his own Sentiments, but only for Exercise, as he Witnesse of himself in divers Places of his Book of *Principles*, which is the most critical of all his Pieces. 2. In the heat of dispute sometimes he would to the utmost extremity oppose the Opinions of his Adversary which he disputed with, although in effect he approved not of this

Gregory was born † according to the most exact Chronology in the Year Three Hundred, in a Village of the second Cappadocia, named *Arianze*, near the City *Nazianze*, whence the Surname is taken, which is commonly given to *Gregory*. His Father and Mother * were Persons of Quality, and whose Virtue was esteem'd of those that knew them, if we may believe their Son, who always speaks of them with much praise. He is free to tell us that his Father, who likewise was named *Gregory*, was born of Parents who had I know not what Religion, divided betwixt the † Pagans and Jews. They had neither Idols nor Sacrifices, but they adored the † Or. 19. P. 289. Fire and Torches. They observed the Sabbath, abstained from Eating of certain Beasts, and yet despised Circumcision. They took the name of * *Hypsistaires*, because they boasted they did adore but the Supreme God, * *ὁ ὕψιστος*. These People seem'd to have borrowed the *worshipping* of

* 541-
54201.

Fire from the *Magi* of *Cappadocia* which were called † *Pyrarthes*, because of the respect they had for the Fire, which they look'd upon as the Symbol of the Supreme Divinity.

But they were not like them in other things. It is a Wonder that *Gregory*, who, as we see, denies that they adored Idols, and faith that his Father was born in these Sentiments, * should elsewhere

positively say that he worshipped the Images of Animals. It seems that his Memory was a little

short in this place, or his great Zeal made him fall into this Contrariety; unless we excuse him, by taking what he saith of the Idols of Animals, which his Father adored, for an Exaggeration of Rhetorick, a figure common enough in the Style of *Gregory*. As for his Mother *Nonna*, she was born of Christian Parents, who had carefully educated her, and who had found in her a Disposition extremely inclined to Piety. Her Son also praiseth infinitely her Wit, and her Conduct.

A Woman thus qualified, must be much afflicted for her Husband's Inclination to such Errors as those of the *Hypsistaires*; yet he was of a very mild Temper, and extreme orderly; so that although his Sentiments were erroneous, nothing could be found of ill in his Manners. *Nonna* would continually press him to get himself instructed in the Christian Religion; and as he could not be prevailed with, it happened that he had a Dream which made him resolve to do it: He dreamed that he Sung these words of the Psalm cxxii: *I have rejoiced in that I was told, we shall go into the House of the Lord.* This manner of Singing, though new, gave him delight; and his Wife failed not to make use of this occasion, to induce him to embrace Christianity.

It happened when *Leontius* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, passed by that place with some other Prelates to go to *Nice*, where *Constantinus* called the Council; *Gregory* went to see him, and told to him the desire he had to become a Christian. *Leontius* got him instructed, and whilst they were instructing him, for a Catechumen, he kneeled without any bodies advice, whereas Catechumens were commonly standing, whilst they were instructed. Those that were there, observed this Posture, because it was that of Priests, whilst they were Consecrated. † His

Son testifieth that every body guessed from thence, that he would be one day honoured

with the Order of Priesthood. After that, as the Bishop of *Nazianze* baptized him, those that were present saw him go out of the Water, all environ'd with light; and the Bishop could not withhold saying that *Gregory* would certainly succeed him in the Episcopacy, as it really fell out, after that the See of *Nazianze* had been sometime vacant. His Son in relating these two Cir-

cumstances, treats on them both as *Miracles*; and as then, so at this day, all the World believed not all that Ecclesiasticks said, he declares he proposes these Marvels but to the Faithful only: *Because there is none of these fine things, which appear credible to prophane Minds.* Without being Prophane, we cannot but suspect, not of Falshood, but of a little Credulity and Exaggeration, these *Rhetorical Souls*, which draw an Advantage from every thing, in relating matters of this Nature: When we think to declare what we have seen, we often say what we judge of a thing which surprises us, and instead of affirming what we see with our Eyes, we draw some doubtful Consequences from a prejudiced Mind; so we believe, without enquiry, all that is advantageous to that which we have embraced, and all that is contrary thereunto is false, or at least suspicious. If we do not make these Reflections in reading *Gregory* of *Nazianze*, we shall run the hazard either to take him for a Man of little Truth, or to believe his Miracles suspicious.

Nonna had at the beginning of her Marriage but one Daughter, *Gorgonia*; (of whom *Gregory* her Brother speaks in divers places; who was the first of *Nonnas* Children) † her Mother wished very much for a Son, and vowed to Consecrate him to God if she had one; whereupon she had presently after a Dream that she saw the Face of the Son which she was to have, and what should be his Name: Instead of one Son she had two, of whom she took great Care, as to their Education, because she found them of a Nature worthy of Instruction.

As soon as *Gregory* was a little grown, he was sent to *Cesarea*, * the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, where the best Masters had the Instruction of him; to wit, to understand the *Greek* Poets and Orators, and to learn perfectly that Tongue. This was the only Tongue then in Reputation in all *Asia*, and the reading of Pagan Authors that had writ well in it was all their study there. It is believed that *Gregory* came then first acquainted with *Basil*, whom since he loved so dearly. From *Cesarea* of *Cappadocia*, he went † to

Cesarea of *Palestine*, where *Eusebius* was Bishop, he learned there to declame * as it was taught by a famous Rhetorician named *Theophrastus*: After he had staid a little at *Cesarea*, he went to *Alexandria*, which was a Place very famous, in that Learned Men resorted thither. The stay he made there was not unprofitable to him, yet he did not think himself capable of the Title of a Learned Man until he had been at *Athens*, the Mother of Sciences.

He went on Board for this purpose, a Vessel of the Isle of *Egine*, not far distant from *Athens*, being in the middle

† *Strabo* l. 15.

* *Casim. i. derebus suis v. 135.*

† *Greg. de vita sua* P. 2.

* *Greg. Presb. in vit. Gr. p. 4. & seq.*

† *Or. X. P. 163.*

* *Hieron. de Script. Eccles. in Euseb.*

* De vita
sua p. 3. 4.
Or. 19. p.
306. &
307.

of * November, his Passage was not very comfortable; coming by the Isle of Cyprus the Ship was tossed with a violent Storm for several days, and Victuals growing short, Hunger was one of their many Inconveniences; insomuch that the Seamen were not in a Condition to do their Business, had it not been for a Phœnician Vessel brought by the Wind, which supplied them with Victuals. Gregory testified, that all which troubled him at that time, was his not being Baptized: That Thought troubled him so much that the Seamen took notice of it, although they were concerned at the danger they were in themselves. He made a Vow to get himself Baptized, and to Consecrate himself to God: Then the Storm immediately ceased. One might by this conclude that he feared Damnation if he died without Baptism; and since it was the Opinion of those Times, it is a wonder that his Father and Mother, whose Piety he so much extols, had not got him Baptized in his Infancy. True it is, Baptism might be deferred for fear of losing the Grace which God gives to them that receive it, or of being Excommunicated, if they lived unworthily after being Baptized. But these Fears take not away the difficulty, seeing one is as much exposed to be damned in living ill, without having received Baptism, as in dishonouring it after it is received. Howbeit Gregory saith his Parents had notice of the danger he was in, by a Dream which caused them to pray for him. One in the same Ship saw also Nonna, Gregory's Mother walking upon the Sea, and drawing the Vessel towards the Shoar, after which the Storm ceased. They Sailed by the Coast of Greece, and passing by Rhodes, they came at length to the Isle of Egene, whence Gregory went to Athens.

He was but a short time there when Basil came; † there it was that the Friendship they had contracted at Cesarea encreased very much. As they applied themselves both to the same Studies, and had the same Inclinations, so their Friendships encreased so much that Gregory said they were but one Soul in two Bodies. We shall in the Sequel see what was the breaking of their Friendship. The Sophists or Masters of Rhetorick at Athens had each their Factions, and endeavoured all they could to get Disciples; and for that purpose they had Men posted at all the Avenues of the Town of Athens; and as soon as any Youth that came to study appeared, they that were the strongest seized on him, and carried him to lodge with their Friends. They that could bring many Scholars to their Masters, paid nothing; and this made poor Scholars very vigilant to take notice when any Strangers came to Athens. A young Man being thus in their Hands, some one

of the Scholars took delight to contradict him, that they might try if he was Witty or Ingenious. After that they carried him in Triumph through publick Baigns, and they who had taken him went two and two before him: Coming at the Door they made as if they refused to let him in, and endeavoured by a great Noise to terrify him; notwithstanding they would soon let him in, and being washed, put a Philosophical Cloak on his Shoulders, which he was not permitted to wear before. Basil was freed from this Ceremony, because he was more advanced in Studies than those which used to come to Athens; but we do not see that Gregory, who rehearseth this, had found the same Privilege. This Custom was observed, though of little value in it self; but it sheweth the Passion they had for Sophistry and Rhetorick, and how greedy Masters were for Disciples. We may see by this that the Academies of their Times were not better ordered than these of our Times, and that according to all appearance, one came not out thence better instructed than from our Academies at this time.

The two most famous Sophists at Athens, were Himerius and Proeresius, both much esteemed by the Emperor Julian. The second being an Armenian * had on that account all the Youths of Pontus, Cappadocia, Bithinia, and other Neighbouring Provinces in his School. Which makes us believe that it was under him that Gregory studied at Athens. This same Sophist had got himself such an Esteem, that the Emperor Constantine took him to his own Table, and sent him in a Magnificent Equipage to Rome, where he erected a Statue of Princes Metal, with this Inscription at the bottom, **Rome the Queen of Cities to the King of Eloquence.**

Basil having received an Honour at Athens, † which seldom was bestowed upon any that went thither, had several that envied him. Some Youths of Armenia, who had took the Philosophical Cloak, and were entred into the Schools, where they learned only to prattle before him, thought it their duty to humble this new Comer. They understood it in a Dispute, but finding him stronger than they, saw themselves reduced to abandon the Field, had it not been for Gregory, who thought the Honour of Athens was at a Stake, came to their Assistance, and made the Combat equal on both sides. Notwithstanding he perceived that the Armenians did it only out of Spight, which made him take Basil's part, who then put his Adversaries to rout. From that time their Amity encreased, and they lived very lovingly together. Without the happy meeting of such a Friend as Gregory, Basil would have been very weary of Athens, where he found not the Learning he expected. But Gregory advised him, and made him understand that he must employ

D d d d d some

* Eunap.
Sard. in
vita Proe-
res.

† Nazian-
ze, Or. 20.
p. 328.

† Or. 20. p.
326. vid.
Oym-
piad. apud
Photium
cod. 80.

some time to know well all the Learned Men of a City, and to judge of them without Temerity. They both applied themselves to the wisest and most rational Persons that studied at *Athens*, and not to them that made the greatest shew, and disputed the best. *Basil* left the Town first, and after some Travels, retired into *Cesarea*. *Gregory* also some time after went into *Cappadocia*, to ease and comfort the old Age of his Father and Mother; he gives a Description in several places * after a

very tender manner of his Separation which cost him many Tears, by which we may understand that *Gregory* was of a tender Disposition for his Friends.

Gregory had spent Thirty Years in learning or teaching Rhetorick, as he witnesseth himself; to wit, that he quitted *Athens* about the Year Three hundred fifty four, or Three hundred fifty five. It is hard to believe, that having a very ancient Father and Mother, he did not think of going to them sooner, and did not undertake to do the Christian Church some other Service, than to study or teach Rhetorick; † If all the rest of his Life did not shew

it as may be easily perceived by reading the remainder of this History. *Julian*, who was afterwards made Emperor, resided also there, rather, as *Gregory*

saith, to consult the Soothsayers concerning his Fortune, than to study Philosophy. From that time *Gregory* began to hope for no good from him, as may be seen in the Speeches which he made against him. When *Basil* was gone, he particularly applied himself to Eloquence, and declaimed with such Applauses, that every one esteemed him the greatest Orator of those times. His Inclination, as he witnesseth himself, was not for that kind of Life; and he left *Athens* soon after without taking leave of any:

* He had a natural love for Retirement, and this hindered him from any way of Living where there was much business. Those that live thus, and acquit themselves well of their Employments, appeared to him to be profitable only to others; and those that live quite retir'd seem to him profitable only to themselves. He wished he could keep in the middle of these two Extremes, and to lead a kind of a Monastical Life in the midst of Men; without taking any Occupation upon him, but such as he would willingly choose, and without being Subject to troublesome Regularities, which give a distaste to the finest Employments.

He left *Athens* with these Thoughts, and took the way of *Constantinople* by Land; he found there his Brother *Cesaire*, who was arrived by Sea from *Alexandria*, where he had studied Physick. † He had acquired so much Reputation during his stay at *Constantinople*, that the Emperor would have kept him for his

Physitian, made him Burges of *Constantinople*, and give him the Dignity of Senator, and a considerable Interest. What Inclination soever *Cesaire* had to yield to his Solicitations, the desire of his Parents and Exhortations of his Brother made him omit all this, and take his Journey with him to *Nazianze*; but having lived there some time, he returned to *Constantinople*, in which it was far more pleasing to live, than in a desert City of *Cappadocia*. As for *Gregory* he got himself Baptized at *Nazianze*, and his Father soon after engaged him to give himself up to a studious Life, and to take the Orders of Priesthood. *Gregory* a long while after could not * but call † this Action of his Father Tyranny. But the Respect he had for him, and the Incumbrance wherein honest Men laboured about the Controversies of *Arianism*, where even his Father was entangled, obliged him patiently to bear the Yoak that was put upon him.

Basil had got a Promise * of him, that when he should quit *Athens*, he would come to live with him; but *Gregory* could not be as good as his Word, being obliged to live with his Parents. He invited *Basil* to come to see him sometimes, but we find not that they ever were a long while together. Several were desirous that he would get himself ordained Priest, and then frequented no more the Church of † *Nazianze* for that reason, as he upbraids them in one of his † Orat. 11. Speeches, in which notwithstanding he praiseth the Concord and Orthodoxy of this Church. He gives them also a remarkable Praise, viz. That they made Piety consist, not in speaking much of God, but in keeping silence and obeying him. If the ancient or modern Divines had endeavor'd to deserve this Praise, Christianity would not have been torn by so many Disputes, nor be as it now is.

Constantians to appease (if it were possible) the Contentions of *Arianism* call'd an Ecumenick Council in CCCLIX, which was divided into two Assemblies. The Eastern Bishops were to hold theirs in *Selucia* in *Isauria*, and those of the Western at *Rimini* a City of *Romain*. The *Arians* which were at *Selucia* * made a Confession of Faith, in which supposing they should make use of no term, which was not in Holy Writ, and that consequently that of *Consubstantial* was not to be used, they contented themselves to say, That the Son was like to the Father, according to the Apostle, who saith that the Son is the Image of the Invisible God. There they also condemned those who did say, That the Son was not like the Father. It was *Acacius* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Palestine*, who had compos'd this Confession of Faith. The same *Acacius*, and those of his Party approved of the Confession of *Rimini*, which was conceived in such like terms. They added only, that mention should not be made

* De vita sua p. 4. & alibi.

† vid. Pagi. Crit. Baron. ad an. 354. & 388.

* Ibid. p. 5. & 6. & Or. oc. p. 165.

† Or. 10. p. 164.

* De vita sua p. 6. † Ep. 11.

* Socr. l. 2. c. 40.

* Socr. l. i. i.
c. 41. &c.
Sozom. l. 4.
cap. 29.

* made in this occasion, neither of Substance nor Hypostasis, because these terms which had caused so many Disputes, were not found in Holy Writ. Notwithstanding the Arians being pressed by the Orthodox to give their Opinion in what consisted this resemblance of the Son with the Father, made it consist in Will only; whereas the others maintained that the Substance of the Son, tho' distinct, was altogether like the Substance of the Father. But upon each side they used equivocal terms, so that unhappy Inferences were made by those which were not well acquainted with these kinds of Subtleties, in equivocating and confounding their different Sentiments. The Father of Gregory was

* Or. 19. p.
297. & vit.
Greg. p. 11.

one of those which fell into this Ambuscade; * he subscribed the Confessions of Faith of Seleucia and Rimini. The marvelous light which appeared at his Baptism, nor the Studies he since made, had not cleared his mind, so as to give him a true Intelligence of the Arian Controversies. This Action of the Bishop of Nazianze alarm'd the Monks of Cappadocia, who full of Zeal for Consubstantiality, refused to communicate with this good Man, and drew a part of the People after them. It seems that Gregory the Son was not then at Nazianze, seeing he would have hindred his Father from committing a Fault, which he afterwards obliged him to repair, by a publick Retraction.

Having thus appeased the Monks, Gregory the Son ascended into the Pulpit, and made a Discourse concerning Peace, which is the Twelfth of his Speeches, in presence of his Father, who was not to be compared to him in Eloquence and Ability. 1. He saith, That the Joy he had to see Peace return into the Church of Nazianze, had induced him to make this Discourse, whilst nothing before had obliged him to speak. 2. That he was extremely concern'd at the Separation which was made before, chiefly when he considered the Austere and Holy Life of the Monks, which he describes by the bye with much Rhetorick. 3. That Divisions are the cause of all sorts of Evils, and that they had reason to praise God, because that which arose in the Church of Nazianze, was appeased. 4. That the Church of Nazianze, which before this last Division did not know what Schism was, ought, for the future, to endeavour a perpetual Peace. 5. That in the last Discord, they were so strongly perswaded that the Bishop of Nazianze acted Sincerely, and retained the Truth of Faith, that he was reproached with nothing else, but suffered himself to be surprized by equivocating words. 6. That every thing obliges us to Peace, God, Angels, and all Creatures, which Concord holds together. 7. That the Jews were happy whilst they were at Peace, and unhappy as soon as they were

divided. 8. That notwithstanding Men ought not to seek after all sorts of Peace, but to keep a Medium, and that they were obliged, vigorously to oppose Heresie, when any one was seen to profess it publicly; but that for mere Suspicions there should be no Schism. * P. 203.

When that which afflicteth us, faith he, is but a Suspicion, and what is grounded upon nothing, Patience is better than Precipitation, and Condescension better than Furiousness. It is much better to correct each other reciprocally like Members of one Body, than to condemn our selves by a Separation, before they mutually understand one another; or to lose the Opinion the one had of the other by a Schism, and then to undertake to correct others, not like Brethren, but Tyrants, by Edicts and Laws. Finally, Gregory exhorts the Church of Nazianze to preserve the good Doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity, which he expresses in these words. * We adore one Father, one Son, and one Holy Ghost; in the Son we acknowledge the Father, and in the Holy Ghost the Son. Before we joyn them we distinguish them, and before we distinguish them we joyn them. We do not look upon these three things as one (God) for they are not things which are destitute of a distinct Existence, or which have but one Existence; just so our Riches are but in names of things, and not in things themselves, the other three things really are but one. It is a thing not in Existence but in Divinity: We adore one Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity. It hath all but one Throne and one Glory: It is above all the World, beyond Time, uncreated, &c.

This Speech of Gregory, as almost all his others, is first without any great Order: His thoughts are heaped upon one another just as they came into the Author's Head, a Fault which is common to most of the Ancient Orators, which makes him fall into unnecessary Repetitions. Secondly, His Arguments seem sometimes to be too far fetch'd and of little Consequence, as when he saith the Universe subsists by Peace. This Expression is too far sought for, one might say quite contrary, as some Philosophers, That the Contrariety, in which are all the parts of the Universe, keeps the State they are in, binding one another to be otherwise. In the third place, his Style is very full of Figures, uncorrect, and sometimes hard, and all this often causeth Obscurity. Notwithstanding we must allow that he is full of fine Similitudes, of strong and happy Expressions, as are those whereof he makes use in that part where he condemns Schism, which we before mentioned. He is full of Ornaments drawn out of History or Pagan Fables; and he speaks of the last in some places, as the Philosophers do, without openly rejecting it. So * in speaking of the Flames of Aetna, * Or. 3 p. 86 he makes use of this Expression,

Whether it be something else, or the Breathing of a punished Gyant. In another place, after he had spoken of the Torments of Tantalus

Ixion

Ixion and Tityus, he adds, *Whether it be Truth or a Fable under a Fiction, teacheth us a Truth.* We cannot yet doubt but *Gregory* did observe all these things as pure Fables; but the Greek Philosophers, which he had carefully read, said the same. One would think, that the Custom of speaking like others, had made *Gregory* say several things which he had in Pagan Books without Examination. But he is far from the Clearness, Exactness and Eloquence of *Isocrates*, whom many say he took for a Model. I thought it my Duty briefly to take notice here, of what you may judge, what was the Style of *Gregory*, that I may not repeat it hereafter in speaking of his other Speeches: I shall only take notice of some Examples of what I have said, when occasion shall offer.

We must also observe here, once for all, that *Gregory*, as to what concerns Philosophy, followed that of the Platonicks, of whom he borrows divers Terms, which we cannot understand without

* P. 198. knowing it. So * he saith, *That God is the most Excellent and the most elevate of all Beings, we cannot but raise him above all Essence, and place him above all Beings, seeing he hath given Beings to other things.* For to understand the meaning of these Terms, *being above Essence*, we must know that the Platonicks did establish a Choice of Beings, as they spoke, to wit, Series of Beings placed upon one another; so that as they mounted this Chain, they came to more excellent Beings, and at last to Sovereign Trinity, which is above all the Essences of these Beings; that is to say, which cannot have relation to any particular Species, but which includes in it all their Essences, and can produce them upon that reason. * This

* *Vid. Proclum Theol. Platon. l. 111. c. 20. & alibi.* is what makes these Philosophers say, *That the Gods have Super-essential Qualities.* Without knowing this Platonick Tenet, we cannot comprehend what *Gregory* meaneth, in the words which we have cited.

In the same Page he saith, *That the Angels draw their Principles from Light; that they are enlightened by true Reason, and that they are Rays of this perfect Light.* These terms are drawn from the bottom of Platonism, as it might be easily shewn in Expounding them, but that we should make too great a Digression. It shall suffice to mark what the Philosophy of our Author was.

To return to the History, the *Arians* being informed of the Division which had been at *Nazianze*, drew some Advantage from it, and laugh'd at the Orthodox. This gave occasion to *Gregory* to make the Homily, which is the Thirteenth of his Speeches, where he sheweth the *Arians*, that the Division of *Nazianze* being sprung but from a Misunderstanding, and having lasted but a short time, they unjustly insulted over this Church. Moreover he sheweth the Advantage of the Orthodox, above the *Arians* and *Sabellians*, in com-

paring the Sentiments of these three Societies one with another. Tho' the Passage is somewhat long, it shall be put here, because those who have not sufficiently studied these Matters, shall better understand what was then the Sentiment of the Orthodox, than they could by the Passage of the Twelfth Speech which hath been related.

*Why love * ye Vanity, saith he unto them, and seek for Lyes, in * P. 208. giving (he speaks to the Arians)*

to the Divinity a Nature, which is neither one, nor simple, but three Natures disunited and separate, and even contrary by the Proprieties which the one hath too much, and which the others lack; or in establishing well one only Nature (he directs his Discourse to the Sabellians) but narrow and straitned, and which hath not the Propriety of being the Principle of great things, as not being capable thereof, or not having a will for it? It must needs be either by Envy, or by Fear, that you do not establish any thing which should equal it, or that should oppose it. But in as much as God is more excellent than Creatures, so much is he most worthy of the first cause of being the Principle of a Divinity, than of Creatures, and of not descending to these latter but by a Divinity which is betwixt two: As if the Divinity existed (according to the *Arians*) because of Creatures, as it seemeth to those who are so very subtle. If in confessing the Dignity of the Son and Holy Ghost, we made them without a Principle, or if we related them to a Principle of another Nature, then we should dishonor Divinity, or introduce Gods opposed one to another. A little lower *Gregory* saith, *That the Unity moved it self by reason of its Bounty, and that the number of two hath been surpassed, because Divinity is beyond Matter and Form, which are the two Principles whereof Bodies are composed; that Trinity is limited by reason of its Perfection, and surpasseth the Conjunction of two, so that Divinity is neither too strait, nor doth extend it self to Infinity.* The first, addeth he, *hath something in it very derogatory, and the second would cause Confusion.* The first is altogether Jewish, and the second Heathenish. The word to move it self, in this occasion, is a Platonick term, * which these Philosophers use when they speak of the Productions of Divinity; and *Gregory* meaneth that Divine Nature hath been multiplied to three *Hypostases* or three Individuals; which is opposed to Judaism, which holds but one Supreme Nature; and to Paganism, which establisheth too great a number of Gods. The Platonicks disputed amongst one another upon this; the one maintain'd that Supreme Divinity hath not been multiplied but to their Gods, and that all which is above that is not of a likenature; and the others understood it in a greater number of Divinities. * *Plato* and *Porphyrius* were of the first Sentiment, and *Plotinus* of the second.

* *Vid. Plotin. Ennead. v. l. 1. c. 6. & 7.*

* *vid. Cyrill. & conr. Julian. & Plotin. Enn. 3. l. 8. c. 12.*

Julian

Julian having ascended the Throne in the Year CCLXI. fought all manner of ways to ruin the Christians; and perceiving they made great use of Pagan Authors, whether to form themselves to Eloquence, or to draw from thence Reasons fit for maintaining the Christian Religion, and to attack Paganism, he undertook to hinder the Christians from applying themselves to the Study of Literature: Some Ancients say, that he prohibited them,

*Vid. P. 1. * not only to keep Schools themselves, but also to frequent the Schools of Grammarians and Orators amongst the Pagans; others seem only to say, that Christians were prohibited to keep Schools. Julian

† Ep. xli. himself saith formally († in one of his Letters) That the Children

of Christians should not be hindred to go to the Schools of Pagans, because those who offend not, but for want of Wit, ought to be taught and not punished. Gregory of Nazianzen speaks of this Prohibition of Julian in his third Speech, but according

* Pag. 1. ad a. 362. n. 130. to the Judicious Observation of a * Modern, speaking more like an Orator than an Historian, it

is hard to penetrate into his thoughts. 'Tis a bad effect of the continual Rhetorick of the Ancients: They are so Eloquent, that they are not understood. 'Tis likely that Julian prohibited not the Children of Christians to go to the Schools of Pagan Doctors, either because he saith it, or because it was a good means to seduce them. Hence some Learned Men amongst Christians, as the two Apollinaries and Gregory, put Scripture and Religion in Greek Verses, or in fine Prose. These Writings would supply the Reading of those of Ancient Pagans, and Youth had no need of Grammarians for to understand them. Parents could easily serve their Children in room of a Tutor, to expound unto them these Christian Verses after having read Scripture. Yet this Prohibition extremely vexed the Christians; which would not suffer their Grammarians; their Rhetoricians and their Philosophers in the Churches of the Galileans (these are the terms of Julian) to expound their Matthew and Luke. If he never had done any other thing, they would not have introduced so many new words, nor so much subtiliz'd upon the Tenets then in Dispute; and the Platonick Philosophy had not had so much share in their Decisions.

It was about this time that Cesar, Brother to Gregory, who returned (as we have said) to Constantinople, was, because of his Knowledge, received first Physician to Julian, and placed amongst the number of the Friends of this Emperor, who loved learned Men. Gregory writ him there-

* Ep. 17. upon a Letter * extremely sharp, wherein he told him, that he had covered his Family with Confusion through his Conduct; that every one thought it strange that the Son of a

Bishop should follow the Court, and should seek for Honors, and get Riches amongst Pagans; that he made his Fathers Life bitter, who could not reprehend others of what his Son did commit; that they were forced to hide this Conduct from his Mother, fearing it should make her dye for very Grief; that he had Means enough to live Honestly, without exposing himself to so great a Danger; that in fine, if he continued in this manner of Life, he must be ranked amongst such Christians as are least worthy of bearing this name. If this Letter obliged not Cesar to return to his Parents, there is a likelihood it strengthened him against the Endeavors of Julian, of making him abandon Christianity, whereof his Brother speaks

* in one of his Speeches. He * Or. p. 167 saith, That Cesar having an- & 168.

swered to all his Reasons, protested to him he was a Christian, and would be so all his Life, and that Julian cried out before several Persons of the Court, when he thought on the Bishop of Nazianze and his two Sons, O Happy Father! O Happy Children! Cesar either wearied by the Solicitations of Julian, or touched with the Advertisements of his Brother, returned to Nazianze in the time that Julian departed to go against the Persians.

It appears to be about the same time that Julian sent a Captain with Archers to * Nazianze, to seize * Or. 19. on the Church of the Christians; p. 308. but far from being able to do what he desired, for if he had not escaped immediately, by advice of the Bishop, or of some other Person, he would have returned with his Legs broken, so great was the Anger and Zeal of the Priest (of Gregory the Father) for this Temple: These are the own words of his Son, which shews that these good Folks did not always Preach Passive Obedience.

In the Year CCCLXIII. Julian was kill'd in his retreat from before the Army of the Persians; † the effect † Ibid. (if we believe herein the Charitable Gregory) of the Prayers of the same Bishop and the same People, who were for breaking the Legs of the Captain of the Archers, of whom we have spoke.

Then it was that Gregory compos'd his two Invectives against Julian, where he omits nothing to render him Odious to all Posterity. These two Speeches are assuredly full of all the Eagerness and Passion that can be imagined, against a Man, who setting aside his Paganism, had been one of the greatest Emperors which hath been in the Roman Empire. A Learned Man hath unreasonably thought that these two Speeches were published during the Life of Julian; Gregory speaks of his Death in both of them. The same Author remarketh * reasonably enough, That the Authority of some that have been in times past illustrious in the Church, doth mightily deceive

* P. Cuneus Pref. in Casares Juliani.

us, when we judge after them of some Princes of their time. Prejudices are so strong (saith he) that they seldom come into Examination, but suffer themselves to be entertain'd under the Authority of the Holiness of these Illustrious Men. The Vulgar imagines it a great Sin, to disbelieve that the Piety of these Men has not always been accompanied with a great deal of Candor. As for my part, as I am perswaded that they were Vertuous, so I know that they have committed Faults through Passion. To say nothing of others, those that had some Reputation in Greece, have been subject to the evil Custom of their Nation, to fall into Extremities, &c. They have cast head-long into Hell those they were angry with, though their Vertue had raised them up to Heaven: And on the contrary, they have so highly raised those they have undertaken to Praise, that Posterity this day admires their Vertue, which scarcely was indifferent: It is necessary to remember this Genius of the Grecians, if we have a mind sincerely to judge of the Panegyrics and Invectives of Christian Antiquity.

1. Gregory begins his first Invective * with Furious Railings against Julian, which he invites Heaven and Earth to hear. He particularly maketh his Address to the Soul of Constantius, who had set up Julian to be Caesar.

In speaking to him he adds these words, * *If the Dead perceive any thing*: By which it appears, he doubted if the Dead know any thing of what passeth here on Earth. * Page 63. Notwithstanding he saith elsewhere, * *That he reprehends him as if Constantius was present and did hear him, though he was with God and enjoyed his Glory*. This sheweth that this is but an Apostrophe of Rhetorick, whence nothing can be concluded.

2. He mightily wonders that Constantius had raised Julian to the Dignity of Caesar, knowing what he was; and sets forth at the same time the Praise of the first, whose Piety he boasts of every where;

* Page 65. * he defends him against those who accused him of Imprudence for having raised up Julian, after having put to Death his Brother Gallus; and saith, That he thought to mitigate the mind of Julian by Kindnesses, and that full of Confidence in his own Strength, he feared him not, as it might be seen, if Constance had not been Dead. In the following Speech against Julian, speaking of the same Emperor, he excuses him for the Protection he had given the Arians. He

* Or. 5. saith, That he suffered himself to be put upon by Simplicity and want of Firmness, and that the appearance of Zeal that he saw in the Arian Officers at Court, had seduced him. It would be hard to grant this with the Principles of Gregory, who looked on the Questions of Arianism as Capitals; if it were not known that the Expressions of Orators are not to be pressed, as those of a Geometrician. But there would be much

ado to reconcile him with St. Hilary of Poitiers, who hath treated Constantius a great deal worse than Gregory treateth Julian. These great Men acted as others, according to the Passion that animated them at the present, without too much weighing the Figures and Expressions which they made use of.

3. Gregory * Laughs at Julian, who hindred the Christians to * Page 51. teach Prophane Letters, because the Reasons of Christians would not be the less Strong, tho they were not proposed with so much Purity: But he makes as if he despised Eloquence and Politeness, which in truth he did not despise, and which he sheweth as much as he can in all his Writings, which would be even very often more clear, if there was not so much Rhetorick in them. He also Reproacheth Julian, who trusted much on his Eloquence, the desire he testified to take from the Christians the means to acquire it: Which is, saith he, the same thing as if a Wrestler play'd the Bravade after having prohibited all the Vigorous Wrestlers to Contend with him.

4. He assures us * That Constantius had carefully Educated * Page 55. Gallus and Julian, Sons to one of his Uncles, and who also was named Constantius, to shew that he had no share in the Murder of the latter, which had been Commissioner when Constantius, Son to Constantine, ascended the Throne. He was willing even to communicate the Empire to his two Sons, who were of a very different Disposition, if we believe Gregory. Tho they had been instructed after the same manner, and were both of them willing to be Anagnostes, or to read the Holy Scriptures at Church; it appeared afterwards that one of them was not a Christian: It was said, and Gregory believed it to be true, that Gallus and Julian building a Temple at equal Expences, in Honor of some Martyrs, what Gallus Builded did sensibly Augment; but that the Ground Trembled in the Place where Julian built, and that all which was done did Fall. There happened besides many other Miracles far different from those of the Gospel, which were not so much in favour of the Incredulous; as of those whose Disposition did not render them quite unworthy. True it is, that Gregory * saith, that Falshood was mixed with Truth, and relates but doubt- * P. 70. fully what was said, that Julian in Sacrificing, had seen a Crowned Cross in the Entrails of a Victim. But he relates for truth things far more incredible in the following Speech, † and in this, he saith, That Julian having † P. 71. call'd out the Devils by certain Sacrifices, could not forbear trembling so soon as he heard the noise, and saw certain Fires which usually precede their Apparition; and that as he had been Educated in Christianity, he made the sign of the Cross, which

which immediately banished all these Spectres. The Priest that acted the Ceremonies, and perceived the disturbance of *Julian*, told him that the Gods abhorred him for that reason, and not that they were in any wise fearful of the sign of the Cross, which he had made. So he begun the Sacrifice again, and *Julian* look'd upon the Devils.

5. Gregory * laugheth at the Artifices which *Julian* made use of to Persecute the Christians, without procuring them the Honor of Martyrdom, and without seeming to entreat them evilly; because whatever Pretence he made use of, it was easily seen that Christianity was their greatest Crime. Persecution for the cause of Religion, is so Odious in it self, in those who have retained any spark of Humanity, that the very People who make use of it, are ashamed thereof, when Superstition and Cruelty leave them any interval, to think, with a little more calmness on what they do. This is so true, that most of those, which have abandoned themselves to the blind Zeal of Superstition, have made use of the same artifices. Our Age hath seen an illustrious Example of it, and if we compare what Gregory saith hereof, and the evil Crafts of *Julian*, with what hath been done not long since in a great Kingdom, there will be a great Similitude found betwixt them. We shall pass it by here, fearing lest it should be thought that we have a mind to stop at a Parallel so Odious as this.

6. Amongst the Reasons whereof Gregory makes use to shew that *Julian* could not succeed in his Design, he thus describes the power of the Saints which Christians honoured: † Have you not feared those to whom so great Honor is done, and for whom solemn Feasts have been established; by which Devils have been driven away and Diseases cured; whose Apparitions and Predictions are known; whose very Bodies have as much Virtue as their holy Souls, whether they are touched or honoured, of whom some drops of Blood only have the same Virtue as their Bodies. We see by these Words, and divers places of Gregory, and other Fathers of his time, that there was then a great deal of Respect had to the Relicks of Saints, and that a great many Miracles were said to be done at their Graves. It is astonishing that Gregory, who loved enlarging, hath not said even that the Bodies of Saints had more Virtue after their Death than during their Life; for there is no comparison between the multitude of Miracles, which were said to be done at the Graves of Martyrs, and those which they did whilst alive. Many People believe that the Falseness of some Christians, and the Credulity of some others contributed much to hold up Paganism.

7. Our Author * makes a Panegyrick upon the Monks in the sequel, after having despised *Socrates* and *Plato*, and all the Pagan Philo-

sophers. Gregory reproacheth *Julian*, that he did not love Virtue in his Enemies; but certainly Zeal made him commit here some such thing; and it is very certain that he had infinitely learned more out of *Plato*, and the Discourses of *Socrates*, than in the Conversation of all the Monks that he had seen. As to their Lives, the endless Seditions of those Pious Hermits, and their implacable Humor, shew sufficiently that they were infinitely beneath these great Models of Pagan Antiquity.

8. He remarketh † very well, that to be desirous to ruin the † P. 80. Christian Religion, in a time wherein the Roman Empire was full of Christians, was to undertake to ruin the very Empire. When they were in a small number, they could not be ill treated without Prejudice to the State; but when they were numerous they could not be engaged without causing great Convulsions, and too much disorder. It were to be desired that the Imitators of *Julian* had well weighed this Advertisement of Gregory; who despiseth most justly all the good that could accrew from the Government of *Julian*, in comparison with the evil that so detestable a Design would have caused, if he had been able to put it in Execution. It were yet to be wished, that our Age had * been well instructed in the Hor- * P. 83, 84. ror which the Snares that *Julian* by his Officers and Soldiers, laid for Christians. Gregory saith that some Christian Soldiers having one day, when *Julian* gave some Liberality to his Army, cast Incense in his Presence into the fire, according to an ancient Custom, usually interpreted, as if they had burned Incense to the Idols. Nevertheless many others had done it, without any Reflection; and being admonished of their Fault, as they invoked Jesus Christ making the sign of the Cross after their Meal, by some one that told them they had renounced him, they went immediately crying out in the Market-place, and in the Ears of the Emperor, that they had been surprized, and that they were Christians. *Julian* provoked at the mistake, banished them.

9. Gregory describes † some horrid Cruelties against the Chri- † P. 87. stians which *Julian* had autho- 88. ris'd in Egypt and Syria. He saith that the Inhabitants of *Arethusa* a City of Syria, after having made Young-Women consecrated to God suffer a thousand Indignities, killed them, eat their Livers all raw, and gave their Flesh to Swine to feed on, covering it with Barly. These People treated with an abominable Barbarity, the Bishop of this City, who notwithstanding appeared almost insensible in his Torments; and Gregory * marks that this Bishop, in the * P. 88. time of *Constantius*, exercis'd, having liberty from the Emperor, an Habitation of Devils, to wit, a Pagan Church. This Action of *Mark* of *Arethusa* had drawn upon

upon him the Hatred of the People, as a Pagan would have been detested by the Christians, if he had destroyed one of their Churches. Notwithstanding

* Page 97. ing Gregory * a little lower faith, not only that the Christians did not Treat the Pagans as they had been Treated by them: But he asketh of them, *What Liberty Christians had taken from them?*

As if it were nothing to pull down their Temples, as was done † *Sezom. l. 2. c. 5.* † since the Reign of *Constantine!*

They continued with the same Rigor under the following Emperors; and that they might be Reproacht with nothing of Paganism, it was Prohibited on pain of Death to Sacrifice to Idols, with the Applause of all the Christians, if St.

* *Ep. xlviii. ad Vincun- cium.* * *Augustin* can be believed. We must not forget to Remark here another effect of the Rhetorick of Gregory. It is, that in speaking of the Christian Young Women of *Aretusa*, who had been so Abused; he Accuses not only the Pagans, but also makes an Apostrophe to our Lord thus: O *Jesus Christ*, how shall I suffer the pain which you had then!

10. *Julian* added Insults also to his ill Treatments, and in taking away the Christians Goods, he said, he only assisted them to observe the Gospel, which commanded 'em to despise the things of this Life. This Railery is in the forty third Letter of *Julian*, where he saith, that the Church of the *Arians* at *Edessa* having done some Violence to the *Valentinians*, he had Confiscated all their Mony to distribute it to the Soldiers, and kept their Goods to himself; fearing lest the *Arians* being too Rich, could not get into the Kingdom of Heaven. Gregory Answers to this, amongst other things, that *Julian* acting thus, made as if he imagin'd that the Gods of the Heathens thought it necessary, that People should be deprived of their Goods, without deserving it, and that they approved of Injustice. He might have been satisfied with this Answer; but he adds, that there are things which *Jesus Christ* hath commanded as necessary, and others which he hath simply proposed for those that would observe them, without indispensibly obliging any one to do it. Such is according to Gregory, the Commandment of abandoning the Wealth of this World.

11. One thing for which they abused the Christians of that time, and upon which they did not always defend themselves so well as they might have done, was the Pagans Reproaching them for upholding Ignorance, † Seeing they † Page 97. Preached nothing else but Faith.

"You do not Reason, said *Julian* unto them, at all; you are Rusticks, and all your Wisdom consists in saying *Believe*. Gregory answers to that, that if *Julian* jeer'd the Christians, by reason of this Method, he ought also to Laugh at *Pythagoras*, whose Disciples were accu-

stomed to say, when they were asked the reason of any thing, that *Pythagoras* had said it; which comes to the same sense. He adds, that Christians meant nothing else thereby, but that we must not refuse a belief to what hath been said by Men Inspired from God; and that if they are worthy of Faith, what they say is more Demonstrable than all the Faculties of Reasoning and Contradicting. *Celsus* rais'd the same Difficulty, and Laugh'd at those that said, *Examine not, but Believe*. *Origen* had answer'd, that 'twas in effect impossible for the Multitude throughly to Examine things; and that there was nothing more convenient for the People, than to Believe, without knowing the reason why. Answers of this nature would not render Christianity very Recommendable; nor to put Christians in a State of Triumphant over Pagans, who might have shut their Mouths by such Answers. For in fine, if we must Believe without knowing why, we may equally believe all that we hear say, be it never so absurd.

12. *Julian* having remarked that Ecclesiastical Discipline and Order, which was amongst Christians, helped infinitely to Unite them one to another, and to augment their number, had resolved to introduce them into Paganism. He would * Establish Schools in * P. 102. every City wherein the Pagan Religion was taught, and also good Manners; publick Prayers; Censures against those that would commit any Fault; Monasteries; Hospitals, where care was to be taken of the Poor and Sick. The Christians were Maintained and increased in the midst of Persecutions by these ways, which were much more convenient to gain the People, than Reasoning. Those who have treated of the manner whereby Christianity increased, have notwithstanding, I know not why, for the most part forgotten the good Order, and this regulated Charity, which was Established amongst them.

13. To make an end of the extract of this Speech, I shall only say, that afterwards Gregory † Attacks the P. 103. Divinity of the Pagans. He is seqq. much Stronger on this occasion, than when he defends himself; and it seems he knew a great deal better the weakness of Pagan Religion, than the strength of his own.

I shall besides give an Extract of the principal Places of his second Speech against *Julian*, and after that, I shall only in general speak of the Subject of the other Writings of Gregory; whereas what we have seen, is enough to judge what his Genius was. This Speech contains in general the evil Designs of *Julian* against the Christians, with some of his Actions and his Death.

* Or. p. 3. 1. He was pleased to favour the Jews, to oppose them to the Christians, and to Rebuild their Temple of Jerusalem. The Jews beginning this Work, there happen'd as there did when Julian himself built with his Brother Gallus, so great an Earthquake, that they all Fled. And upon entering into a neighbouring Temple to shelter themselves, the Doors Shut of themselves, as some did relate. But all the World, if we may believe Gregory, did affirm, that as they endeavoured by force to get into this Temple, there issued forth Flames of Fire, which Consumed one part of them, and Disabled the rest. If there happened any Miraculous thing on this occasion, it must be granted that there has been no great care taken to write it faithfully, since History doth vary extremely upon this Subject; as may be seen by comparing only Socrates and Sozomen with Gregory. Yet the latter speaks of this Fire which came forth, either from the Foundation, or from the Temple, as a certain Truth; and to prevail with the Incredulous, he adds, *That no body refuses to believe these Miracles, if he doth not likewise reject the other Miracles of God. What there is most Admirable and Bright in it is, that in the Firmament was seen a Light which represented the Cross, &c. The Miracle stopped not there: Let those who have seen this Miracle, continues Gregory, shew their Clothes marked with the Cross. As soon as any one, whether of our Party, or of Strangers, related it, or heard any body relating it, he did perceive this Wonder, in himself, or in those who were near him. He saw it shine on his Clothes, or on those of others, after a more Artificial manner than the finest Weaving, or the most exact Painting could represent it. This Miracle added to the forementioned, did Convert an infinite number of People, if we may believe Gregory.*

2. He after this describes the March and Conduct of Julian against the Persians, and his Death, on which the Relation was different, some relating it after a certain manner, and others after another; a Variety which was found not only amongst those which were not in the Combat where he was Slain, but among those which were at it. Gregory tells what he knew not by Hear-say; but he hath not as yet writ all that was said of it, as it may be seen by what Sozomen reports, l. 4. c. 1 & 2. There is no danger of his saying chiefly that the Sophist Libanius Accused the Christians of having Kill'd this Emperor. We may thereby learn, that when Men Reason upon Fact, they ought not too much to rely upon Circumstances. Our Author, who draweth advantage from every thing, Prefers Constantius to Julian, * be-
* P. 118. cause the Funerals of Constantius were better in Order than those of his Cousin; and that he was Praised after his Death, whilst Christians detested the Memory of Julian. Amongst the Ceremonies wherewith those of Constantius

were Honored, Gregory puts † the Nocturn Hymns and Torches; as † Ibid. if Constantius had been the Happier for it after his Death.

3. After having reproached Julian with his Inconstance and Avarice, his Disposition to Wrath, and several other Vices, * he saith, That that * P. 121. which others had acknowledged & seq. by Experience in this Emperor, he had foreseen it a long while before, when he was at Athens. For he thought that no good could be expected from a Man who continually moved his Head, stir'd and lifted his Shoulders, had his Eyes Wandering and his Looks Furious, stumbling Feet, the Air of his Face full of Insolence, and in which might be seen some, I know not what, ridiculous, excessive Laughters, his words Stuttering; of a Man in fine who put Impertinent Questions, and gave Answers which were no better. Seeing this, Gregory said, in presence of several People, That he wished he was a bad Prophet, but he fear'd That the Roman Empire nourished a great Evil. A Learned Man * whom we have already
* P. Ca-
nus Pref.
in Caesares.
cited, could not endure that Gregory should lay so much to the Charge of Julian of certain things, which have no relation of themselves with Vertue.

4. Gregory * who had beg'd
* P. 124.
of God the Punishment of Julian; as soon as he saw him Dead, Verf. 8c
look'd on the Pagans with Pity, P. 127.
and exhorted the Christians to treat them with Mildness; though he was overjoy'd that the Christian Churches should be no more polluted, that the Altars would be no more Profaned, that things consecrated to God should be no more carried away from his Temples, that Ecclesiasticks should no more be abused, that the Relicks of Martyrs would be no more burned, &c. After that he Insults over the False Divinities, and admonisheth Christians not to abuse their Prosperity, and to take heed they did not do what they reproached the Pagans with. In beginning this
* Exhortation, he speaks of him- * P. 128.
self in these terms, to draw unto him the Readers attention: *Hearken to the Discourse of a Man who hath not acquired an indifferent Knowledge of these things, either by the Experience of what happeneth every day, or the reading of ancient Books, or ancient Histories.*

5. The greatest * Satisfaction,
* P. 131.
notwithstanding which the Christians had after the Death of Julian, according to Gregory, was, that those who had persecuted the Christians were laugh'd at on the Theater in publick places, and in the Assemblies. That which is most surprizing, adds he, is that those who persecuted us with the rest, threw down with great Shouts the Statues of the Gods, by which they had been so long misled. Those which adored them yesterday, draggeth them to day along with Indignity. But

those who remained in Paganism were without doubt extremely affronted at the manner, wherewith the Statues of their Gods were treated, and could not look on Christians as moderate Men. For in fine these Statues were as dear to them, as what the Christians regard as most Sacred. Moreover those that changed their Religion, as their Emperor did, and became so suddenly Enemies to God, which they had adored all their Life, ought to have been very much suspected.

6. Finally, Gregory having laughed at the Speeches and Writings of Julian

* P. 133. * which are not so contemptible, tells him, That he Boasts in vain of never having contracted any Cru- dity, for having eaten too much; since the Hurt he had done to the Christians was infinitely greater than the good that would accrue to the State from Sobriety. *When a Man, saith he, is troubled with an Indigestion, and that he feels the Inconvenience thereof, what harm doth it to the Commonwealth? But in raising so violent a Persecution, and causing so great Troubles, it is impossible but the whole Empire should suffer.* In effect to want Royal Vertues is a Defect greater in a Prince, than to be destitute of those that a private Man is obliged to have.

To pursue the Thread of our Discourse, Gregory having been against his Will ordained Priest, as we have already observ'd, took the Resolution of retiring into the Solitudes of Pontus, without the Permission of his Father. His Brother Celsaria being then come from Court to live with his Parents, gave him an occasion. Notwithstanding his Father being very Old, and not being able alone to bear the Burthen of the Episcopacy, engaged him to come back to help him. Basil himself used his Endeavours to make him give this Satisfaction to his Father. He was consecrated Bishop to be his Coadjutor, and perform'd the Functions of Episcopacy, which his Father was not able to do. In that time it was that he made the Speech, which is the Fifth in order, wherein he directs his

Discourse to his Father, and to * P. 136. Basil, * and tell them, he took, at their Solicitation, *The long Gown and the Miter.* It is hard to know if he spoke this in Complement, or only was satisfied with the writing it; but he rehearsed before the People the Forty first of his Speeches, which is upon the same Subject. A little time after he made the long Apology for his Flight, which is at the Head of his Works. He propoſeth more at large the Difficulties which are found in the Exercise of Episcopacy, and saith, That notwithstanding he was resolved to come, to satisfy both the Church of Nazianze and his Parents, who equally wished for his Return.

Amongst the Reasons which had given him a Dislike of the Episcopacy and Priesthood, he puts the Shameful manner where-

by many strove to attain them, how unworthy soever they were of this Employment and the Multitude of Competitors. ¶ *They look, saith Or. L. p. 5. he, upon this Dignity, not as a Post where they ought to be a Model of Vertue, but as a means to maintain themselves; not as a Ministry, whereof they must give an account, but as a Magistracy, which is subject to no Examination. They are almost in a greater number than those which they govern, &c. And I believe, saith he, the Evil will so increase with time, we shall have no body to govern, but that all will be Doctors, and that even Saul will be seen amongst the Prophets.* He saith that * into the * Page 21. Sees were introduced Ignorant People and Children; † that the † Page 36. Ecclesiasticks were not better than the Scribes and Pharisees; * Page 33. * that they had no Charity, but Eagerness and Passion only; that their Piety consisted in condemning the Impiety of others, whose Conduct they observed, not to bring them back to the Truth, but to Defame them; that they blamed or praised Persons, not for their good or bad Life, but according to the Parties they had embraced; that they admired amongst themselves, what they reprehended in another Party with Eagerness; that amongst them were seen Disputes like to the Nocturnal Combats, wherein neither Friends nor Foes are discerned; that they were Litigious upon Trifles, under the fine Pretence of Defending Faith; that finally they were a Horror to the Pagans, and the Contempt of Honest Men amongst the Christians. This is a true Picture of the Manners of the Ecclesiasticks of his Age, as it is but too apparent by the History of those times. By ill Fortune those of our time do so much resemble them, that if it had not been said whence these Complaints were drawn, it would seem to be a Picture of our Modern Divines.

Another Difficulty which was found in the Exercise of Episcopacy, is that of speaking well of the Mysteries of Christianity, and principally of the Blessed Trinity; * where, ac- * Page 16. cording to Gregory, we must hold a Medium between the Jews, who acknowledge but one God, and Pagans, who adore several; a Medium the Sabellians could not hold in making the same God, considered in divers respects, Father, Son and Holy Ghost; nor Arius in maintaining that they have divers Natures. As for himself he believed, as we have already observed, and he himself saith again here in many other places, he held this desired Medium, in establishing three Principles equal in Perfection, although the Father is the Origine of the Son and the Holy Ghost.

It was not a very long time, that Gregory was Coadjutor to his Father, before his Brother Celsaria died. This was a little after the Earth-quake, which happened in Bithynia in the Month October, the Year

CCCLXVIII.

CCCLXVIII. He was then
* Or. 10. * at Nice, where he exercised the
p. 169. Employment of *Treasurer* to the
Emperor. This City was almost
totally ruined, and he was the only Officer
of *Valens* that escaped this Danger. *Gregory*
made a Funeral Oration in his Honor,
which is the Tenth of those which are in
being. He makes there an Abridgment
of his Life, whose principal Circumstances
have been related, and describeth the
Vanity of all we enjoy here below, and
makes divers Reflections upon Death,
and of the manner of comforting ones
self for that of Relations. He wisheth

† P. 168. that his Brother may be † in the
Bosom of *Abraham*, where-ever
it may be; and towards the

* P. 173. * end, describing the Happi-
ness of good Men after Death,

he saith, that according to wise Men, their
Souls are full of Joy, in the Contemplation
of the Happiness that attends them, till
after their Resurrection they are received
into Celestial Glory. *Cesairia* dying, left
his Goods to the Poor, and yet there was
much Difficulty in getting them; those
that were at his Death having seiz'd on
the greatest part, as *Gregory* complains in
his eighteenth Letter, where he prayeth
Sophronius Governor of *Bithynia* to order that
Business.

Basil, Friend to *Gregory*, being made
Bishop of *Cesarea*, † in the Year
† Vid. p. 1. CCCLXX. had some Disputes
Crit. ad- with *Valens*, of which we shall
hunc ann. not speak here, because it signi-
fifieth nothing to the Life of his Friend. It
was perhaps for that reason, that this Em-
peror divided *Cappadocia* into two Pro-
vinces, and made *Tyanus* Metropolis in
the second *Cappadocia*. As the Jurisdiction
of Metropolitans was regulated upon the
Extent of the Province, divers Bishops who
were before Suffragans of *Cesarea* became
so to *Tyanus*, so that *Basil* found himself the
Head of a fewer Number of Bi-

* Or. 20. shops than before. * The new
p. 436. Metropolitan drew to him the
Provincial Assemblies, seized of

the Revenues of his Diocess, and omitted
nothing to diminish the Authority and
Revenues of *Basil*. *Anthimus* (for that was
the Name of the Bishop of *Tyane*) who was
an *Arian*, concealed it under the pretence
of Piety, and said, he would not abandon
the Flocks to the Instruction of *Basil*, whose
Sentiments concerning the Son of God
were not upright, nor suffer that any Tri-
bute should be paid to Hereticks. *Gregory*
assures us, that he would send Soldiers to
stop the Mules of *Basil*, to hinder him from
getting his Rents. *Basil* found no other
Remedy to that, than the creating new
Bishops, which would have more care
of the Flocks than he could have, and by
means of whom each City should bring
him in what was his due. *Sasime* being
one of these Cities, in which he had re-
solved to send Bishops, he cast his Eyes

upon his Friend *Gregory* to send him there;
without considering that this place was
altogether unworthy of a Man
of his desert. * It was a Village
without Water and Greens, and
full of Dust; a passage for Sol-
diers, and inhabited only by a few Igno-
rant People: The Revenues that could be
drawn from this Bishoprick were very
small, and besides all that, he must be re-
solved to defend them by force against *An-
thime*, or to be subject to this new Me-
tropolitan. *Gregory* refused this Em-
ploy, but at length the Importunities
and Addresses of *Basil*, which gained
Gregory the Father, obliged him to accept
thereof.

It seemeth he compos'd at that time his
seventh Speech, wherein he speaks to his
Father and *Basil*, and desire their help and
Instructions for the Conduct of his new
Church of *Sasime*. He saith notwithstand-
ing to *Basil* that the Episcopal Throne had
extreamly changed him, and that he had
much more mildness whilst he was amongst
the Sheep, than since he was become Pa-
stor. The next day he made another
Speech upon the arrival of *Gregory* of *Nysse*,
Brother to *Basil*, to whom he complains of
the Violence that had been done

him by his Brother; * and as it * Or. 6.
was the Feast of some Martyr,
he adds divers things on that occasion, up-
on the manner of celebrating Feasts, not
by profane Rejoycings, but by exercises of
Piety. He saith amongst other things,
*That then was the time to raise one's self and to
become God, (Deus) if it be admitted to
speak thus, and that in that Martyrs do the
Office of Mediators intercedunt. This Expres-
sion to become God, that is to say, to become
a good Man and to despise earthly things,
is frequent enough in the Writings of Gre-
gory. He saith elsewhere that †*

Priests are Gods and desire others; † Or. 1. p.
31. vid. E.

* that Solitude desireth. Introdu- Or. 23. p.
cing † *Basil*, who refused to em- 410.

brace *Arianism*, he makes him * Or. 2.
say, that he could not adore a p. 46.

Creature, he who also was a † Or. 20.
Creature of God, and had re- p. 349.

ceived Commandment to be God. We
must remark, that this Expression was us'd
amongst the *Pythagorists*, as may be seen
by the last of the golden Verses of *Pythago-
ras*, upon which we may consult *Hye-
rocles*.

When *Gregory* was at *Sasime*, he thought he
perceived by the misery of this Place, that
Basil did despise him, and abused his Friend-
ship. Though he kept the Government
thereof for a little while, he made no o-
ther Episcopal in it; he prayed not there
in publick with the People, not impos'd
his hands on any. As he went to it against
his will, and without obliging himself to
tarry there, he thought he might leave this
Church, and return into the Solitude from
whence they had drawn him, when he re-
turned to *Nazianze*. He complain'd very
much

* *Greg. de
vita sud.
p. 7.*

† Or. 1. p.
31. vid. E.

Or. 23. p.
410.

* Or. 2.
p. 46.

† Or. 20.
p. 349.

* *Ep. 31. § 32. De vita sua p. 7. § alibi.* much of the Pride of *Basil*, whom the Episcopal Throne of *Cesarea* had so blinded, that he had no longer any Consideration for his Friends. These Complaints as Just as they were, yet passed for Attempts in the Mind of the Metropolitan; who seemed to have forgotten the Esteem he had for *Gregory* and the Services which the latter had rendered him, in his Promotion to the See of *Cesarea*. Yet *Gregory* discovered not the unworthy manner where-with his Friend had treated him, neither then nor since.

† *Greg. Presb. in ejus vita p. 14.* *Gregory* having abandoned *Sasime*, † retired into a Hospital of the Sick, whom he took care to comfort; and in vain his Father entreated him to return to *Sasime*; he would never be resolved to do it, nor digest the hard usage of *Basil*, who of fifty Bishopricks, which were in his Diocesis, had given him the least. All that *Gregory* the Father could obtain of his Son, was, that he would take the Care of the Bishoprick of *Nazianze* during his Life, without engaging himself to succeed him.

In that time it seems, that a Commissary of the Emperor's, to Tax the Inhabitants of *Nazianze*, and who had been a particular Friend to *Gregory*, gave some suspicion to his Flock, that he would not Tax them very lightly; they thereupon forc'd *Gregory* to make that Discourse, which is the Ninth of his Speeches, where he exhorts all Conditions to Piety, and speaks to *Julian*, who was the Commissioner of the Emperor, to induce him to settle this Tax like an Honest Man. Notwithstanding there happened some Disturbances at *Nazianze* which irritated the Imperial Commissary; and gave occasion to *Gregory* to rehearse the Seventeenth of his Speeches, which is upon the same subject, and wherein he exhorts the People to Patience, and the Commissary to Moderation.

It's also believed, that it was about the same time that his Sister *Gorgonia*, who had been Married to a Person of Quality, named *Vitalian*, died. *Gregory* made her Funeral Oration, which is the Eleventh in order. We shall not stay to relate the Praises he gives her for her Piety and Wise Conduct; but only Remark two things.

1. That † *Gorgonia* had not † *Or. 11. P. 188.* been Baptized with her Husband, but a little before her

Death, according to the Custom of that time; her Brother had such an Esteem of her Piety, that he dares say there is scarcely any one but herself, to whom Baptism hath been rather a Seal than a Grace, that is to say, rather a Confirmation of the Virtue she before had, than the Infusion of a new Sanctity. 2. At the end of his Speech, after having said in addressing himself to her, by a Figure of Rhetorick common in our Author, that she enjoyeth the Contemplation of Celestial Glo-

ry, he continues thus: *If you have any regard to us, and if God hath given this Privilege to Holy Souls, to perceive things of this nature, receive our Speech, rather than Funeral Gifts.* By this we see he doubted whether the Souls of the Dead knew what was done here on Earth. We may besides Remark the Word hath been translated *Privilege*, * which is the same that *Hesiod* makes use of, when he saith that *Jupiter* hath given this advantage to Kings, to be after their Death the Guardians of Men. * *Hes. Opera & dies. vers. 125.*

In the Year CCCLXXI. *Arhanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* being dead, *Gregory* † composed his Funeral Speech, some Years after * being at Con- † *Orat. 21. P. 376.* stantinople, whereof we shall say something when we shall come to the part of the Life of *Gregory*.

Gregory made in the Year CCCLXXIV. another Funeral Oration in the Honour of his Father, which is the Nineteenth in order. He testifieth that he died almost at a hundred Years of Age, after being Bishop forty five Years. His Son makes at length his Panegyrick, in giving an Abbridgment of his Life; and endeavours to comfort his Mother *Nonna*, whom he also praiseth much, for the Loss she had sustained. He directs himself to his Father, * whom he prayeth to let him know what Glory he was in, * *Or. 13. P. 314.* and to conduct both the Flock and Pastors, of whom he had had the name of Father, and principally his Son. He puts not a Word, which may excuse so violent a Figure as this *Prosopæia*; and if elsewhere he had not used some mollifying Expression on such occasions, we should with much ado have distinguish'd this Apostrophe from a true Invocation.

His Mother *Nonna*, who was almost of the * Age of her Husband died soon after, and it was not requi- * *P. 315.* site that *Gregory* should make any Discourse in her Praise, because he had already made her Panegyrick, in the Funeral Discourse of his Father. After the Death of the latter some would have had him to have taken upon him the Bishoprick of *Nazianze*, and it was pretended he had engaged to stay in it, when he begun to take care of it. But * he excused himself on the account of his Age; the Bishops of the Pro- * *Ep. xlii.* vince named *Eulalius*, to succeed his Father; on which the report rising, that this Election was done in spite of *Gregory*, he writ to *Gregory* of *Nyssa*, to shew him that nothing was done herein but at his request.

As the Business did not immediately come to that push, and that *Gregory* had † feared he should be forced to stay at *Nazianze*, he retired to † *Carmen. de vit. P. 9.* *Seleucia* into a Monastery, where he remained a sufficient time, staying to see the Church of *Nazianze* provided. Yet he returned into this

City,

City, afore the Election was ended, and was urged anew to take his ancient Post, but he never would. The Author of his Life assures us it was at this time that Basil built an Hospital for the Leprous, and that on this occasion Gregory made his Discourse of Charity towards the Poor, and particularly towards those that were sick of a Leprosie. In this Speech are divers Reflections upon Piety in general, and touching the Use of good and bad Fortune in this Life. It is very seldom that Gregory applies himself to one matter only, and to an Order that is clear and void of Digressions.

During the Empire of Valens, who favoured the Arians, this Sect and that which sprung from it, had gained a great many People on their side. † Constantinople was chiefly full of Arians and Apollinarists, who believed that the Divinity of Jesus Christ served for a Soul to his Body. That occasioned several Bishops and many of the People, which followed the Council of Nice, to desire Gregory to go to Constantinople, to strengthen the Orthodox, and to oppose the Hereticks. He declares he undertook this Voyage purely against his will; particularly because the Report run that a Synod of Apollinarists was going to be held there, to establish their Opinions.

Being arrived at Constantinople, † Or. 28. † towards the end of the Year P. 484. CCCLXVIII. he lodged at one of his Kinsmens, whom some Authors conjecture to be Nicobulus, who had espoused Alympiana, Daughter to Gorgonia, Sister to Gregory. Valens had given the Arians all the Churches of Constantinople, so that Gregory was forced to preach in the House of his Kinsman. There was in a short time such a great Crowd of People, that this House having no Chamber which could contain them, he to whom it be-

longed pulled it down to make † Or. 22. it a Church. † It was called the P. 527. Anastasia, to wit, the Church of Resurrection, because the Belief of the Orthodox was as if it had been risen again in that place. The Arians then raised almost all the City against him, accusing him of believing several Gods. He attributes the Zeal of the People against him, to their Ignorance of the manner, whereby the Trinity ought to be reconciled with the Unity of God. It was not altogether the Fault of the People, because Gregory himself speaks thereof in such a manner, as seem'd as if he introduced that in common Discourse, which would be call'd Three Gods; although, according to the manner he defines Unity, it must be

confessed he believed but one. * Carmen de vita. P. 10 & 11. He complains that Stones were cast at him upon that account, and that he was cited before the Judge as a Seditious Man.

All this made him but the more Famous, and augmented the number of his Auditors.

Then it was that St. Jerom heard him, as he witnesseth in divers places. * We have elsewhere † a passage of this Father, where he speaks but very indifferently of the Eloquence of Gregory, whom he describeth as a Declaimer, that the People applauded without understanding what he said.

The number of the Orthodox increasing every day, they desired to have a Bishop of their own Judgment, and generally cast their Eyes upon Gregory. The Orthodox Bishops of the East, and principally Melece of Antioch, Basil of Cesarea, and Peter of Alexandria favoured him openly; yet their design succeeded not.

There was * in Alexandria one Maximus by Profession a Cynick, yet a Christian. He pretended to be descended of a Noble Family, and in which there had even been some Martyrs. After the Death of Athanasius, the Orthodox being persecuted in Egypt, he had removed into a Village of the Deserts of Thebaides, named Oafis. He went cloathed like the Philosophers, to wit, covered with a poor Cloak; he would have neither his Hair nor Beard shaved, and carried a Stick as Diogenes did: Living thus after a manner most Austere, he would take the liberty of censuring the Vices of all People, without having any regard to their Quality, as the Ancient Cynicks used to do. Notwithstanding under this severe Outwardness was hidden a Soul Fraudulent, Ambitious, Malicious, Covetous, and full of the most Shameful Lusts. But as that did not appear to the Eyes of Men, he acquired a great Reputation, not only amongst the People, but also amongst the most Learned Men. He held Correspondency with the Bishops of Cesarea in Cappadocia, Friend to Gregory, * as it appears by two Letters of Basil, * Basil. Ep. 41 & 42. which are directed to him.

Gregory received him so well, at his arrival at Constantinople, that he made a Speech in Honor of him, * where he omits nothing that could make this Impostor pass for a great and good Man. But having since known his Fraud, * instead of the Name of Maximus which was at the Head of this Speech, he put that of Hieron, and entituled it thus:

A Speech to the Praise of Hieron a Philosopher of Alexandria, sent into Exile for his Faith, and returned three Years after. Gregory shews in this Discourse, what use could be made of the Cynick Philosophy in Christianity; and speaketh of the Persecutions which the Princes who had favoured Arianism, had raised against the Orthodox, particularly in Egypt, and to Maximus the Philosopher. He endeth in expounding the Mystry of the Trinity, and in exhorting his Philosopher to keep himself constantly applied to the wholesome Doctrine, which held a Medium between

Ggggg Judaists

* Ep. ad Nepor. Catal. scrip. Eccl. in Gregor. contra Jovinian. l. 1. † T. 12. p. 145.

* Carm. de vita sua, p. 12.

* Basil. Ep. 41 & 42.

* Orat. 23.

* Hieron. in Cat. in Greg.

* P. 425. *§ seq.* Judaism * and Arianism. He often makes this Remark, when he speaks of the Holy Trinity; and in general we perceive, in reading his Works, that the same thoughts return frequently enough. In admonishing his Philosopher to despise the Objections that are made against this Tenet, he bids him not to be ashamed at the Accusation of Tritheism, whilst others are in danger of establishing two Gods (the Arians and Macedonians) for you shall either resolve the Difficulty, adds he, as they do; or you shall remain entangled like unto them, &c.

Gregory having thus made the Panegyrick of Maximus, received him in his House, instructed him in the Religion, Baptised him, conferred the Orders upon him, and communicated to him his most secret thoughts. * But so soon as Maximus thought himself capable enough, he saw with Sorrow that they thought upon making Gregory Bishop of Constantinople. He judged himself more worthy of this place than his Master and Benefactor, and perceiving that one of the principal Priests of this Church envied Gregory this Dignity also, he joyned with him to supplant him. To which intent Maximus gained Peter of Alexandria, who before favoured Gregory. Some time after the Fleet of Corn, which came every Year from Alexandria to Constantinople, arrived there; and the Masters of the Ships Hammon, Aphammon, Harpocras, Steppas, Rhodon, Anubis and Hermanubis, immediately joyned themselves to the Assembly of Gregory, though they had orders to assist the Designs of Maximus, whom two or three Egyptian Bishops after that upheld strongly. Yet this arrival of the Egyptians, and the Cares they took to joyn themselves to Gregory, gave him so much

* Or. 24. satisfaction, that he made * a Speech thereupon; where he infinitely praiseth the Piety and Constancy of those of Alexandria, and expounds to them his Sentiments touching the Equality of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. He extends particularly to the Proof of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and makes use, amongst other Reasons, of this, the terms of which would seem strange, if already we had not observed such heretofore. * If the Holy Ghost is not God, let him be made God before, and after that let him make me a God equal to him in Honour. This bold Expression seems to signify nothing else, but that if the Holy Ghost be not God, he cannot Sanctify Men, which Gregory calls in another place, to render Men Gods.

Some Learned Men think, That it was about the same time that Gregory made the Panegyrick of St. Athanasius, which is the Twenty first of his Speeches. He reckons therein not only the Vertues of the Bishop of Alexandria, but also gives more at large the History of the Persecutions he suffered, and the Turmoils that happened during his

Life. He praiseth him above all for his Orthodoxy, and for his Constancy in Defence of the Truth. All those, saith he, * that made Profession of * P. 394. our Doctrin, were divided into three Parties: The one had no good Sentiments for the Son, and yet less for the Holy Ghost; there were very few whose Doctrin was sound in these two respects. He was the first and the only Person who durst publicly declare the Truth, or at least he was upheld by very few. Gregory gives besides to St. Athanasius * the Glory of having re- * P. 395. conciled the Eastern with the Western People, who Disputing only about words, believed each other reciprocally to be Hereticks: We say conformably to the Doctrin of Piety, that there is one Essence, and three Existences (Hypostases) the first relating to the Nature of Divinity, and the second to the Propriety of the three. The Bishops of Italy conceived the same thing, but by reason of the Poverty of their Tongue, they could not distinguish the Hypostases from the Essence (because that Latins would translate * the word Hypostasis by that * Hieron. of Substance) and they introduced in Ep. ad Damas. that of Persons, fearing it should T. 2. p. 13. seem that they acknowledged three Ed. Tryph. Essences. What came on it? Something Ridiculous, or rather worthy of Pity. A pure Dispute in words appeared a Dispute touching Faith. Those (in the East) were suspected of Sabellianism, which said that there were Three Persons; and (in the West) of Arianism, those that spoke of Three Hypostases. This it was the Disputes produced. &c. St. Athanasius remedied this, in intervening with Mildness between each Party, and in examining carefully the Sense of the words whereof they made use; and as soon as they found that the Bishops of the East were of the same Sentiment as to the thing, and differed but in Expressions, he permitted the use of different Terms, and reunited them in the bottom as Tenets.

To return to * Maximus the Arrivall of his Country-men in * Carm. de vit. p. 14. CCCLXXIX fortified his Party; and the more to engage the Bishops of that Country to serve him, he made them considerable Gifts. For this purpose he borrowed Money of a Priest, who was lately come from an Isle of the Archipelago, named Thassius, with order to buy at Constantinople Marble and other Materials for a Church, which they designed to build in this Isle. A little time after, Gregory who was indisposed, went out of Constantinople, to take the Air, and thus gave the Egyptian Bishops an opportunity to enter betimes in the Morning into his Church, and there to place Maximus in the Episcopal See. They could not end the Ceremony of the Ordination of this Cynick, before the report of it went through the City. Thereupon the Magistrates of Constantinople, the Clergy, and People, without excepting the very Arians, went in a Crowd to the Anastasia, and drove

drove these Bishops out of the Church. They retired into a Play-House which was hard by, where they cut his Hair and consecrated him. That still irritated the People the more, who heap'd all manner of Injuries upon *Maximus*, and blamed even *Gregory*, for having received an evil Man with too much Bounty, into his House. *Gregory* being advertised of what passed, returned speedily to *Constantinople*, and made the Speech which is the Twenty eighth in order, wherein he declares he went out of the City with much Difficulty, and that the short time he had been absent, did but augment the Love he had for his Flock. He besides represents the Perfidiousness of *Maximus*, and of those of his Party, to which he joyns the Description of a Christian Philosopher. He excuseth himself for being put upon by *Maximus*, in that good Men not being to be suspected, he could not imagine that this Philosopher had an Intention to deceive him. He saith at the end, That he is ready to quit the Episcopal See, and that he never wished for it. He mingles a great many general Reflections in this Discourse, and appears to prepare himself for Patience, in consideration of the Miseries of this Life. We see that he was Old, because he saith,

That perhaps *Maximus* would upbraid him * with his Old Age and Infirmary; which is contrary to the Opinion of those, who believe that *Gregory* was born towards the time of the Council of *Nice*.

The Returning of *Gregory* engaged the People much in his Interest, and obliged *Maximus* to quit the City; but not to renounce his Design. It seemeth

* *Ep. Ambrosii* Ep. Ital. ad Theod. imp. Conc. T. 2. Col. 1007. that he writ to the * Bishops of the *Italic* Diocess, assembled in a Synod at *Aquileia*, whom he made acquainted with his Election; which had been approved by Communicatory Letters from

Peter of *Alexandria*, which he sent then to be read in their Council. He allowed that he had been ordain'd in a private House, but he said it was because the *Arians* were in Possession of all the Churches, and that he was obliged to yield to their Violence. The Council not knowing the Circumstances, approved of his Ordination, supposing that the Promotion of *Gregory* was not done according to the Canons, because it was not lawful for a Bishop to abandon a Church, to go to establish himself in another. The Approbation which they had given to the Ordination of *Maximus*, made them also afterwards refuse to communicate with *Nectaire* his Successor, and that they writ to the Emperor, to intreat him to overlook it, and to re-establish *Maximus*; or to call a General Council at *Rome*, to examine into this Matter. *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* also disapproved the Election of *Gregory*, who according to the Canons, ought to have staid at *Sasine*, seeing it was not permitted to a Bishop,

* to abandon the People which had been committed to him, to go to another through Ambition, which often causeth Quarrels and Schisms. Thus

* In Collect. Rom. Holsten. p. 37.

he speaks on't; in a Letter written to some Bishops of *Egypt*, wherein he also reprehends the Election of *Maximus*, as contrary to the Canons. He writ † besides to *Acholius* Bishop of † *Thessalonica* against the same, and exhorted him to endeavor to establish a Catholick Bishop in *Constantinople*. It is thereby seen, that the Action of *Gregory* in abandoning *Sasine*, had scandalized many People; and for a Man so disinterested in the World, as he testified himself to be, was perhaps a thing that was a little too delicate. Moreover, to resolve to go to *Constantinople*, after having despised *Sasine*, was a thing that might produce bad Suspicions in ill-minded People. It cannot be doubted but *Maximus* maliciously made use of all this, to ruin the Reputation of *Gregory*; and it was perhaps that which gave him the Boldness of going to *Thessalonica*, to solicit *Theodosius* to establish him by an Edict. But far from obtaining what he demanded, the Emperor commanded him with Menaces to desist. Desperate for missing his aim, he went to *Alexandria*, where having drawn some People unto his Party, he threatned *Peter* Bishop of that City, to take away his place, if he did not help him to become Master of the Church of *Constantinople*. The Governour of *Alexandria* being advertised of this Insolence, and fearing the Cynick should cause some Troubles, banished him from the City, and History tells us not what became of him afterwards.

Gregory being thus rid of *Maximus*, had the Arian Party upon his Hands, which endeavoured to defame him, in jarring his Country and Parents: Besides, he was accused of an ill Humour, of Negligence and other Defects of this kind; but as these Reproaches were either ill grounded, or inconsiderable, he easily justified himself, as may be easily seen in his Twenty fifth Speech. That which did him the most Damage, was, that in effect, though he was a great Orator at that time, and considering his Age, he was not very fit to take other Cares upon him, which he ought to have done to have maintained himself against the *Arians*. He should have managed the Court, and endeavoured to win the Favour of the Chief, to advance the Interests of his Church; and this is what he was not able to do, having pass'd the greatest part of his Life in Study and Rest. Which caused the Priest who favoured *Maximus* (as we have said) to gain divers Catholicks, who began to say, that *Gregory* was not capable of fulfilling the Duties of Episcopacy, where there needed no less Experience, and Ability in Matters of Life, than Eloquence and Knowledge. The Complaints and Repulses of these People, gave *Gregory* so much distaste,

that

† *De vita*
sua. p. 17.
§ 18.

that one day † he undertook to take leave of his People. But he had no sooner said that he would go away, but all the Assembly desired him so earnestly not to Abandon them, and expose the Orthodox Doctrine to fall under the efforts of the *Arians*, by his Departure, that at length he gave his consent to stay until the Bishops of the *East*, who were to Assemble speedily, as they said, had Elected to fill the *Episcopal See* of *Constantinople*.

Matters remained in this State, until *Theodosius* Arrived in this City the 22 of

* *Vid. p. 1.* *ad hunc* *ann. in 7.* November, CCCLXXX. This

Emperor who had been Baptized of late at *Thessalonica*, by *Acholius*, an Orthodox Bishop, that had Inspired him with resolutions to Re-establish the Faith of *Nice*, had already ordered, being at *Thessalonica*, † by an Edict of the 27th.

† *c. Th. l. 16.* of February, that all his Subjects
T. i. c. 2. should Embrace, concerning the Holy Trinity, the Opinion that

was espoused at *Rome* and *Alexandria*; that those who should profess it, should be named *Catholics*, and the rest *Hereticks*; that the names of Churches should not be given to the latter, and that they should be obnoxious to Civil Punishments as well as to Divine Vengeance. Being at *Constantinople*, and having observed the great Multitude of Heterodox, whereof this City was full, he Published

* *Ibid. T. V. l. 6.* an Edict more Severe, * the Tenth of January, in the Year CCCLXXXI, by which he Re-

calls all those that might have given any Liberty to *Hereticks*, and takes from them all the Churches they had in the Cities, commanding them to deliver them to those who followed the Faith of *Nice*.

† *Socr. l. 5. c. 7.* He sent word after that † to
Sofom. l. 17. c. 5. *Demophilus* an *Arian* Bishop, to Subscribe to this Council, or resolve to quit the Churches of

Constantinople. *Demophilus* without Ballanceing, took the latter Party, and advertised the People, that the next day they should Assemble without the City. And the *Arians* were thus Dispossessed of the Publick Churches, which they had during Forty Years. * After this,

* *De Vita* *sua p. 26.* *Theodosius* was Accus'd of wanting Zeal; and some would

have had him employ'd Violence, to have reduced the *Arians*, as *Gregory* reports; tho he disapproves of the Heat of those who found fault with the Conduct of *Theodosius*, because of that, and declares against those that pretend to force Consciences. The Emperor having sent for *Gregory*, received him with much Affection, and told him he was going to put him in Possession of *Constantinople*. For fear the People, the greatest part whereof followed the Sentiments of *Arius*, should rise, *Theodosius* sent Soldiers to Seize the Church of *St. Sophia*, and made *Gregory*

to be Conducted by others through the midst of the People, which Cryed on every side and was in as much Concern and Despair, as if *Constantinople* had been Taken; which could not be an acceptable Spectacle to a Wise and Moderate Bishop. Tho the Sun was Risen, it was so full of Clouds, that it might have been said, it was Night; But the Sun immediately appeared when *Gregory* went into the Church. This Circumstance deserved not to be taken notice of, if our Bishop had not related it as some extraordinary

thing, after having said, * That * *Carm. de Vita sua. p. 22.* although he is one of those who

"regards not such sort of

"Thoughts, he believes notwithstanding it

"is better to add Faith to all, than equally to refuse to believe what is said. So

soon as they were in the Church, *Gregory* was demanded for Bishop, by the Cry of all the People which was there, which he made to cease, in telling them by a Priest,

that they should give God Thanks, and not to Cry. He was threatened with no Danger, except that one Man drew his

Sword, and immediately put it into the Scabbard. But although the *Arians* had given up their Churches, they never the less Murmured amongst themselves, and were enraged for their being driven away.

Gregory believed with a great deal of reason, that the Heterodox might be drawn by Mildness; and used it more willingly, than the Authority of the Emperor. "He

complains of a parcel of unhappy young People; who called Mildness Cowardice; gave Fury, the name of Courage; and would have the *Arians* to be irritated and inflamed with Anger. The

Moderation of *Gregory* did not displease *Theodosius*, who some times * would

send for him and make him eat * *Carm. 10. T. 7. p. 80.* at his Table. Notwithstanding

our Bishop would very seldom be at Court, † though others were continually there, to gain the Favour

of the Emperor, or of his Officers; and made use of the presence of Piety to advance them-

selves, and ruin their Enemies. As he was Old and of a weak Constitution, he was often Indisposed, which his Enemies attributed to too great Tenderness. Being

one day in Bed, a Man was sent to Assassinate him, who touched with Repentance, confessed to him at his Beds

Feet, that he was set on work to have committed this Crime, and obtained Forgiveness. As to the Revenues of the

Church, *Gregory* saith, that finding no Account out, neither in the Papers of those who had been before him Bishops of *Constantinople*, nor amongst those who had

the care of gathering them, he would not meddle with them, and took nothing on't, that he should not render an Account for the same.

Theodosius at that time called a Council at *Constantinople*, either to Condemn divers

Heresies, or to Establish *Gregory* according

the Canons in the Episcopal See of that City. But before we relate what passed therein, as to what concerneth Gregory, it's necessary to say somewhat of the Speeches he made, whilst he was at Constantinople, and which remain yet amongst us.

Basil Bishop of *Cæsarea* * Dy-
ed the First day of the Year
CCCLXXX. † Gregory made a
Speech in Honour of him some
time after; not being able to

render his Friend this last Duty as soon
as he would. He praiseth the Ancestors
of *Basil*, who were Persons of Quality,
and moreover Christians, from

* P. 319. a long time. He saith, that * dur-
ing the Persecution of *Maximi-
nus*, some of the Ancestors of *Basil* being
retired into a Forest of *Pontus*, without
any Provision, and Arms, to go to Hunt,
they prayed God to send them some
Game, or Venison, which they saw in this
Wood; and that in the very Moment, God
sent them a great number of Deers, and
such as were of the Fatteſt, who shewed
they were troubled not to be called for
sooner. Gregory is Merry enough on this
Subject, according to the Custom of Pa-
gan Orators, who do the like in respect
to the Pagan Fables. That which there
is of worst consequence in it is, That
this renders Suspicious the other Narrations
of Gregory.

2. Afterwards he makes an Abridgment
of the Life of *Basil*, and insists on each
Place, according to his Custom, with
much Exaggeration, Figures and Morali-
ties. Speaking of the manner he himself
had passed his Life, he saith,
* P. 335. that he wishes * *His Affairs may
prosper better for the future, by the
Intercessions of Basil.*

3. The ways whereby in his
time * Men advanced in Ecclesi-
astical Charges, were no more
Canonical than the ways which are im-
ployed this day upon that account, if
Gregory may be Believed. After having
said, that in other Professions Men were
advanced by degrees, and according to
the Capacity they had, he assures us, that
the chief Places were attain'd as much through
Crimes as Vertue; and that the Episcopal Sees
were not for those who were the most Worthy
thereof, but for the most Potent, &c. No body
takes the name of Physician, nor of Painter,
who hath not studied the nature of Maladies,
that hath not well mixed Colours, and
Painted many things; but a Bishop is easily
found, not after his being formed with care,
but out of hand, as the Fable hath feigned,
that the Giants were no sooner Sown, than they
were Born. We make in one day, and we bid
those to be wise who have not learned to be so,
and who bring nothing to acquit them of Epis-
copacy, but the desire of being Bishops.

4. Gregory attributes to *Basil*
* P. 340. Monastical Laws and written
Prayers. We have still the first,

without great Changes, but the Liturgy
which bears his Name, hath been extream-
ly alter'd since.

5. He praiseth not only his Friend, but
also makes his Apology against those who
accused him of Pride, (of which notwith-
standing he hath done it him-
self in divers Places) * and that * P. 364.
suspected him of not acknowledg-
ing the Divinity of the *Holy Ghost*, because
he had not called him *God* in his Book.
Gregory saith, that *Basil* did thus, that he
might not enrage Hereticks, who could
not suffer that this Title should be given
to the *Holy Ghost*, because the Holy Scrip-
ture doth not attribute it to him, but that
he had said the equivalent, which was the
same, seeing it is not Words, but things
That do Save us.

6. In fine, after having described the
Funerals of *Basil*, he continues
in these terms, * He is now in * P. 372.
Heaven, where he presents, as I
believe, Sacrifices for us, and where he
Prayeth for the People; for in leaving us,
he hath not quite Abandoned us, &c. He
advertises me still, and reprehends me in
Visions at Night, when I swerve in any
thing from my Duty. At the end of his
Speech he asks his Succour, in terms as
earnest as if he hear'd him; tho he seem-
ed to doubt if he was in *Heaven*, to wit,
in the *Habitation of Supreme Beatitude*;
where Antiquity believed, that excepting
Martyrs, none entred till after the Refur-
rection, as we have already seen by ano-
ther Place of Gregory.

It's probable, that 'twas at *Constantino-
ple* he Compos'd the greatest part of his
Speeches, which we have not as yet spo-
ken of, especially those that he made against
the *Arians*, wherein it was judged that
he had defended the Council of *Nice*, as
well as in his other Writings; that for
that reason he had the Title of Divine.
Thereupon may particularly be read his
twenty third Speech, and the four follow-
ing. To give some Idea of these five
Speeches of Gregory, it must be observed,
that the design of the First, is to shew, that
it belongeth not to all Men to Dispute of
Religion, and that it ought not to be
done before all the World, nor at all times;
nor with too much Heat. He Censures the
Hereticks, as if they had no regard to all this,
and names Common Places which every Party
have always made use of. * He

complains that they no sooner thought * Or. 33.
a Man Holy, but they Sainted him; P. 535.
that Divines were Chosen, as if
by their Choice, Wisdom and Learning were
Inspired into them; and that many Assemblies
of Ignorants and Praters were Convocated.
As he knew that there was People that
cou'd not abstain from Disputing, to sa-
tisfie their desire, he tells them he will
open them a vast Career, in which they
may Exercise themselves with-
out Danger: As, to * Philosophy * Ibid. p.
about the World, or Worlds; upon 536.

H h h h h

the

the Soul; rational Beings more or less Excellent; upon the Resurrection; upon Judgment; upon Reward; upon the Sufferings of Jesus Christ: In these matters it is not unprofitable to succeed, and there is no great danger in being deceiv'd therein. Men have much changed their Opinions since, and it is certain, that we may fall into dangerous Errors, and that some have effectively been deceived in these Articles.

In the second * he comes to the Point, and sets himself principally to prove against the Eno-
* Or. 34. mians the Incomprehensibility of God, which he often repeats. He likewise observes that there are many things in nature that we cannot comprehend; with a design to conclude, that it is an ill Argument, to deny that something is in God, simply, because we comprehend it not.

After having thus prepared the Mind of his Reader, or Auditor, he declares his
† Or. 35. Sentiment upon the Divinity of the Son, † and upon the Holy
p. 562. Trinity in general, which he does in such terms as are worthy of remark. *What we Honour is a Monarchy: I do not call that Monarchy that is possessed by one only Person (for it may be that a Person not agreeing with himself may do the same as if there were many) but what is founded upon the equality of Nature, the consent of the will, the same Motion, and upon the same Design, in regard to what is produced by this Monarchy (which is not possible in created Natures) so that though those who compose this Monarchy differ in number, their Power is not different. If Gregory had believed the numerick Unity of the Divine Essence, he had spoken very weakly and obscurely, since that instead of Equality of Nature, he should have said identity, and not to speak of Consent of Will, but of one Will in number. In this same Speech, Gregory answers Difficulties, that the Arians made against the Eternal Generation of the Son, which often are very weak; whether it be that they are not well proposed, or that the Arians argued no better. Howbeit, as the Personage of an Arian may be better represented, the Opinions perhaps also of Nice can be defended with more Advantage.*

Amongst the Objections of the Arians, which Gregory starteth to himself, this is one, which is the Eighth. * That
* P. 569. if the Son is, in respect of his Essence, the same with the Father, it will follow, that the Son was not begotten, because the Father was not. Gregory answereth not to this, with the Scholasticks, that the Son is not begotten, in respect of his Essence, who is the same in number with the Father, as he ought to be according to the Principles of Modern Schools; but that not to be
begotten, is not essential to Divi-
* P. 570. nity, to which he adds, * Are you Father to your Father, that you may not be inferior to him in any thing, because you are the same thing, in regard to Essence? If it was yet doubted, if that Unity, where-

of our Orator speaks, is a Specifick or Numerick Unity, we only need read these words, which are at the bottom of the following Page: † This is our Do- † Or. 36. ctrin, as it is likewise judged of things which are under the same kind, as of a Horse, an Oxe, a Man, and that each thing is properly called by the Name which agreeth to the nature whereof it participates, whilst that which participates not, hath not this name, or beareth it but improperly: So there is but one Essence, and one Nature in God, which is called alike, although the Persons and Names are distinguished by our thoughts.

In the fourth Speech Gregory after his way resolves the Objections of the Arians, by which they pretended to shew the inequality of the Father and the Son.

In the Fifth † he disputes of the
Consubstantiality of the Holy † Or. 37. Ghost against the Macedonians.

Some of those who received the Divinity of the Son, denied that of the Holy Ghost, and had even the Boldness to call the Holy Ghost a strange God; under pretence that he is named God in no place of Holy Writ. It is against those that Gregory made his fifth and last Theological Speech.

In this Discourse, speaking of the divers Sentiments which were had thereupon, he saith amongst other things, † That
† Or. 37. the greatest Divines of the Hea- P. 595. thens, and those that came nearest to us, have had an Idea thereof; though they have given it another name, having called it the Soul of the Universe, and the Soul that comes from without, and other such names. As for the wise Men of our time, saith he, some have believed that the Holy Ghost is a Faculty, others a Creature; some a God, others know not where to place him, because of the respect they had for Scripture, which is not clear upon this Subject. Gregory maintains he is a Consubstantial Person to the two others; and when he answers his Adversaries, who asked him in what Generation and Procession differ'd, he fortifies himself in the Incomprehensibility.

But one of the principal Objections, which was made against the Orthodox, * is that they acknow- * P. 600. ledged three Gods. If there be, said they, one God, and one God, and one God, how is there not three Gods? &c. That is, replieth Gregory, what those say whose Impiety is arriv'd to the height; and those who are even in the second Rank, have good Sentiments towards the Son. I have a common answer to give both, and another which regards the second only: I therefore ask these latter, why they call us Tritheists, who honour the Son; and if they abandon the Holy Ghost, they are not Ditheists? How do you expound, continueth he, your Ditheism, when this Objection is made to you? Give us the means of answering, for the answer wherewith you will repel Ditheism, will also serve us to defend our selves from Tritheism, &c. Thus we shall overcome, and our Accusers will serve us for Defenders, &c. But we have a Contestation with these two sorts

of

of Adversaries, and a common answer to both of them. We have but one only God, because there is but one only Divinity, and that those who proceed thence, relate to one thing only, though we believe three. The one is not more a God than the other, the one is not anterior and the other posterior. They are not divided in Will, nor separate in Power, and nothing is remarked in them that is found in divided things; but to say all in one word, Divinity without Division is found in three divided Persons; as in three Suns turn'd one to another, there would be but one mixture of Light. When we consider Divinity, and the first cause of Monarchy, we conceive but one only thing; but when we consider those in whom is the Divinity, and those that proceeded from the first cause before the beginning of time, and who enjoy the same Glory, we adore three.

But they will say, is there not one only Divinity amongst Heathens, as their most able Philosophers have profess'd? All Mankind hath but one Humanity, and yet there are several Gods amongst Heathens, and not one, as there are several Men. I answer, That in these things Unity is but in the Thought; each Man is divided from the rest, by Time, by Passions, by Power, which is not in God, &c. This is it in which consists the Unity of God, as much as I can conceive it. If this reason is good, we must give God Thanks, if not, we must seek for a better.

After that Gregory propoeth to himself an Objection of the Arians, which shews still clearer, that the Orthodox made not the Unity of God to consist in the Numerical Unity of Divine Essence, but in a Specifick Unity of distinct Essences, equal, and in a perfect consent of Wills.

* P. 902. * The things that are of the same Essence, say you, are reckoned as in the same order of things—and those that are not consubstantial, are not reckoned after this manner; whence it followeth, you cannot but grant that there are three Gods, according to your opinion; for as for us, we are not in the same danger, because we do not say that the Persons are Consubstantial. The Arians would have it understood, that they admitted but one Supream God, who created all others; that they would say in this regard, that there is but one God; because God could not be put in the same order, and under the same name as his Creatures; but that the Orthodox acknowledging three Beings of a Nature perfectly alike, they could not deny but that they acknowledged three Gods speaking properly. Gregory answers nothing else, but that Men often place in the same Rank (συμμετρίαι) things that are not of the same Species, whereof he brings divers Examples drawn from Holy Writ. That sheweth that the Arians might be accused, as well as the Orthodox, of admitting a plurality of Gods; but in no wise that the Orthodox did not acknowledge three eternal Spirits, although perfectly equal, and the same Will.

A little further in this same Speech † Gregory saith, That having sought uncreated things, something like to the Trinity, he could find no comparison that could satisfy him. He had well considered an Eye, a Fountain, and a River; but he did not find these things proper enough to express his thoughts by. I was at first afraid (saith he) lest it should seem that I was willing to introduce a certain Flux of Divinity, which would have no consistence. Secondly, Of establishing a Numerical Unity by these Comparisons: For an Eye, a Fountain, and a Sun, are one in number, although diversly modified. I reflected in the Sun, on the Beams and the Light; but there was yet somewhat to fear on this occasion, lest that we should suppose there was a Composition in a nature where there is none, such as is the Composition of the Sun, and of what is in the Sun; and that we should give an Essence to the Father, but that we should attribute no distinct Existence to the other Persons, from thence making them Faculties which exist in God, and which have no distinct Essence. The Sun-beams and Light are not other Suns (as the Son and the Holy Ghost are other Spirits distinct from the Father) but certain Emanations and Proprieties essential to the Sun. Finally* Gregory found nothing better than to abandon these Images and Shadows, as Deceitful and very far from the Originals.

But † Gregory believed the Trinity was revealed by degrees, as † P. 608. that Revelation first discovered God the Father, without speaking of God the Son but with much Obscurity; after that the Son, without imposing on Men the Belief of the Holy Ghost, fearing they should not be in a State of admitting thereof; and finally the Holy Ghost, after the Ascension of the Son.

We may judge by these places, of the Doctrin of Gregory, and of the Orthodox of his time, with whom the Orthodox of ours agree as well for the Terms, as they are distant in the Sense. We may further see, in the Expressions of our Bishop, a remarkable Effect of the Dispute. It is when we fear that our Adversaries should draw some Advantage from certain ways of speaking, we avoid with care the use thereof, lest we should give them some Prize; although these Expressions are otherwise most proper, to express the Doctrin we maintain. It is visible, that to make himself be understood, Gregory ought to have answered to the Arians; Yet it's true we adore three Gods, seeing we acknowledge three Eternal Spirits, whose Essences are distinct; but these Gods are perfectly equal, and as perfectly united as distinct Beings can be, having the same Thoughts and the same Will; which makes us say commonly, That we acknowledge but one God. But if he had spoken thus, the Arians who boasted to study and follow Scripture, would have replied, That all the Scripture represents the Unity of the Supream God, as a Numerical Unity, and

and not as an Unity of Species and Consent. They would have said, as they did before, but with much more appearance of Truth, That the *Homoousians* introduced a new Paganism, in establishing three Collateral Gods. Thus they were obliged, that they might keep themselves from these Reproaches, to maintain strongly that there is but one God, according to the Sentiment of *Nice*. The *Platonicks*, who had a like Thought, but were not restrained in their Expressions, fortified themselves thereupon, and said, That the Principle of all things were three Gods. I cannot but relate on this Subject these remarkable words of *St. Augustine*, which admirably confirms what I have said:

† *De civit. Dei*, l. 10. c. 23.

† *Liberis verbis loquuntur Philosophi, nec in rebus ad intelligendum difficilimis, offensionem Religiosorum aurium pertimescunt: Nobis autem ad certam regulam loqui fas est, ne verborum licentia, Etiam in rebus quæ in his Significantur, impiam gignat opinionem. Nos autem non dicimus duo, vel tria principia, cum de Deo loquimur; sicuti nec duos Deos, vel tres nobis licitum est dicere, quamvis de unoquoque loquentes, vel de Filio, vel de Spiritu Sancto, etiam singulum quemque Deum esse fateamur.*

Philosophers freely use what words soever they will, and fear not to offend Pious Ears, in Subjects most hard to be understood. For our part it is not lawful for us to speak, but according to a certain Rule; lest words employed with too much Liberty, should beget an Impious Opinion, to understand them, according to what they signifie. When we speak of God, we do not say two, nor three Principles, as it is not permitted us, no more than that there are two or three Gods, though in speaking of each one, or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost, we grant that each of them is God.

This Custom hath made Men insensibly twerve from the Ancient Idea's, because the word Unity was taken in the ordinary Sense that it used to be taken in; without supposing that the Ancients understood it in a particular Sense. This is what happened in divers other Doctrins, as it hath been observed in the History of *Jansenism*.

It's now time to return to the History of our Bishop, after having brought so many proofs of his Sentiments upon those Tenets that then divided Christians. The Council, whereof we have already spoken,

* *Socr. l. 5. c. 8. & Soz. l. 7. c. 7.*

* assembled at *Constantinople* in May CCCLXXXI. There were at it an Hundred and fifty Orthodox Bishops and Thirty six *Macedonians*, who it was hoped would be brought to the Orthodox Faith. Besides some Canons that were made there concerning Discipline (whereof we shall not speak) the Affair of *Gregory* and *Maximus* was treated on, they also made a Symbol.

* *Conc. C.P. c. 4.*

The Ordination of * *Maximus*, and all those that he could ever

have, were judged void; after which * *Gregory* was declared Bishop of *Constantinople*, though he endeavoured to discharge himself from it. They obtained of him that he would stay there, because he was persuaded that he could the more easily in this Post, reconcile the different Parties which then rent Christianity. It was brought against the Promotion of *Gregory*, that being Bishop of *Sasime* and *Nazianze*, he could not be transferred to *Constantinople*, without violating the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which is express thereupon. But

* *Carm. de vita*, p. 14.

* *Theod. l. 5. c. 9.*

Melece * Bishop of *Antioch* replied to that, that the design of this Canon was to bridle Pride and Ambition, which had no share in this business. Moreover, it seemeth that this Canon was not observed in the East, since *Gregory* * saith, That they opposed to him, *Laws that were repealed long before*; besides, that he had perform'd no part of the Episcopal Function at *Sasime*; and as for *Nazianzen*, he was but Coadjutor to his Father.

* *Carm. de vita sua*, p. 29.

This Affair being cleared, they entered on the principal Subject for which they were assembled, which was the Sentiment of *Macedonius*, who had been Bishop of *Constantinople*, and believed that the Holy Ghost was but a Creature; though all the Disciples of this Bishop were not of the same mind, upon the nature of this Divine Person, as appears by a passage of *Gregory* which hath been related. Immediately, in the Council, was confirmed the *Nicene Creed*, and they thought it convenient * to augment it, particularly with what respected the Holy Ghost. This addition is in these terms, *We believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord of Life and he that giveth it, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is glorified, and who spoke by the Prophets.*

* *Vid. Conc. Chalced. act. 2.*

The Council also anathematized the Sentiments of *Sabellius*, *Marcellus*, *Phetinus*, *Eunomius*, *Apollinarius* and *Macedonius*; but we shall not stand to relate these Errors, because they have no Connexion with the Life of *Gregory*, the same reason makes us omit what concerneth Discipline.

All passed with Tranquility enough, in regard to *Gregory*, until a Tempest arose, that made him lose the Episcopal See of *Constantinople*, when he least expected it. It was the Spirit of Revenge in a Party which he opposed, that caused this Difference; from which *Gregory*, who was not so Couragious as to maintain the Brunt against his Adversaries, could not free himself but by flying.

There was some time after a sad Schism in the Church of *Antioch*, where two Orthodox Bishops were at the same time. *Melece* being dead at *Constantinople*, before the Council was separated, they spoke of giving him a Successor. *Gregory* thereupon proposed an Expedient to end this Schism; which

which was, that *Paulinus* who was the other Orthodox Bishop, † and who had been ordained by *Lucifer de vita*, p. 25.

Cagliari, alone governed the Church of *Antioch* during the rest of his Life; and that after those of the Party of *Melece*, being reunited with those of *Paulinus's*, would choose a Bishop by common Votes: For fear it should be thought that he had some Interest to favour *Paulinus*, and that he would form a Party; he offered the Council to quit the Episcopal Throne of *Constantinople*, in which he had been established. But the *Ambitious* and *Incendiaries*, as *Gregory* calls them, who had begun to give a Successor to *Melece*, would not hearken to this Proposition.

* A Crowd of young Persons *Ib. p. 27.* begun to cry out like *Magpies*, and made so much noise, that they even forc'd the old Bishops, who should have resisted them, and brought in question again the Affair of *Gregory*, which had been decided. *Gregory* perfectly describes their Ambition, Ignorance and Defects, in the Poem he hath made of his Life: It is better to read it in the very Author than here. Yet the People, hearing that the Council gave *Gregory* a Distast, and that the latter spoke of retiring, cried out, That they should not take away their Pastor, and intreated him not to abandon his Flock.

About that time *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who succeeded *Peter*, and who was of a Violent and Contentious Spirit, arrived there with divers *Egyptian* Bishops. The old Malice they had against *Gregory*, upon the account of *Maximus* the *Cynick*, had so much inflamed them against our Bishop, that they began by complaining that the Canons had been violated, in transporting *Gregory* from one Bishoprick to another. This excited a great Noise in the Council, and it was upon this occasion that *Gregory* made his Speech of Peace, which is the Fourteenth, wherein he at length presents the Advantages of Agreement, and the evil Consequences of Divisions. He highly Censures therein the lightness of the Bishops, who had without reason, changed their Opinion in his behalf, and suffered themselves to be deceived by the Calmness of his Enemies. He saith, That Back-bitings ought to be slighted, which are commonly spread of Moderate Persons; and in fine, we may easily see by what he hath said, that it is not in our Age alone, that Men do cover their Passions most unworthily under the fair name of Zeal for the Purity of Faith.

* *Ib. p. 29.* *Gregory* testifieth also, * that he told them, For what concerned himself they should not put themselves to so much trouble, but that they should endeavour to be reunited; That it was time to make People cease laughing at them as wild Men, who had learned nothing else but to fight; That provided they would agree, he consented to be *Jonas*, who should make the Tempest cease; That he

had taken against his Will the Episcopal See, and that he quitted it freely, and that his Body being weakened with old Age, obliged him thereunto.

Notwithstanding all this, they accused him of Ambition; he therefore made a Speech, which is the Twenty seventh, wherein he protests he had accepted of the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*, but by force; and brings the People to witness it. He saith, * That he cannot * *Or. 27. P. 465.* tell whether he ought to call the Seat of *Constantinople*, The Throne of a Tyrant, or the See of a Bishop; he complains of the Distractions of his Enemies, and the Envy they bore him * because of his Eloquence, and his Learn- * *P. 466.* ing in the Sciences of the Heathens. It may be that made some People envy him, but the Post which he was in made a great many more envy him. He would have suffered him to have made use of his Rhetorick at *Sasine* without giving him the least trouble for it.

After having declared in full Council, that he desired to quit the place which was envied him; he went to the Emperor's Palace, to entreat him to suffer him to withdraw. He obtain'd it with some difficulty, and afterwards he only thought upon taking leave publicly, which he did in the Cathedral in the presence of one hundred and fifty Bishops, and all the People: We have the Discourse he then made, and 'tis the Two and Thirtieth in order; he there represents the Ill Condition wherein he found the Orthodox Church of *Constantinople*, and the Change he had accomplish'd; he makes a Confession of his Faith, touching the Blessed Trinity, and shews he had done nothing which was worthy of Censure; he exhorts the Fathers of the Council to choose a Person worthy of the See of *Constantinople* to succeed him, and afterwards took his leave of all that heard him. In this Speech he complains of his Old Age, * and in the Poem of his Life, † he saith he was then * *P. 528.* but a dead Man animated; which † *P. 304.* he could not say, if he was, according to the common Supposition, but Fifty six Years Old.

As soon as he took his Leave, the People, and in general all those who had heard him at *Constantinople*, testified a great deal of Grief. The Conduct of the Council appears very unequal and Violent, since after they Confirmed *Gregory* in the See of *Constantinople*, they oblig'd him to quit it, at the Age of about 80 Years. This manner of acting so Unwise and Unchristian like, gave pleasure enough to the Enemies of the Council, and much diminished the Authority of their Decisions. For in fine, how can we think that Bishops so Factious, so Unjust, and so Ignorant, as *Gregory* describes them in divers places, were not capable of Examining maturely the Doctrins in question? If their Authority did not make them incline to the Orthodox side, it must

needs be Chance only that led them into the right way. The love of Truth is seldom found with so much Vanity and Ignorance.

Thus Gregory Abandoned the Bishoprick of Constantinople, some few Weeks after he had been established by that Council that Banished him. He withdrew into Cappadocia, according to Gregory the Priest, Author of his Life; and went to live at Arianze, where he was Born. Amongst those

* *Sozom. l. 7. c. 8.* that were presented to the Emperor, * some Bishops put up

Nectarius, Senator of Constantinople, a Man of regulate Manners, and comely Countenance, but who was not as yet Baptized, and who had scarcely any Learning. It is not known whether Gregory parted for Cappadocia before this Election was made, or staid at Constantinople

until he had a Successor named † Or. xlv. to him. Howbeit, † Gregory

writ an Instruction to Nectarius; where he begins thus, *That it seemed as if the Providence of God, who before kept the Churches, had altogether abandoned the Affairs of this Life.* That which made him speak thus, he says, was not his particular Evils, tho so great, that they would have seemed insupportable to any body else.

He assures us, that the State of the Church only, forc'd those words from his Mouth. He afterwards describes to Nectarius the boldness of the Arians and Macedonians, who were in as great a number at least as the Orthodox, and who durst Assemble and form Churches, (a horrid Attempt) after the Decisions of a Council so well Regulated as that which had been newly held!

Gregory comprehended not how his Holiness and his Gravity (it was thus that Bishops were stiled) permitted the Apollinists to Assemble. He advertised him that Apollinarus said, that the Body of the Son of God, Existed before the World; that the Divinity served him as a Soul; and that his Body descended from Heaven, and was essential to the Son; yet nevertheless Died.

Gregory thought, tho I know not why, that to permit these Men to Assemble, was to grant, that their Doctrine was truer than that of the Canonical, since there could not be two Truths; as if to suffer any one, was a sign that they believed his Opinions to be true! In fine, he advises

Nectarius to tell the Emperor, that what he had done in favour of the Church, would be of no use, if Hereticks were admitted to Assemble. It was thus that good Gregory who would not whilst the Arians were the strongest Party, the Emperor being on their side, have any thing undertaken which was blamed in them; Exhorted his Successor to forget this good Lesson; so difficult it is not to contradict our selves, when we take not great care to free our selves from Passion.

The following Year, CCCLXXVIII.

* *Theod. lib. 5. c. 8.* there was an Assembly of Bishops held at Constantinople, where Gregory was called; but he would

not go to it; and thus he Answer'd those which Invited him. † *If I must*

write the truth to you, I am disposed † *Ep. 17.*

always to shun every Assembly of Bishops, because I never saw a Synod which had good Success, or which did not rather augment the Evil than diminish it. The Spirit of dispute and Ambition, (without exaggerating upon it) is so great there that it cannot be expressed. It must not be

thought that our Bishop said this, without thinking well on it, in a time wherein he might have any regret. He repeats it again in his Letters LXV. LXXI. LXXII. and LXXIV. and also diverted himself by putting this thought in Verse,*

I will never be present, saith he, at any Synod, because none but

* *Carm. 10. p. 40.* Geese and Cranes herd there, which fight without understanding one another: There are

Divisions among them, Quarrels, and shameful things, which before were hidden, and

which are Re-assembled in one Place, with Cruel Men. Being returned to

Nazianze, he found that Church † *Greg. Presb. p. 52.*

† Vacant a second time, and by that reason Infected with the O-

pinions of Apollinarius. He was immediately desired to take the Place of his Father, but he

never would do it, and that gave occasion to * his Enemies to ac-

cuse him of Pride, as if he had * *Ep. 222. Et Carm. de rebus suis.*

scorned to take care of a small Church, after having possessed the

Patriarchal See of Constantinople. Gregory protests in one of his Letters, that he had

refused it only because he was too Old, and too much Indisposed; yet seems nevertheless to promise to lend his Body to the

Church, as he himself said; which makes us believe he really took care of the Church

of Nazianze, at least until they had provided a Bishop for it.

We shall not speak of what hapned after the retreat of Gregory, because he was

not concern'd in it; only he writ to several of his Friends, to endeavour that the

Bishops might live in Peace, tho they were to be severely Censured for it. At his leisure

hours he composed some of the Poetry which we have, and particularly that

which concerns his Life. We may say of his Poetry, that the Stile is as Prosaick as

that of his Speeches is Elevated. As there is often too much Ornament in his Speeches,

so there is too little in his Verse, the turn of which besides is harsh enough. But

he is not alone among excellent Orators, who have been indifferent Poets. The

rest of his Poetry that is extant not being placed according to the order of Time,

we cannot well distinguish those that he made at the end of his Life, from those

writ under the Empire of Julian, as has been already observed, unless there be

in the very Poetry some matter of Fact, which may distinguish the time.

Gregory died very Old, according to the Relation of * the

* *Greg. Presb. p. 33.* Priest who writ his Life: And Suidas tells us that he Lived

above

above XC Years, and died in the Year CCCXCI, the third Year of the Reign of the Emperor Theodosius. We have still a Testament which he made, being at Constantinople, and which is at the beginning of his Works; some suspect it to be Supposititious; but as it contains nothing Singular, and no more than Gregory has said before, there is no convincing reason that can make us reject it.

It is not requisite that I should make here an Encomium upon Gregory of Nazianze: It might be seen by his Conduct and those Places we have related of his Writings, what judgment may be made of him in general; and it is not sure to trust to any whatever, when we are to judge with exactness of an Author. In his writings is a very faithful description of the Manners of

that Age; as wherein the Penitency * of those that lay on the hard Ground, and such as rose at Midnight to sing Hymns, and to weep, hindred not the Ecclesiasticks from being generally very Corrupt. Religion began from † that time to serve as a pretence to get Money; and as it is more easie to keep an outward guard upon our selves, than to correct our inward Defects, so cannot

be thought strange, that many Persons whose Conversation seemed unblameable, were nevertheless after some time found out to be very ill Men. The Elections of Bishops were then for the most part made in Churches by the People;

* Or. 19. p. 308. † Ibid. p. 310. Ep. lxxi.

amongst whom there was strange Caballing to be advanced. Gregory † with'd that this Election depended on the Priests, who were more capable of judging of the Capacity of Persons, than those that considered nothing but their Riches, or Authority; where People acted impetuously without Reason, and were very easily Bribed. Nevertheless, his own experience taught him, as is evident, that the very Bishops did not act on these occasions, with more Wisdom than the Vulgar. We only need to read his description of the Council of Constantinople to be convinced herein. Their judgments were so much the more to be feared, because they determin'd very speedily, without being exactly informed of the matter in question, but agree'd with very great difficulty, as in the business of Maximus and Gregory. They scarcely thought on any thing but to enrich themselves and to augment their Authority, under pretence of Piety, as Gregory reproacheth them in divers Places.

This inclination commonly possessing the Ecclesiasticks of that time, made them gather the People into the Churches, and begin to publish both Miracles and Legends, much more frequently than before, and to Preach up a blind Credulity instead of exhorting Christians to examine their Faith, and to maintain it by good Reasons. An Example whereof may be seen in the

Eighteenth Speech of Gregory, which is in the Honour of St. Cyprian. He Accuseth the Bishop of Carthage, who bore this name, of being a Magician, and of having endeavoured to seduce a Christian Virgin, named Justina, by the means of a Demon; who not being able to accomplish his aim, entred into the very Body of Cyprian, and was driven away by this Magician, by calling upon the God of Justina. Those who have read St. Cyprian, know that this Bishop never had such an accident, and the refutation of the Fable may be seen in the Oxford Edition of St. Cyprian's Works, before a supposititious piece, that is Intituled, Confessio S. Cypriani Martyris & Pontificis. After having thus harangued upon the credit of a Legend, Gregory saith, that the Ashes of Cyprian, had * the

* Or. 18. Vertue of driving away Devils, P. 394. curing the Sick, and foretelling Futurities. Persons are as little inclined to believe these Miracles, as the other part of this Fable. A piece of St. Cyprian is likewise at the end of this Speech, where Gregory asks him his Advice

† for the better governing of his Flock. This Prayer hath no resemblance of Rhetorick in it. There is likewise another place in this Speech, which may perswade us that the Invocation of Saints began to be in use at that time. Justina represented * Praying to the Virgin Mary, to help a

† P. 286. Virgin in danger. In effect the opinion of Miracles which were said to be done at the Graves of Martyrs, has a very great connexion with the Worship that is rendred to them several Ages since amongst Christians. As if we believed that the Ashes of Martyrs cured the Sick who drew nigh them, and did many other Miracles, there appeared no danger of making Addresses to them, to ask some Favour of them; since God did so many Miracles in favour of those that called upon them near their Graves. There is great probability that the belief of Miracles, which Saints did after their Death, is not much older than their Invocations. Dr. Cave in his English Life of our Bishop, saith not without Reason, that Gregory sometimes speaks to the Dead; by a Figure of Rhetorick, which has been observ'd * more than once; but

† P. 35. there is no Figure in the Action * P. 35. of Justina, which Gregory undoubtedly did approve of; as appears by the manner he relates it; I shall not undertake to speak of all the Speeches of Gregory, it sufficeth to have given an Extract of his Principal ones. We have Two hundred and forty one Letters of his, the greatest part of which regard some particular Affairs, which are not well known to us, or contain Complements, or Morals, or even some Jokes. There are few considerable Facts, excepting those, wherein he complains of the ill Manners of the Bishops of his time, and of their Disputes. These Letters are not of a Periodick Stile, like

like to his Speeches, yet they were written with Care, and generally very Elegant.

Amongst the Works which bear the Name of *Gregory*, it's doubted if two are his. 1. The Forty fifth Speech which treats of *Divinity*, and directed to the Monk *Evagrius*. The Author makes it his business to Expound how Three Persons can be in God; though we cannot say that there are Three Gods. He Establisheth, like to *Gregory*, the Unity of God in the strict Union of the Three Persons, and in the specifick Identity of their Essence. 2. A Discourse upon the beginning of *Ezekiel*.

It is believed, that the *Paraphrase* of *Ecclesiastes* which is amongst the Speeches of our *Gregory*, is supposed his, who is called *Thaumaturge*; and that the Tragedy which is at the end of his Poetry, Intituled *Christ's Sufferings*, is *Apollinarius's* of *Laodicea*.

But we may reckon amongst the Works of *Gregory of Nazianze*, at least, in regard to the Form, a Collection of *Divinity*, which he had made with his Friend *Basil*, in reading the Works of *Origen*, as may be seen by his Letter the LXXXVII to *Theodoret* Bishop of *Tyane*. *Gregory* believing this Collection useful, the Doctrin it contains may be looked upon as that of *Gregory* and *Basil*. We have already said, that the *German* Edition of the Works of *Gregory*, which lately appear'd, contains nothing but what is in the Edition of *Paris*. We shall only add here that two things might have been done in favour of *Gregory*, which would have rendred this Edition a great deal better. First, His Speeches should have been disposed according to the order of Times, as much as could possibly be found out by the very Speeches, which was easie, in regard to a great many of 'em, as appears in the Life of *Gregory*. The same should have been done in respect to the Epistles, which the Abbot de *Billis*, (tho otherwise a Learned Man) has not placed in any good Method. Secondly, It would be a thing to be desired, that some able Man should make a new Translation in Prose of all the pieces of *Gregory's* Poetry. That which is in Verse is very bad, not only in regard to the Poetry, but also in respect to the Sense. He that did it being a very ill Poet, took excessive Liberties to fill the measure of his miserable Verse. These sorts of Translations are not regarded by the Learned, for they value them not, nor by those which cannot read the Original, without the help of a Translation, because it's too far above their Sphere, and they may be deceived. The Interpreter of *Gregory* has for Example,

* Page. ad
ann. 389.
N. 5.

made *Baronius*, * or some of his Copiers fall into an Error, since they believed that where *Gregory* a little after the death of his Brother *Cesario*, and his Sister *Gorgonia*, said that he was Old, that was to be understood of a prematured old Age, because the Interpreter made use of this term, in Translating the 363d. Verse of the Poem Intituled, *Carmen* I. de rebus suis; tho there is

no such thing in the Original. As for the version of his Works in Prose, it is incomparably better; and we may say that the Abbot was as capable of writing Prose as he was unfit for Verse. It is wonderful that a Man of his Learning, should take so much pains to Translate into pitiful Verse, what he could have put much better into Prose. One thing notwithstanding may be observed in the Translation of the Speeches and Letters of *Gregory*, which will convince us we ought always to have recourse to the Original. And that is the Pointing of the Version, which is often very different from that in the Greek, that makes it appear more clear, and less incumbered: Tho that may in part fall out through the fault of those who have placed the Greek in the side of the Translation, (for he had Published it alone) who have taken not care enough of the Correction, and partly by the liberty of the Translator, who has Abbreviated many Periods, and Lengthned those which appeared to him too short. However we may say in general, that it is one of the best Versions which has been made of the Greek Fathers, and at the same time one of the most difficult, by reason of the too figurate Stile of *Gregory*, and which is even Harsh and Obscure in divers Places where he treats of controverted Tenets.

We should here have ended the Life of *Gregory*, because we have nothing more to say of him as a certainty, but that we perceived, a little too late, that what was said of the delaying of Baptism (Page 9.) may be cleared by *Gregory* himself. He disputes in his XL Speech, where he treats of Baptism against those which deferred it, under such pretences as we have before related. It appears by this Speech, that *Gregory* believed, 1. That by Baptism all past Sins were Pardoned and blotted out. 2. That it is difficult for a Man to reestablish himself in the State of Salvation, if he falls into a Mortal sin after Baptism. 3. That those who neglect Baptism, and die without being Baptized, are Damned. 4. That those who died without it, but who have not neglected nor retarded their Baptism, by their fault, are neither Glorified nor Punished, whether they die in their Infancy, or in a more advanced Age, they desired to be Baptized. We may see by this Doctrin, and by several others, that the Christian Societies of this Age, without excepting one, cannot boast of following in all things the Doctrin of the Fathers. Divinity has its Revolutions as well as Empires.

Dissertationes in Irenæum Auctore Henrico Dodwello, A. M. Historices in Academia Oxoniensi Prelectore Camdeniano. Accedit fragmentum Philippi Sideræ, hætenus ineditum de Catichistarum Alexandrinorum Successione cum notis.

1. The third Dissertation which is the first we shall speak of, is taken up in Examining the time of the Birth and Death

Death of St. Irenæus; as these two Epochs were never took notice of by any Author, it must be traced out by the help of Conjecture: And thus Mr. Dodwell endeavours it.

* Profane History furnisheth us with no Instances which can help us to discover the Birth of St. Irenæus; because since Tacitus who lived in the Reign of Trajan to the end of the Empire of Commodus, we have no exact History; and that the Latin Authors of the History of Augustus began after Adrian. It is true we have many Monuments and Inscriptions of Trajans, whence Constantine the Great compared them to the Herb which we call Pellitory of the Wall. But when we are not assisted by History, all these Antiquities can no more maintain the weight of Consequences, than Types and Figures in Divinity.

* We have no clearer Demonstrations from the History of the Church, since the Chronicle of Eusebius is now so corrupt, and that the Copiers have occasion'd so much Disorder, that one can scarcely find any thing fix'd or certain therein: We are therefore now to except the great Insight from the Writings of St. Irenæus himself, which may serve to guide us in these almost unconquerable Darkneses; this is the Method our Author follows.

* St. Irenæus speaks thus of the Apocalypse, † It is not long since it appeared it was almost in our time, at the end of the Reign of Domitian. The Latin Interpreter makes use of these words *nostro seculo*, to denote what we have translated in our time; and Eusebius, who speaks of the same passage, saith, *ὅτι ἡμετέρας γενέας*. It remains therefore to know what the word *γενέας* signifies; it is certain that the Ancients distinguish'd Times by Generations, some giving Twenty five Years to each Generation, and some Thirty; and others allowing three Generations to each Age. But all did not assign the same beginning to each Generation. According to some, the time of Infancy was reckoned for nothing, and often said that a thing was done in the time of their Fathers, tho' it happened after their own Birth, because they had share in it, and by reason of their under Age, and that they could not remember it. They accounted their Generation to begin no sooner than they succeeded their Fathers in the managing of Affairs. There were others, which begun to reckon their Generation from the very Moment of their Birth, and so Eusebius used to do, as appears by a place cited by the Author.

Supposing therefore that Irenæus begins to reckon his Generation from the very time of his Birth, it follows, that since he places it almost towards the end of the Empire Domitian, he must be born under one of the Successors of this Emperor. Nerva reigned

but a short time, the Empire of Trajan was much longer; so tho' the Reign of the first should be reckoned for nothing, it must be notwithstanding concluded that St. Irenæus was born at the beginning of the Reign of Trajan, or else under the Empire of Nerva.

St. Irenæus saith also in a Letter which he writ to Florinus, * that he had seen him in Asia whilst he was but young [ταῖς] with St. Polycarp. † Mr. Dodwell endeavours to prove, that this Father gave the name of *ταῖς* to Persons of Twenty five and Thirty Years of Age; whence he concludes that he was more than Twenty five, but he was not Thirty Year old, when he was in Asia with Polycarp.

We likewise read these words of this Father in the same Letter to Florinus: I saw you whilst I was but a Child, in the lower Asia with Polycarp, when you made a great Figure at the Royal Court, and endeavoured to insinuate your self into the mind of this Holy Man: He shews that by this Royal Court, that of the Emperor Adrian must be understood, who could not make so quiet a Voyage into Asia, as to give occasion to Florinus to pursue a Friendship with Polycarp before the Year CXXII. of the Common Era of Jesus Christ.

In fine, St. Irenæus tells us in the same Letter, That he often heard Polycarp say, upon the Subject of the first Founders of Heresie, who openly divided the Church in his time, O God to what time am I reserved! We need then only know precisely the time in which the Hereticks Marcion, Basilides, Valentinus, Saturninus, Cerdon and others took off their Masks. Mr. Dodwell endeavours to shew, that it was in the same Year of the Voyage of Adrian CXXII. so that St. Irenæus being then Twenty five Years, it follows that he was born toward the XCVII Year of Jesus Christ, far from the common opinion; which says, he was not born till the CXL Year of our Lord.

Mr. Dodwell hath made appear in his first Dissertation, * that the Hereticks came from amongst the Jews, and separated by a publick Schism from the Christians but under the Empire of Trajan. These are some of the Reasons he hath made use of; Hege-sippus tells us, in a passage which Eusebius preserv'd for us, that the Church remained a Virgin during the Life of the Apostles and the first Disciples of our Lord; and that it was after their Death, that Men publicly preach'd against the Truth. This same Author saith also, That the first that separated himself from the Church, was one Thebutis, because he was not raised to the Episcopacy of Jerusalem, which happened, as Hege-sippus says, after the Death of Simeon Son of Cleophas, and under the Empire of Trajan. Whence it follows that this Thebutis separated himself from the

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* See Euseb. H.E. lib. 5. cap. 19.

† § 5 & seq.

* § 12. & seq.

Church not till the Year CXVI. of our Lord, and the last but one of this Prince, seeing that since the Death of *Simeon* the See of *Jerusalem* was vacant but that Year. The Author confirms all this by Passages of *St. Paul*, *St. John*, *St. Peter* and *St. Jude*, who observe, as he pretends, that there were many False Doctors arisen when they writ their Epistles, but that they only taught privately, being not as yet separated from the Church. He enquires into the time that all these Epistles had been written, and shews, according to his account, that this agrees very well with the Epoche which he hath observed of the first Schism that happened in the Church.

Celsus, a great Enemy to Christianity, confesseth in *Origen*, that the first Disciples of our Lord were all of the same Opinion, and that they were not separated from one another until their number increased. He reproaches them with these Divisions, and had not omitted it, if there had been any in the time of the first Disciples, to have made a Demonstration of them in like manner.

The same Truth also appears by a place of *Clement* of *Alexandria*: This Author pretends to prove that the Heretical Churches were of a later date than the True. To this purpose he divides the time which passed since the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, into three Periods; the first comprehends the time of our Saviour's Life, from *Augustus* to the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*, according to the Calculation of *Clement*; the second from the Death of *Jesus Christ* to the Martyrdom of *St. Paul* under *Nero's* Empire; and the third from *Nero* to *Adrian*. *Clement* shews that all Heresie began after these three Periods, thus agreeing with *Mr. Dodwell*, that they appeared not until *Adrian*, so that some were in being until the Emperor *Antoninus's* time, which is true of the Heretick *Marcion*, and very likely of *Valentinus*.

Mr. Dodwell having proved in his first Dissertation, that the Hereticks did not begin to disturb the Church until under the Emperor *Trajan*, pursues this Subject in the Dissertation whereof we give the Extract, and proves in particular, that *Marcion*, *Basilides*, *Valentinus*, and some other Hereticks, made *Polycarp* say so often, *O God to what times am I reserv'd?* That all these Hereticks, I say, did not discover themselves until under the Empire of *Adrian*; the reason hereof may be seen in the Author; we will be satisfied to remark, that he reprehends *Tertullian* by the bye, of some very gross Faults, as that he made but one Emperor of *Tiberius* and *Claudius* under the name of *Tiberius Claudius*; but this of *Tertullian* will not seem so strange,

*H.E.lib.2

as in * *Eusebius* one Emperor divided into three, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, and that the Historian says they were Brothers.

†After having spoke of the time of *St. Irenæus's* Birth, *Mr. Dodwell*

†§.21.& seq.

search'd after that of his Death; he rejects the pretended History of his Martyrdom by the Persecution of the Emperor *Severus*, because it does not appear in any Author of the four first Ages, that this Father was Martyred, there being none that gives him this name. To comprehend the strength of the Argument (which is a Demonstration on this Subject) you must know that the Honour of Martyrdom was so Glorious, that this Praise was never forgot; so that *St. Irenæus* not having it from any Ancient Author, though they gave him many Glorious Titles, we ought to conclude that it was not due to him.

It's true, some of the following Ages honoured him with the Title of Martyr; the first that gave it him was the Author of the *Questions to the Orthodox*, which *Mr. Dodwell* supposes to be one *Justina Sicilian*, that is supposed to be writ about the end of the fifth Age; at least he is sure he did not live until after the Emperors embraced Christianity, and consequently his Testimony alone ought not to be taken for things that passed a long time before.

The second who calls *St. Irenæus* Martyr is * *St. Jerom*, but because *In *Esa*. 64. this Doctor has not given him this name in the places wherein he ought to have given it him, if he had thought it his due, *Mr. Dodwell* judges it is some Remark that might have passed out of the Margin into the Text, so that nothing can be concluded in favour of *St. Irenæus's* pretended Martyrdom, neither from the Author of the *Questions to the Orthodox*, nor from the Testimony of *St. Jerom*; and *Gregory of Tours* may be looked upon as the first that spoke of it affirmatively, but it is with so little Exactness, and upon so false Supposition, that one ought not to take notice of what he says: He will have him dye in the same Persecution that crowned *Photian* Bishop of *Lions*, whom nevertheless *St. Irenæus* succeeded. Besides it is certain that he lived when *Victor* was Pope, as appears by the famous Dispute that happened about *Easter*, which was undoubtedly in that Pope's time. And it seems under the Empire of *Commodus*. *Eusebius* and the Chronicle of *Alexandria* make mention of this Father in the third Year of this Emperor. *Mr. Dodwell* believes that it was upon the occasion of his Works against the Schism of *Blastus* and *Florinus*, that he put out under *Commodus* rather than *Severus*, by reason of the Troubles of the Reign of this last, during which it seems this Dispute was quieted.

The last Actions of *St. Irenæus* which we have any knowledge of, end in the Year CLXXXIX of our Saviour, and the Tenth of the Emperor *Commodus*, so that it may be concluded this Father died about Ninety, but not full a Hundred Years of Age.

This Author attributes this long Life to Providence, that Tradition might be more compleat: The same also was said of the Patriarchs

Patriarchs before *Moses*, because the *Revelations* were not writ; but the Writings of the New Testament being received and known, the like Necessity does not appear. Nevertheless Mr. *Dodwell* carries this thought further, and says, That it was more difficult, that the Churches planted by the Apostles should consent to an Error, than to convey Books under the borrowed names of Apostles; there would be nothing wanting to fall into this Unhappiness, but the Perfidiousness of an Ill, or the too great Credulity of a Good Man. It's to befriend Tradition extremely, to bring it from the Inconveniencies to which it seems a thousand times more subject than Scripture: For after all, how would it be possible to distinguish from the true Apostolick Tradition, what might be added under pretext of Explication, for some other end.

After having spoke of the Person of St. *Irenæus*, Mr. *Dodwell* passes to his Writings in the following Dissertation: The design of his Work against Heresies, and the time wherein it was written, wholly takes up the fourth Dissertation: If this Father excuses the Rudeness of his Style, it is not that he was an Enemy to Eloquence, or that he despised it, but because his long abode in *Gaul* made him lose the Habit of speaking the Greek Tongue, and because he was not accustomed to write; whence it is concluded that his Work against Heresies was the first of his Writings; nor did he write it until he was far in Years, because he talks of having seen *Polycarp* in his Youth, as a particular Advantage; which seems to intimate that there were but few then in the World that could say the same thing. He says also, that divers Bishops succeeded *Polycarp* in the Government of the Church of *Smyrna*, which shews it was a long time after the Death of that Holy Man; *Irenæus* might be then about eighty Years of Age.

This Work against Heresies, was not all writ at the same time, nor was it built upon the same Foundation; on the contrary it appears by divers places, that the two first Books entirely took up the Design of the Author. It was after these were ended, that he thought of making a third, which soon followed the other two: After that he made a fourth and fifth Book, wherein he speaks of the Doctrin of our Lord. But though he writ these things at several different times, all the work was ended in a short time.

* § 7. * As *Irenæus* himself says, in a Letter to a Friend that had desired to write upon this Subject. Mr. *Dodwell* acknowledges that he does not know who this Friend was, and makes no Scruple to refute those that thought it *Turibius* a Priest of *Toledo*, whom the Author of this Fable Confounds, with one *Turibius* of *Asturia* who lived not till the fifth Age; whether there were two of this name, or that they

made two of one, which was often done, it was so that *Anaclet* was made two Popes, in taking away from him the two first Syllables of his name.

However this Friend must be a Grecian, because St. *Irenæus* writes to him in Greek, and makes an Apology for the Roughness of his Style: It may be he lived in *Cephallonia*, or in some place of the Continent that is near this Island, according to the Author's Conjectures, who pretends that the Heretick *Ptolomey* was of this Country. He desired him to explain the Doctrins of the *Valentinians*, and because they embraced almost all the Opinions of the other Hereticks, it makes *Irenæus* speak of them all in his Work; going back as far as *Simon* the Magician, pretending that they derived their Birth from him, as the Orthodox did theirs from *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles: It is true, the *Valentinians*, and other Hereticks of St. *Irenæus*'s time, did not acknowledge this, for they maintained on the contrary, that they received their Doctrin from *Theodad* Disciple of St. *Paul*, as *Basilides* said, he received his from *Glaucias* Interpreter to St. *Peter*: But this Father proves that they descended by an uninterrupted Succession from the Heretick *Menander* Disciple to *Simon* the Magician.

The better to apprehend all this, the Author observes that the new Hereticks used always to joyn themselves to the Ancient ones, and to enter into a Society with them, adding also some new Error to their Heresie, whereby to distinguish themselves. And as among Philosophers there was one *Potamon* that pick'd and chose what he liked in all the rest, to form his own Principles by: So it is very likely that the *Valentinians* formed their Heresie from what they found in the other Heresies that suited with their Design. This is the reason that *Irenæus* calls it a *Recapitulation of all Heresies*.

* *Ptolomeus* was one of the chief Disciples of the *Valentinian* Heresie, who according to the *Maxim* we just before spoke of, added new Errors to those of his Masters. It's of him that this Father speaks of in the beginning of his Work. *Marcus* was Disciple to *Ptolomeus*, erected a new School, and is more spoken of in what follows than his Master. His Errors spread as far as *Gaul*, and all along the *Rhine*. But Mr. *Dodwell* proves that the *Valentinian* Heretick, *Colorbasus*, was more ancient than either *Marcus* or *Ptolomeus*, because he was contemporary to *Valentine*, of whom he learned his Doctrin, after which he formed a new School: All which is contrary to what *Epiphanius* writ. These Hereticks, like the *Pythagorians*, did not explain their Opinions, nor communicate their Books to any but them who were initiated into their Mysteries; which was the reason that very few were well acquainted with them, this caused St. *Irenæus*'s Friend to desire

desire him to inform therein; therefore this Father design'd, as he himself declares, to discover the Practices of the *Valentinians*, and exclaim against their Manners: Mr. *Dodwell* Remarks upon this, that the Fathers used to represent the Ill Lives of Hereticks, thence to draw Consequences against their Doctrins; according to the Maxim of Jesus Christ, *You shall know them by their works*, Matth. 7. 16. Though this Consequence is not always lawful, for the Manners of one that is Orthodox in his Judgment, and may be corrupt; and on the contrary a Heretick may lead a pure and holy Life: But it was just against the ancient Hereticks, whereof the most part approved by their criminal Opinions, their lewd Practices. They affirm'd that one might deny our Saviour by word of Mouth, if Persecuted. That Magick was lawful, and that simple Fornication was not a Crime, &c.

The Author employs the rest of this Fourth Dissertation to find out the time wherein St. *Irenæus* writ this piece against the Hereticks; to which purpose he runs over all the *Valentinian* Hereticks, of whom we before have spoken, and by the great many helps of Conjectures and Inquiries, discovers the Times wherein they lived and Taught; and concludes at last that *Irenæus* writ this Work after the Death of *Photinus* his Predecessor, about the Year CLXVII. of the common *Aera*, and the ninth or tenth of his Episcopacy; and because this Father speaks of the Version of *Theodotian*, which is thought to have been later, he endeavours to shew that it is a Mistake, and that there is nothing in the whole but what agrees with his Calculation: The Reasons may be seen in the Author, because they cannot be alledged here without being Tedious.

The Fifth Dissertation treats of the Interpreter of St. *Irenæus*, and a Passage of St. *Jerom*, which joins St. *Irenæus* with the *Greek* Authors, that clear'd *Erasmus* from his doubt whether he writ in *Greek* or *Latin*. Mr. *Dodwell* adds another, that neither *Erasmus* nor Father *Feuardant* who published an Edition of St. *Irenæus* took notice of, which is, that St. *Jerom* says that he'll mention none of the *Greeks* but *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons*.

He adds Arguments to these Testimonies. This Author excuses the Roughness of his Stile, because he lived along time among the *Celts*, and was obliged to make use of their barbarous Language; but had he writ in *Latin* this excuse would not have taken, for there was not only a *Roman* Colony at *Lyons*, but also every fifth Year they celebrated the terrible Combat of Orators in Honour to *Augustus*, of which *Juvenal* speaks in these Verses: *Aut Lugdunensem Rhetor dicturus ad Aram*.

St. *Jerom* says also that St. *Irenæus* writ learnedly and eloquently, and without dispute this Father was too good a Judge to give this Praise to so rude *Latin* as that of

St. *Irenæus* was, if it were that which is now extant; it is not difficult to observe, that the Author of this Version understood *Greek* very well, but could not speak *Latin*; so that if St. *Irenæus* had writ in *Latin*, we might justly apply to him the words of *Cato Utrican*, on the Subject of *Posthumius Albinus*, who being a *Roman*, would nevertheless write in *Greek*, and yet excused the badness of his Stile, saying, *He did not well understand the Greek Tongue*. He had rather, says this grave Senator, beg Pardon for his Fault than not to commit it. He has also Expressions so proper to the *Greek* Tongue, that they could not have slip't from an Author that had writ in *Latin*, had he been never so little versed in the Tongue; for Example this Author translates of *ὁ περὶ Πτολεμαίου*, *Qui sunt circa Ptolomæum*, instead of saying barely *Ptolomæus*, or *Ptolomæi Discipuli*; he also makes an Adjective of the proper Name *Ἐμφανής*, which he translates *Clarus*.

Mr. *Dodwell* goes much further, and maintains that this *Latin* Version is so far from being the Original, or made by St. *Irenæus* as some have believed, that it appeared not until a long time after the Death of this Father; since *Tertullian* quotes this Work always in other terms, though he writ thirty Years after. The first that produced formal Testimonies was St. *Augustin* in his Books against *Julian*. What is most strange is that it seems this Father did not know that St. *Irenæus* writ in *Greek*, this Version then must be made in the time that passed between St. *Augustin* and *Tertullian*; and whereas St. *Jerom* makes no mention of it in his Catalogue composed the Year of our Saviour CCCLXXX. and the Fourteenth of *Theodosius*; it must needs be made between the Year CCCLXXXV. and the time which St. *Augustin* speaks of. Our Author thinks it is the Work of some *French* or *Spaniard* that was very ignorant in the *Latin*, who undertook this Version upon the account of the *Priscillianists*, who renew'd the Errors of the *Gnosticks*, which St. *Irenæus* had disputed against. This Version was the occasion of a very singular Action; which was, that after the Heresies were smothered, this Version was so rough and full of strange Matter, that it was quire despised; so that *Gregory the Great* could not find one simple Copy of it, after an exact Search which he caused to be made, and that none of the ancient Schoolmen speak of it: But on the contrary the *Greek* Authors had several Copies of the *Greek* Original, and there are Fragments of it in all Places. And nevertheless now this excellent *Greek* is lost and the World is full of the bad *Latin* Translation; the Fate of Books very often is like that of Fountains; there are little Rivers that carry their Name into the very Sea, and very considerable ones that lose themselves without any Name.

St. *Irenæus* writ his Books, both without Distinction or Arguments, and his Translator

tor or some other Authors have added what we see at this day.

IV. Our Author in his last *Dissertation* of the other Works of St. Irenæus, begins his Letter writ to *Blastus*, and by the first to *Florinus*, the first treated of *Schism*, and the second of *Monarchy*. *Baronius* thought that *Florin's* Errors oblig'd St. Irenæus to write the Books against Heresies; but Mr. *Dodwell* is not of his mind. It is manifest that it is against the *Valentinians*, that this Father intended these Works, and *Florinus* taught a quite contrary Doctrine to that of these Hereticks; for whereas these Hereticks establish'd two Principles, the one good, the other bad, them *Florinus* made conformable to the Doctrine of the Church, but he made that the Author of Good and Evil. As for *Blastus* he is acquitted of the Crime of *Herésie*, whereof many Ancient and Modern accused him, and its believed he was but a *Schismatick*, having done the Office of a Priest after he was deposed by his Bishop. These two Letters were writ at the same time after his Work against the Hereticks, according to our Author in the Year CLXXXII, and the Third of *Comodus*, and the Eighty fifth of *Irenæus*.

Florinus did not stop at these Errors, he soon fell into the Dreams of the *Valentinians*, which obliged St. Irenæus to write him a second Letter, which he entituled, *πρὸς Βλάστου, of the Eighth*, because it was writ against the Eighth, *des Eons de Valentinians*. Our Author believes that *Irenæus* was above Eighty five years old when he writ it, which was about the CLXXXII. Year of Jesus Christ.

Irenæus writ also an Harangue against the *Gentiles*, the Subject whereof was *πρὸς Ἑθνικοὺς of the Science*. It is known that *Isocrates* not having the necessary Talents for speaking publicly, contented himself in writing several Orations, with important Advise to them that ruled the People; he was imitated by a great many others, and the Christians themselves were assisted by this Custom to teach the Pagans the Truths of the Christian Religion, and did not neglect to embellish their Orations with the vain Ornaments of the Sophists, to move the Curiosity of the Readers, whose Gust lay that way: Such was then St. Irenæus's Discourse of Science, that it was addressed to the *Greeks*, that is to say, to all them that were not Christians; for as the Christian Church succeeded that of the *Jews*, and the *Jews* called all them *Greeks* that were not of their Religion; so the Christians gave the same Name to all those that did not embrace their Opinions. Mr. *Dodwell* believes, that this Work was employ'd to refute the Opinion of some Philosophers, who thought that by Study and Meditation one might raise himself beyond all that is sensible or material, and to the perfect knowledge of God, and of all Spiritual Beings, and this by themselves; that St. Irenæus proved that Knowledge was re-

served for the other Life, and that we do not know in this but only by Faith.

St. Irenæus writ another Work, which he named the *Demonstration of Preaching*, or of the Apostles Doctrine, and dedicated it to one *Marceion*, to contradict several Writings that were father'd on the first Disciples of our Saviour, and particularly the Sermons falsely attributed to St. Peter. Mr. *Dodwell* says, that the design of this Work was the same of that of the *Prescriptions of Tertullian*. The Ancients speak yet of another Work of St. Irenæus, intituled *Βιβλίον Διαλέξεων διαφόρων*, that is, according to St. *Jerom's* and Mr. *Dodwell's* Interpretations, a Book containing divers Treatises; our Author employs a long Discourse to shew that St. Irenæus had erected a School in his latter days, and that he taught his Scholars what he himself had learned of the Apostles Disciples, that is to say, Apostolical Traditions; and that this Work we speak of, was a Collection of the Lessons that he made in that School. It is pleasant to see the trouble Mr. *Dodwell* gives himself to establish this his Opinion, and it is like he took it with pleasure, because it tends to the general end he propos'd to himself of reconciling the Traditions of the two first Ages of the Church with the Scripture.

What is very advantageous, is, that all these Enquiries include many curious Remarks, which may be read in our Author.

Besides these Letters of *Irenæus*, whereof we have spoken, this Father writ another to *Victor* Bishop of Rome, upon a Dispute that happen'd about *Easter*: This gives the Author occasion to inquire why the *Asiatics*, who had the Apostolical Tradition on their side, generally embraced the contrary Opinion, which was that of *Victor*: This question did not perplex a Roman Catholick, who drew hence an Argument for the Supremacy of the Pope, through this deference which the Christians had for *Victor's* Opinion. But Mr. *Dodwell*, who is a good Protestant, alledges other Reasons for it. The First, that the Emperor *Adrian* sent to divers Roman Colonies in Asia, who carried their Customs along with them; and the Christians who were in these Colonies, the way of keeping *Easter* conformably to the Church of Rome. The Second is, that the Christians removed as far as they could from the Jewish Customs, through the aversion they had for the Jews; that made them not scruple receiving *Victor's* opinion concerning the day that *Easter* should be kept on, because it was quite contrary from that of this Nation, to which the *Asiatics* that oppos'd *Victor*, joyned themselves.

Mr. *Dodwell* believes with Mr. *Valois*, that the Letter to the Church of *Lions*, whereof a great part is seen in *Eusebius*, belongs to St. Irenæus. *Scaliger* said, there was nothing in all the Ecclesiastick History that moved him more than that Letter did; and that he was as it were beyond himself when he read it.

Of all these Works, there remains only the Latin Version of the first, and some Fragments of the others quoted by the Ancients. *Irenaeus* promised to write in particular against *Marcion*; but there is none of the Ancients that speaks of having seen this Work; so that it is likely he did not compose it.

The Author added to the end of these Dissertations, a piece of *Philippe de Side*, upon the *Catechists* of *Alexandria*, with Notes of his own. The reason that made him Print these Fragments, was because it contains a proof of what he said in his Dissertations concerning the time that *Celsus* lived in, against whom *Origen* writ.

Dissertations on St. Cyprian: By Henry Dowdell Master of Arts in Dublin. Printed at Oxford, 1655. in Folio and Octavo.

IT appear'd as if nothing could be wished for in the Edition that was given us at Oxford, of this Father, in 1682. where in the great Learning of Mr. *Fell*, Bishop of Oxford, and Mr. *Pearson*, Bishop of Chester, appeared in all its Lustre: Nevertheless these Dissertations of Mr. Dowdell shew that this Edition wanted a very considerable Ornament: They are thirteen in number, and upon important Subjects, selected out of the Epistles of St. Cyprian.

In the First is examined, whether what Mr. *Rigant* pretends, be true, that in the first Ages the name of *Clergy* was given to all Christian People, but that the Ecclesiasticks appropriated it to themselves by little and little, to raise 'em proudly above the People. The Author as jealous as can be of the Honour of the Episcopal Party, refutes this pretension by very good Remarks, wherein he inquires after the first occasion of applying to the Christians the word *κλήρ* *Clergy*, and shews, that tho the whole Christian Church was called so, yet this Title belonged by a proper Dignity and special Favour to Ecclesiasticks. He touches many very Curious Things, which he has proved at large in an English Book upon *Schism*; and this makes the first Dissertation short enough: The Second is yet shorter, wherein he Treats of the signs of Distinction, by which one may know whether a Letter be Supposititious or no.

The Third Dissertation treats of a pleasant Custom in St. Cyprian's time; there were some Nuns that lay with Boys without being less bold in maintaining their Virginity: They Swore it, and offer'd to suffer the examination of Midwives. Mr. Dowdell says, that notwithstanding St. Cyprian's Zeal against this Abuse, there were some Examples of it in the following Age: But to say the truth, they were less frequent, and in this that Father has not lost very many of his Censures,

tho he hardly prevailed at all upon another Art, the which was, that these Persons of different Sexes, should not live at all together. This Custom has out-lived this Father, because in the following Times the Fathers we vain to make Decrees against this, as it is proved here; and this the Author brings as to what concerns the *συμβάσεις* which were Persons of different Sexes yoked together by a great commerce of Friendship, and a continual communication of Life in all things, except Bedding. It is reported, that *Paul* of *Samosatenus* was the first that brought this Custom into the Church of *Antioch*; to which perhaps the knowledge contributed that he had, that this practice under the name of *συμβάσεις* was not now among the Pagans of that famous City. However it was, he took share of that Liberty which he permitted to others, for he always had with him wherever he went, a young and handsom Virgin; and it appears by a circular Letter writ by the Council of *Antioch*, where he was Condemned, that he protested that there passed nothing Dishonest between him and them. The Council of *Nice*, expressly forbid this to all Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Sub-deacons, and generally to all in Orders. 'Twas enough to forbid it to such Persons, for 'twas only they that entred into those Conversations. It might be proved that these Commerces went sometimes as far as the community of the Bed; for St. *Athanasius* tells us, that when *Leontius* was forbid to continue the inclination he had for the Young *Eustolia*, by castration he put himself in a condition of Lying with this fair Friend, without being suspected of Unchastity. The Author seeking the first Spring of these Fancies, goes back to the ancient Pagans, amongst whom were Women that were equal to Men in Philosophy and Wit, and upon that account joyned themselves in a very near Familiarity with them. The Mind had the greatest share in this Friendship, although the Body was not excluded; and upon this there are some of the Opinions of *Plato's* Philosophy explained, concerning Love, wherein is shewn how these Opinions might contribute to the establishing of several Customs.

The following Dissertation relates to a Subject more worthy of consideration, viz. of Prophetick Visions. The Author proves that they lasted almost to St. Cyprian's time, without interruption, and blames them who attribute almost all to the Sect of *Montanus*. But because the chief difficulty in this matter is to distinguish false Visions from the true, he endeavours to shew us how they secur'd themselves from Error. What he says here upon this Subject, declares him to be a Man not only of great Wit and Learning, but also one that is very zealous to silence the Prophane.

The Fifth Dissertation evidences a great knowledge of Antiquity, in relation to the

the *Dypricks*, wherein were written the Names of such as were Commemorated in Divine Service; the Changes which this Custom underwent, and the Source which the Author thinks it proceeded from, furnish him with a fair Subject. The degrees of several Priests and their Ecclesiastick Deputations furnish him with a no less pleasant entertainment in the Sixth Dissertation. The Seventh runs upon a very obscure Point, because it relates to the Principle of the Unity of the Church, and the different Arguments which St. Cyprian drew from thence, for the several Disputes which he maintained. The Subject of the Eighth is not less difficult, because to clear it well, we must go back to the *Roman Laws*, to examine the grounds of such who being received in Peace, by the Martyrs after their Fall from the Faith, thought that to be reconciled with the Church, there was no need of the Authority of their Bishops. We shall mention this but in general, no more than the distinction of Priests and Bishops, which is spoke of in the two following Dissertations; we are brief in them, that we may have more room to speak fully on the last Dissertations, wherein ancient Martyrs are treated upon, which is a curious Subject for all sorts of People.

You must know then, that the Author had the same Fate as Astrologers when they endeavoured to number the Stars exactly; they believed without doubt, what the Commonalty does to this very day, that the Stars which are seen in a clear Night, are Innumerable, yet they hardly find 1022 in the Firmament, after they have contemplated the two Hemispheres. Thus it hapned to Mr. Dowdell, as to the number of ancient Martyrs; I do not doubt but that before he Studied the Matter whilst he believed common Tradition, he thought that the Pagan Emperors put to Death a prodigious number of the Faithful; for so all the World represent to themselves the ancient Persecutions: We imagin Martyrs in Heaps and Piles, like to the Miracles in the History of *Francis Xavier*, who tells us that such a day was Consecrated to the Memory of 1100 Martyrs and Virgins. It is certain that there are great abatements to be made in Peoples Imaginations upon this matter; and if we were exact in our account, it will be found that the Popes and Roman Catholick Princes, have made more suffer for the sake of Religion, than the Heathen Emperors ever did; but Prejudices are strange things, they lessen or augment the same Actions, as they proceed from such or such Persons. Let us be so just to the Christian Authors that wrote the first after the Heathen Persecutions, to think that they have not changed things much: 'Twas they who were remote from matter of Fact that gave us such false accounts; and 'tis the ordinary Fate of Human effects, as has been obser-

ved on the occasion of St. Ignatius's Miracles.

There is nothing can be so strong a proof that few Martyrs suffer'd in the first Ages, as a passage of *Origen's*, where he plainly says, that few died for the Faith of *Jesus Christ*. Would he have said so who writ against a Heathen Philosopher? He that had so great a knowledge of things, if accounts were true in the Martyrologies which the following Ages compiled? Nor is *Eusebius's* Authority less, in reducing the Martyrs to a small number, for there are not many spoke of in the two Collections which he made, whereof tho one was lost, there were Fragments enough of it preserved in his Ecclesiastick History, to let us understand what it contained. Here also are Proofs alledged which are strengthned before hand against that plausible Objection, that during the great Tempests which tost the Church, it was not easie to collect *Memoires*; for it is clearly justified by the practice of the first Christians, that they were extream exact and devout in celebrating the Memory of their Martyrs, and that it was easie for them to learn their Names and the circumstances of their Punishment, for we cannot imagine but that they had some good Intervals; and this is a point whereby the common Opinion is retrieved, in shewing that the Heathen Emperors were not always such Devils as they are thought to be; for of 'em some have been Friends and Patrons to Christians; and others have valued themselves so much upon Clemency, that they made the chiefest good of their Reign consist in that they could boast they did not cause the effusion of Blood. Nor must we believe that the Intendants of Provinces have put many to Death under these Emperors; for however brutal an Intendant might be, he would not think of making himself, a fierce and bigotted Converter, when he knew the Court would disprove it; and they seldom satisfied their barbarous or superstitious Tempers, until they had brought the Prince on their side. St. *Ambrose* tells us, that the greatest part of Pagan Governors of Provinces gloried in leaving them without putting any one to Death. But whereas these general Reasons would not with all Readers be of sufficient force against the vast Collections of Martyrologies, which have been a long time made, and are become the Subject of Meditation, not only to devout Souls, but also to several Rhetoricians, the Author takes a particular review of each Persecution of the ancient Church.

He begins with that of *Nero*, and presently meets with a Passage of *Tacitus*, which does not seem to favour him, because this Author says that they put a great number of Christians to Death. The Author seeks for no frivolous subtilty to elude this Authority, but on the contrary he strengthens the Objection with a false Remark, in applying to that

that Time these words of *Tacitus*, *Repressar in præsens exitiabilis Superstitio*, which manifestly relates to the Suffering of Jesus Christ. He acknowledges then *the great Multitude*, but pretends that this Storm fell only upon the Christians at *Rome*, and so diminishes much the Idea's that People framed to themselves of this first Persecution. He also believes that the Names of these Martyrs were not put in the *Archives*, whether it was that it was thought they ought not to be put in the number of Martyrs, who were not put to death under pretext of Religion, but because they were suspected to have set *Rome* on Fire, or whether it was that the Custom of Anniversaries was not then established among the Christians; upon this he gives us several critical Remarks, and passes to the Persecution of *Domitian*, and shews clearly that it was but little or nothing. Since that time to the time of *Decius*, the Church enjoyed great rest, if we believe *Lactantius*: It is already a great Prejudice to suppose that it was miserably torn in this Interval, for whence should *Lactantius's* ignorance of all this proceed? But not to ground all this Affair on his Omission; all that concerns the Persecution of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Severus*, and *Maximinus* is carefully examined, and the Advocates of Martyrologies are shewn, that their account is to be much lessened: This place teaches us a thousand curious things concerning the History of those Times, and the Pretexes that animated the Gentiles against the Christians: These Pretexes were of that nature sometimes, that they shewed more Negligence than Malice. As for *Decius* it is confessed, that though he had very good Qualities, and was very Mild, nevertheless he suffered himself to be possessed with much Hatred against the Church, but not to that degree as to have caused so great a Slaughter as is attributed to him. Mr. *Dodwell* adhering to *St. Cyprian* the most he can, Remarks, that when he perceived that the People of *Carthage* sought to expose him to the Lions, he retired in hopes that his absence would appease the Tumult: A great Arguments against some Brain-sick-fellow, that would have People dare the Orders of a Prince as soon as he meddles with the Privileges of Religion, and think it was never lawful for a Pastor to yield to the Storm. *St. Cyprian's* Flight was followed with two kinds of Persecutions; for until the Proconsul came the Magistrates of Towns having no Power to condemn to Death, contented themselves with Banishing and Imprisoning, and nevertheless forced a great many to abjure their Religion. When the Proconsul came, he tried to reduce the Faithful without making use of the most rigorous Punishments, but seeing them firm, he exercised the utmost Cruelties. There were then many martyr'd, until other Cares, or seeing the little benefit of such Cruelties, he grew less violent; although Mr. *Dodwell* does not think their

number very great that Sealed the Truth of their Religion with their Blood; nor does he much value the Life of *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*, because it was writ more than a hundred Years after his Death upon *bear say*, the most Fertile Subject of Fables and Hyperboles in the World. After this, he runs over the time that past between the Persecution of *Decius* and that of *Licinius*, (for as for *Julian* the Apostate it's well known that he was not Cruel) and he finds great abatements to be made in every Place in the Computations of Martyrologies. He here gives a great insight into many things, especially concerning the Emperor *Dioclesian* and his *Collegues*. He does not forget to note one thing that favours him much, which is, that in the greatest heat of the Persecution there were no Martyrs; for Orders were given to Torment the Christians after such a manner that none might dye, that they might brag of their Clemency, and take from the Christians the Crown of Martyrdom, as *Lactantius* elegantly expresses it. The Author observes that the Persecutors Stroke came after a thousand Artifices used before; which is but little credited by those Pagan Emperors; for their Violences are represented to have been so brutish, that they had not the honesty to cover them with any Pretext. This *Dissertation* ends with a Remark that will perhaps displease a great many; which is, that Anniversaries and Honours done to the Memory of Martyrs, were borrowed from the *Apotheoses* of *Paganism*.

The Twelfth *Dissertation* treats of the Courage of Martyrs, which was so admirable, whether the nature of the Torments they endured were considered, or the Age and Sex of a part of them that suffered, that People may desire to know whence that Constancy proceeded. It is well known that the Spirit of God was the chief Cause of it, but some may wish to be inform'd if there were no Motives whereby the natural Strength managed by a Divine Providence might contribute to it. Therefore Mr. *Dodwell* curiously examines it, and proposes a great number of Motives, the chief whereof follow here.

He says, that the Primitive Christians led so austere a Life, and that they so much accustomed their Bodies to hard Exercises, that they could easily resolve to undergo Punishments, the Thoughts whereof would make a Man tremble that had been brought up tenderly in Pleasures; and upon this he alledges the Undauntedness and Patience of the *Lacedemonians*, which without doubt proceeded from the Austerity of their Discipline. He might have added what was said by a Voluptuous Man, who was witness of their mean Fare, that *he would wonder no more why they so boldly dared Dangers*; as if he would say, that their Condition was so hard that it would not seem strange that they should prefer a glorious Death to it. The Author says, that though Christians were too

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well instructed to be governed by the desire of Glory; yet it was strange if the Honour that was shewn to the Memories of Martyrs, and also to them that were but Confessors, did not make some Impression on their Souls. It is true, that the Fathers did not disapprove of their having a sense of the Honour that redounded to the whole Body, when any part thereof suffered for a good Cause. Moreover he says, that the Testimony of a good Conscience, and the certainty they were in of an Eternal Felicity, gave them great boldness against Torments, and even against Death itself. But as it is certain that the Christians chiefly contemn'd that Death that was joined to a Crown of Martyrdom; for sometimes a common Death would not be so pleasing to them; so we must of necessity examine the Reasons for this particular kind of Death; the Author concludes them to consist much in the Opinions which the first Ages had, that Martyrs would go directly to the Abode of the Blessed, without stopping at the Receptracle of Common Souls, there to expect the end of the World, without needing the Fire that's to consume the World, to complete the Purification of their Souls; and because this Fire was believed more insupportable than the most cruel Pains of Martyrdom; this Opinion much supported them. It was thought likewise, that the Privilege granted to all Saints, of obtaining by their Prayers a shortning of the time destin'd for the Sufferings of the Church, belonged after a more eminent manner to the Martyrs; so that they were looked on to be the chief Cause of the Anticipation of the Chastisement of the Wicked, and of Recompensing the Good by the Reign of a thousand Years: And they believed that the first Resurrection would happen in that Reign, that it would be only for the Just, and that the Martyrs would be very advantageously distinguished; for they look upon it to be so far off, as we do the Glory of Paradise; they were persuaded that the Reign of a thousand Years at hand; so that all these Hopes prevailed much with them towards a desire of Martyrdom. I do not speak of the degrees of Glory that was assigned the Martyrs to all Eternity, and which much surpassed the Glory of other Just Men. In fine, they were of opinion that all Faults were obliterated by Martyrdom, and that it was a Propitiatory Sacrifice, not only for the Martyr, but also for all such as had fallen, and were received into Peace by him before his Death: The Author explains how that does not derogate from the infinite Value of the Death of Jesus Christ; and lest he should be accused for not making the extraordinary Assistance of the Holy Ghost intervene oftner in Martyrdom, he shews at length that the hopes of this inward Grace that so often miraculously assisted the Martyrs, gave Courage to the Faithful.

His last *Dissertation* fully shews, that the ancient Church looked upon Martyrdom,

as upon a Second Baptism: We might draw several Remarks from it, if this Article were drawn at length; and for this Reason we will say nothing of the *Appendix* of this Work, where are the *Fasts* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, Pieces for the most part that were never Printed, and that have a long Discourse before them, full of Historick and Chronologick Learning.

The Author has publish'd a Discourse lately upon a dark Passage of the *Exhortation to Chastity*, where *Tertullian* seems to affirm, that all Christians are Priests; and may in case of necessity Consecrate. Mr. *Rigaut* understanding the Passage in this same sense, was refuted by Mr. *de Aubespine*, and found it very convenient not to fall out with Bishops. But the Learned *Grotius*, that had not the same Reasons to dissemble, did not acknowledge this Prelates Reasons to be valid. He shews a *Dissertation* Published in 1638, that *Tertullian* had done very ill, if he had not believed Laicks had power to administer the Eucharist, and endeavouring to establish this Opinion upon Tradition, he alarmed all the *Traditioners*; therefore it was thought that nothing ought to be neglected that might prevent the Consequences of this dangerous Sentiment: Father *Petau*, for this end spared neither Study nor Meditation to answer *Grotius*; but Mr. *Dowdell* fearing that the Jesuit did not sufficiently shew the essential distinction of Priests, and lest the Divinity of Episcopacy should be exposed to any Intrenchments, has taken the Field with all his Learning to encounter with Mr. *Grotius*. He tells us many fine things upon the Antiquities of the Church; it is with Reason that the *English* are cajol'd by him upon this Science, for in such Points as they have the same Advantages with *Rome*, they furnish her with great Assistance, but they pay themselves well on other accounts. The Title of this new Book is, *De jure Laicorum Sacerdotali ex Sententia Tertulliani aliorumq; veterum Dissertatione adversus Anonymum disertatorem de Cæne administratione, ubi Pastores non sunt: ab Henrico Dodwello, A. M. Dubliniens. Londini, Impensis Benj. Took, 1685. in Octavo.* There is added *Grotius's* Discourse, that of Father *Petau*, and the answer which *Cloppenburg* made to the first upon the Question, *If it be always necessary to Communicate with some one of the Christian Societies.*

The Works of Clemens Alexandrinus in Greek and Latin, according to the accurate Corrections of Dr. Hensii, with brief Additions, &c. at the end of Dr. Heinsius; To which is added, the Ancient and Modern Annotations, Collected by the Industry of Frid. Sylburgius. The Ninth Edition at Paris, 1641. Cologne, 1688. In Fol.

Though there are but few, who can read the Fathers in the original Languages; there is a very great number of
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sons, whom it concerns to have some Idea of their Lives and Writings, because of the use made thereof now in Controversies, which divide Christians. The Roman Catholick Doctors forget nothing to persuade the People, that the Fathers have been of their Sentiments, thinking that it was insufferable to reject a Doctrine upheld by the Suffrage of the most part of the Fathers. When they cite a Passage, which they think conformable to their Thoughts, they miss not to urge it, *as a holy Father hath very well said*; else if we oppose any other words to them, from which they cannot well get free, they answer that it was but his particular Opinion, and reject it as an Error. The most part of Protestants establish the Consent of the Fathers, not as a Principle of their Faith, though some of them make not much another use thereof, in citing, than the Roman Catholicks do: Hence it cometh that in the Ecclesiastical Histories of both Parties, the Places of the Fathers are carefully remarked, which appear proper for the Opinions and Practices which are this day received amongst us; and only mention by the by what we think defective in their Conduct and Doctrine. As we are persuaded that the Fathers, particularly those of the first Ages, received all those Opinions, which now we look upon as Essential, so we think we ought to praise them, and to excuse as much as possible the defects which are in their Writings, or in their Lives; so that their Panegyrick or Apology is insensibly made, with much more Passion than their History: Hence those who read Works of this nature are persuaded that the Ancients were Men of consummate Knowledge, and of an extraordinary Purity of Manners: Hence it is concluded that if any were abused, there must needs be great reason for it, and that there was no danger either of their Relations, or the Confutations of the Opinions of Hereticks. It is thought they ought to be imitated, in their way of Reasoning and Acting, without taking much heed whether they are conformable to the Precepts of the Gospel. Thus it happeneth that there is no History of the first Ages sufficiently faithful, and that these Histories are not used as they should be.

They are far from flattering themselves of being able to remedy an Evil, which is so naturaliz'd as this, and this Work is not compos'd upon that design; but at least we think our selves obliged to keep off as much as possible from the ways of those who give passionate Panegyricks of them to the Publick, which expects uninterested Histories. This Method was attempted in the *History of Pelagianism*; and we shall endeavour to do it yet in the Life of *Clement*, which we now come to relate in a few words.

Titus Flavius Clemens, famous for his Knowledge towards the end of the Second Age, was born at *Athens*, according to

some Authors, who believe they can reconcile this Opinion with that of those, who make him to be of *Alexandria*; in saying that *Athens* was the place of his Birth, but that the long Abode he made at *Alexandria*, gave him the name of *Alexandrinus*: His Style nevertheless, though pretty full of Figures, is often obscure and entangled, and has not much of the Neatness and Elegancy of the *Athenian* Academies. However, it is certain he began his Studies in *Greece*, he continued them in *Asia*, and ended his days in *Egypt*. It appears he was not satisfied to be instructed by one Master, but travelled much to hear several; and thus to form to himself a more exact and universal Idea of the Christian Religion, as well as to acquire more knowledge in Human Sciences. His Masters had been themselves Disciples of the Apostles, or had conversed with the Disciples of these Holy Men, as appears by what he speaks thereof himself, though he expresseth not himself altogether distinctly. He saith that his *runder Writings are an Image and Representation of the lively and animated Discourses of happy and truly worthy Men, whom he had the honour to hear*. The one, continueth he, which I saw in *Greece* was of the Ionick Sect. I have seen two in *Calabria*, the one of *Syria*, and the other of *Egypt*. I have met two others in the East, whereof the one was of *Assyria*, and the other, with whom I have conversed in *Palestine*, was of Jewish Extraction. This last was the most deserving. I stopt in *Egypt*, where he was concealed, to seek for him. He was, as the Proverb saith, a true Bee of *Sicily*. He gathered the scattered Flowers, as it were, in the Meadows of the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles, by the means of which he could fill with a pure Knowledge the Souls of those who heard him. These Men having conserved the true Tradition of the Blessed Doctrine, immediately after the holy Apostles *St. Peter*, *St. James*, *St. John*, and *St. Paul*, as a Child who retains what he has learned of his Father, (though there are few who resemble them) have lived till our times, by the Will of God, to pour into our Hearts the Seed they had received from the Apostles their Predecessors. It is of a great Importance to know what Master an Author hath had, for to understand well his Opinions; for then, as at this day, Disciples applied themselves chiefly to the Methods of their Masters, and expounded Religion, as near as they could to the Principles of Philosophy, which they learned. Thus Divine School-men, who were *Paripateticks*, have since Expounded Divinity by the Principles of *Aristotle*; and thus in the places, where the Philosophy of *Descartes* is received, Divinity is treated on after the *Cartesian* way. Therefore the Learned of our Age have endeavoured to Divine, who those were which *Clement* spoke of. It appears, by the Version which hath been given of the words of this Father, that he had five Masters, but *Mr. de Valois* gives him but four, because he follows the manner of the Reading of *Eusebius*. It can-

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not positively be asserted which is the Letter; but it may be said, that the Interpreters who have taken the word *Ἰωνίδης*, for a proper Name, have done it without reason. There is no likelihood that *Clement*, who mentions not the Names of others whom he acknowledges for his Masters, should name this; there was none in Antiquity who was named *Ionick*, and this name may mark the Sect of Philosophy, to which this first Master of *Clement* was chiefly applied. *Thales* and *Anaximander*, Philosophers of *Milet*, a City of *Ion*, had been the Chief thereof. *Clement* of *Alexandria* speaks honourably of both those Philosophers in his Writings: *Thales*, saith he, in a Place, was of *Phoenicia*, according to the Relation of *Leander* and *Herodotus*. He is the only Person who seems to have had Correspondence with the Prophets of *Egypt*, and we read not that any was his Master, &c. *Anaximander*, a *Milesian*, and Son to *Praxidamus*, succeeded *Thales*, and had for Successor *Anaximenes*, Son to *Euristratus*, likewise a *Milesian*. *Anaxagoras* of *Clazomenes*, Son to *Hegefibule*, came after him; he transported his Auditory from *Ion* to *Athens*, and was succeeded by *Archelaus*, Master to *Socrates*. Elsewhere, he saith, that *Thales* being interrogated, what Divinity is, he answered, That which hath neither Beginning nor Ending: And that another having asked him If Men can hide from God their Actions? How shall that be possible, answered he, seeing they cannot hide even their Thoughts from him? In speaking of *Anaximander*, of *Archelaus* and *Anaxagoras*, Philosophers of the same Sect, he saith, that the first has established for the first Being the Infinite, and that the two others have said, that the Mind governed the Infinite. The Principles of these Philosophers may be seen more at large in *Diogenes Laërtius*; and we may easily perceive, that there are some who agree well enough with those of the Jews and Christians, as that all that is upon Earth is come from Water, that the Night was before the Day, that the most part of Men are bad, that for to live justly we must not do that which we reprehend in others, that Heaven is our true Country, &c. It is not therefore incredible, that a Philosopher of this Sect had embraced Christianity, and was the first Master of *Clement* of *Alexandria*.

All that can be said against this Thought, is, that the Succession of Philosophers of the *Ionick* Sect, ended in *Archelaus*, Master to *Socrates*. But though there had been no Masters of this Philosophy, who had immediately succeeded one another, that hindred not, but that those might have been Philosophers in divers Places, who followed the Opinions of *Thales*, and of his first Disciples. Thus *Diogenes Laërtius* saith in his Preface, that the *Italic* Sect, whereof *Pythagoras* was chief, ends at *Epicurus*, though there were *Pythagoreans* several Ages after *Epicurus*. It is no wonder that a Christian followed a certain Sect of Philosophy, because it is not to be understood, but as

much as he judged it conformable to Christianity. Thus *Justin Martyr* was a *Platonick*, and *Pantenes*, Master to *Clement*, was a *Stoick*.

The Name of the Second, whom he had seen in *Great Greece*, or in *Calabria*, is entirely unknown. Some Authors believe that that of *Assyria* was *Tatian*, a Philosopher and Disciple to *Justin Martyr*; and others, *Bardesanes* of *Syria*, who had been a *Valentinian*, who never left intirely the Sentiments of this Sect. As for him, who had been originally a *Jew*, some believe he might be *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, though History does not observe, that he was descended of the *Jews*. Likewise others do conjecture that he was named *Theodotus*, whose Doctrin *Clemens Alexandrinus* had exposed in his Books of *Hypotyposes*, or Justifications of Christian Religion; whence it comes that the Abridgment of this Work, which is seen at the end of *Clement*, is entituled, *An Extract of the Eastern Doctrin of Theodotus*. But some do attribute these Extracts to *Theodotus* of *Byzantium*, a Courier by Trade, but a Learned Man, who was Excommunicated by Pope *Victor* in CXCIV, for having Taught that *Jesus Christ* was but a mere Man.

In fine, the least of the Masters of *Clement*, whom he prefers to all the rest, and with whom he sojourned, was named *Pantenus*; *Eusebius* believes it is of him that *Clement* speaks in the last words of the Passage which hath been cited of him; and indeed *Pantenus* Taught in *Egypt*, when *Clement* sojourned there, and *Clement* called him his Master in his Books of the *Hypotyposes*. The Country and Parents of *Pantenus* are unknown; but we know he applied himself much to the study of Philosophy, particularly to that of the *Stoicks*, won perhaps by the Manners and severe Maxims of these Philosophers, which agreed not ill with those of the Ancient Christians. There had been a publick School at *Alexandria*, for a long time, and if some Authors may be believed, ever since *Mark* the Evangelist, where the *Catechumenes* were Taught, an employ which was given only to Learned Persons, and of a good Life. *Pantenus* was provided therewith, and Taught a long while in this City, by Words and Writing. He had made Commentaries upon Scripture, whereof we have only remaining a few words, which are found in the Extracts of the *Oriental Doctrin* of *Theodotus*, where *Clement* of *Alexandria* speaketh thus; Our *Pantenus* saith, that the Prophets express themselves ordinarily by the Aoristus, and make use of the time present for the Future and Past.

There is a likelihood that *Pantenus* officiated as a Catechist, when *Clement* arrived in *Egypt*, and that he studied some time under him, before he succeeded him. He applied himself there, as elsewhere, to the study of Philosophy, though he was far from taking all those who bore the name of Philosopher, for such. We do not simply re-

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ceive, faith he, every sort of Philosophy, but that only whereof Socrates speaks in Plato: Socrates observed, That there are a great many called, but few chosen. For he adds in the Sequel, that the latter, according to his Opinion, are those who have applied themselves, as a thing very requisite, to Philosophy. That People should not be taken for Philosophers, who perhaps had but a shew. Clement would not apply himself to any Sect absolutely, but followed this manner of Philosophising, which was then *Eclectick*, to wit, that of those, who chose out of all Tenets what appeared most reasonable unto them, and formed a System thereof for their particular Use. *Potamon* of *Alexandria*, who lived in the time of *Augustus*, was the first, who had put in Use this manner of Philosophising. Clement could not choose a more commodious Method for a Christian Philosopher, because there is no Philosopher, whose Tenets are all conformable to those of the Gospel; though there may be made a System drawing very near that of the Christian Doctrin, in gathering in all the Philosophers what they have said conformably to the Light of Nature, or to some ancient Traditions spread almost over the whole Universe. It is Clement himself who speaks it, and who assures us that he applied himself to the *Eclectick* Philosophy, for the Reason we have alledged. After having said that God sent Philosophers to Men, he adds, *That he understands not, neither that of the Stoicks, nor that of the Platonicks, nor that of the Aristoteleans: But I give this Name, continueth he, to the Truths which these Sects have held, and which may incline Men to Justice and Piety. I in no wise call Divine, the false Thoughts of Men. He saith elsewhere, that the barbarous Philosophy, and that of the Greeks, hath included some Fragments of Eternal Truths in them, not from Mythology of Bacchus; but of Reason, which has always existed. He that should rejoin, continues he, that which hath been divided, and which would compose a perfect System, could assure himself of acknowledging the Truth.*

A like Thought is in *Lactantius*, which affirms, that it is easie to shew that Truth altogether hath been divided amongst the different Sects of the Philosophers; and that if there was any who would gather the Truths scattered amongst all Sects, and make but one Body of Doctrin, certainly it would not be far from the Sentiments of Christians. *Quod si extitisset aliquis, qui veritatem sparsam per singulos, per Sectasque diffusam colligeret in unum, ac redigeret in corpus, is profecto non dissentiret a nobis.* He saith afterwards, that none could do it but by Divine Revelation; but that if it happened, as by hazard, that some body should do it without this Succour, there would be nothing more assured than this Philosophy; and that though he could not defend himself by the authority of Revelation, Truth would be maintained of it self, by its own Light. He afterwards blames those who apply themselves to a Sect, so that they

would embrace all its Sentiments, and condemn all others ready to dispute against all the Doctrins which they have not learned of their Masters. This design of gathering all which Philosophers have said conformable to the Gospel, is undoubtedly very fine, and can much conduce to convince the Truth of Christian Religion. But for to succeed therein, the Christian Philosophy and Religion should be equally understood, to comprehend the clear and undoubted Articles, which regard Practice and Speculation. The *Heterodox* of those Times, for want of taking heed, had introduced into Christian Religion an infinity of Philosophical Tenets, which have no Relation with those of the Gospel.

Thus the *Carpocratians* believed according to the Relation of Clement, that it was permitted to meddle confusedly with any Woman whatever, and did it actually after having Supped in a great Company, and extinguished the Candles; they entertain'd this Thought, because *Plato* would have Women to be common in his Republick, and that they had wrested divers Passages of Scripture, to accommodate them to this Sentiment. Clement believeth, that they ill understood, not only Scripture, but also *Plato*, who, according to him, meant nothing else, but that there should be no Girl in the Commonwealth, to which all the Citizens indifferently might not pretend; though after she being Married to one Man, others could no more hope to Espouse her. It might be well shewn, that Clement expounded not well the Thought of *Plato*, if this was a Place for it.

The *Marcionites*, who said that the Matter and Nature are bad, and who condemned Weddings, fell into this Opinion, so opposite to that of *Carpocrates*, because they expounded some Passages of Scripture, by the Principles of the *Platonicks*: Because the Scripture often describes the Miseries of this Life, and praiseth Continence; they imagined that the Sacred Authors had had the same Ideas of this Life and Generation, or Birth, that *Heracitus* and *Plato* had. These Philosophers believed, as it hath been remarked, that Souls existed before the Body, where they are only sent to be punished for the Sins, which they had committed in another Life; and that thus, to speak correctly, Birth should be called a Death rather than a beginning of Life; and Death a Life, because when we are born, our Souls are cast into the Prison of the Body, from whence they are delivered when we dye; that's the reason that these Philosophers, and several Poets after them, said it was better not to be born, than to come into the World, and to dye in Childhood, than to live several Years, which is the Cause also that they speak sometimes in very harsh Terms against Matrimony, because it served, according to them, only to build a Prison to some unhappy Soul, which was precipitated into the Body that they produced.

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The *Valentinians* had also taken what they said of the Generation of their *Eones*, from *Hesiod*, as will appear by comparing the beginning of his *Theogonia*, with the Doctrin of the *Valentinians*, related by St. *Irenaeus* and St. *Epiphanius*, who fail not to reproach them, that they had their Doctrin from this Poet. There is some appearance that they confounded the Doctrin of *Hesiod*, with that of the Scripture, because of some light resemblance which is found betwixt them. It would be easie to shew that *Hesiod* by the Marriages which he establisheth betwixt the Chaos, Darknes, Light, Heaven, Earth, Air, &c. intimate nothing else but that there was a Relation or Connection between the things which he united, and that it was that gave him occasion to marry them together. But it's only requisite here to shew, by the Example of these ancient Hereticks, that the Primitive Christians made a great use of the Pagan Philosophy, and that several have abused it, as *Clement* has observed in divers Places.

As for himself, though he made a Profession of following the Method of the *Ecclesiastics*, and to take of all the Sects what he thought fit, he had notwithstanding more Inclination to the *Stoick* Philosophy; because *Pantenus* his last Master, and whom he esteemed most (as it appear'd) preferred this Sect above all the rest. Therefore it's observed, that *Clement* had a close and rough Stile, that he affected to speak Paradoxes, and to make use of new words; a Character by which the *Stoicks* are known, and those who had studied in their School. *Stoicorum, saith Cicero, adstrictior est oratio, aliquantoque contractior quam aures populi requirunt. Nova verba fingunt, deserunt usitata: at quanta conantur? Mundum hunc omnem Oppidum esse unum, &c. pungunt quasi aculeis, interrogatiunculis angustis.* Those who understand Greek, and read something of *Clement*, might easily have remarked all this in his Style. There are several Paradoxes in his School-Master; for Example, he maintains in Chap. 6. Vers. 3. That there is none but the Christian only, who is rich. A Paradox very like to that of the *Stoicks*, who said the same thing of their Wise Men; these Philosophers expressed themselves thus: *ὁν μόνον σοφὸς μέγας, That the Wise are only rich; and Clement hath changed nothing in it but the word σοφός, Wise, into that of Χριστιανός, Christian: The Reasons whereof he makes use to prove his Thesis, are not very different from those of the Stoicks, as it may be seen by comparing what he saith with the Explication, which Cicero gives of this Stoical Maxim, in his Paradoxes, new wisdom, a good to men, &c.* *Clement*, in studying the Pagan Authors, was inspired with a more gentle opinion towards them, than Persons have been since. He Remarks in several Places, that all which they say is not false, and cites to prove it the Discourse which St. Paul made to the *Athenians*, and which is related in

the Seventeenth of the *Acts*, where this Apostle tells them, that he Preaches unto them the same God, to whom they had erected an Altar, with this Inscription, *To the unknown God*; the same God of whom *Aratus* said, *That we are of his Race.* *Clement* believes, that St. Paul approved what was good in the Inscription of this Altar; and in these words of *Aratus*, and that he only gave them a more perfect knowledge of the true God, whom they already had some faint Idea of, without knowing him well. He elsewhere cites a Book which was attributed to St. Peter, and which was Entitled, *ΚΗΡΥΓΜΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ; The Sermon of St. Peter.* It appears that *Clement* doubted not but this Book was really St. Peter's, whence we may conjecture there was nothing in it disagreeable to the Orthodox Doctrins of that time, and that one might look upon it, if it were to be had, as the Work of a good Christian. The Place which *Clement* cites is too remarkable to omit it here, since it serves to shew the Opinions several Ancients, (who were not accused of Heterodoxy) had of the Pagans. "Know that there is one God, said St. Peter, (in this Book) who has given Beginning to all things, and can bring them to an End; who is invisible and sees all things, confined to no Limits, and who comprehends all things, who needs nothing, and of whose Assistance all Creatures stand in want, since they exist through him; who is Incomprehensible, Eternal, and Incorruptible, who was not made, but he himself hath made all things by his powerful Word, to wit, by his Son, according to the Spiritual Interpretation which is given to the Scripture. He adds afterwards, continues *Clement*, Serve this God, but not as the Greeks do; because some good Men amongst the Grecians adored the same God with us, but without perfectly knowing him, as those who have received the Doctrin of his Son. He saith not, do not Serve the God which the Greeks Serve; but, Serve him not as they do, only changing the manner of Worship, but not Preaching unto them another God. He himself explains what he meant when he adds: For being pushed on by their Ignorance, and not knowing God so perfectly as we do, they employ such things as God hath given them for their Use, as Wood, Stone, Brass, Iron, Gold and Silver, to make Statues; and instead of making Use of these things themselves, they Worship them. They also adore Animals, which God hath given them for their Nourishment, the Fowl of the Firmament, the Fish of the Sea, the creeping things of the Earth, and Savage Beasts, as well as Weasels, Rats, Dogs and Monkeys: They Sacrifice unto Men what they should Eat, and offering dead things, to the dead, as to Gods, they testify Ingratitude to the true God, and deny thus his Existence. And that it may appear, that we and the Greeks know the same God,

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though differently, he continues thus: Serve not God neither as the Jews, for imagining they only know God, they perceive not that they adore Angels & Archangels, Months and Moons; for if the Moon appear not, they celebrate not the Sabbath, which they call the first, nor the New-Moon, nor the days of unleavened Bread, nor any Feast. In fine, he concludes in saying: As for you, learn the just and holy Doctrin, which we teach you, observe it, and adore God after a new manner by Jesus Christ. For we find in Scripture that God saith: I'll make with you a new Covenant, different from that which I made with your Fathers, upon the Mount Horeb. He hath given us a new Covenant, for those of the Jews and Greeks are ancient; and we who serve him after a third manner, which is new, are Christians. He shews clearly, saith Clement, That one and the same God has been known by the Greeks after a heathenish way, by the Jews after a Judaical one, and by us, after a new and Spiritual manner. He shews besides, that the same God who hath given the Two Covenants, is he who gave Philosophy to the Greeks, by which the Almighty is glorified amongst them, &c. As God intended the Salvation of the Jews, in giving them Prophets: So he hath raised amongst the Greeks the best Men, whom he hath distinguished from the Vulgar, according as they were capable of receiving his Gifts, to serve as Prophets amongst them, in their proper Tongue. It is not only the Sermon of St. Peter, which reacheth this to us, it is St. Paul also, when he saith; Take Greek Books, and acknowledge that the Sybills Prophesied of one God only, and things which were to fall out. Read Hydaspes, and you shall find that he hath much more clearly written of the Son of God, and hath said, that several Kings should arm themselves against Jesus Christ, that they should hate him, for those who bear his Name, &c. As the Preaching of the Gospel came in his time, so in their time the Law and the Prophets were given to Barbarians, and Philosophy to the Grecians, which accustomed their Ears to the Preaching of the Gospel. Clement speaks after the same manner in divers other Places, and declares evidently enough, that he believed Philosophy was amongst the Greeks, what Prophecy was amongst the Hebrews, and that God always gave equally to all Men the means of being Saved, which was also the Opinion of divers other Greek Fathers.

Clement believed also, that the Greeks had nothing good, but what they had taken from the Barbarous People, chiefly from the Jews; and from the Books, which he endeavours to prove in a thousand places; and we know that this was the common Opinion of the Fathers, who undertook to Censure the Philosophy of the Grecians. The Jews said also the same thing, as is plain by a Passage of Aristobulus a Peripatetic, who is said to have been Tutor to

Protony and Philometor, and who speak^s thus: "Plato hath followed our Laws, and shewn that he studied them well. And before the time of Demetrius, before even the Empire of Alexander, and that of the Persians, they were Translated by another, (besides the Seventy) as well as the History of what happened to the Hebrews (our Fellow-Citizens) at their coming out of Egypt, of what Remarkable things they did and saw, and of the manner wherewith by force they possessed themselves of the Country of Canaan, and how the whole Law was given; so that it's visible the Philosopher, whom we have mentioned, learned several things thereof; for he had much Learning as well as Pythagoras, who added to his Doctrin several of our Opinions. But many things render this Author suspicious, and as he is the only Man who has spoke of a Version made before the Empire of the Persians; there is reason to doubt this is a Jewish Fable. Howbeit, it appears, that in the time of this Author, true or supposititious, the Jews accused the Pagans of having stolen from the Holy Books what good Opinions soever they had.

It is very probable, that the Greeks learned several things of the Eastern People, as of the Egyptians and Babylonians, for they confess it themselves; but if the thing was thoroughly examined, it would perhaps be found, that in Greece they spake very clearly of several things, before the Jews spake thereof after the same manner, and that these latter began to express themselves as the Greeks did, only since they have had Commerce with them. Proofs of this Conjecture might be brought, (at least as strong as all those which the Fathers urge, to prove the contrary) but as that would make us abandon too far our principal Subject, whereof we treat here, we shall not undertake to enter upon this matter.

It is more proper here to observe, that though Clement often accuseth the Grecian Philosophers of Stealth and Robbery: Yet he believ'd God had given them some of their Knowledge, by the Ministry of Inferiour Angels, whereas he instructed Christians by that of his Son. "The Lord of all Men, says he, of the Grecians as well as Barbarians, perswades those who will believe in him; for he forceth not him to receive Salvation, who can chuse, and do what depends upon time, to embrace the Hope which God offereth unto him. It's he who gives Philosophy to the Grecians, by the Ministry of Inferiour Angels. (Διὰ τῶν ὑποτάκτων Ἀγγέλων; for it is a long time since, that by the Commandment of God, Angels were dispers'd amongst the Nations; but the Opinion of such as believe, is the Portion of the Lord. He after that proves at large, in the same place, that God is the Saviour of the Pagans, as well as of the Jews. In respect to the Ministry of Angels, to reveal Philosophy to the Greeks, Clement and those who

who were of this Opinion, fell into it partly by reason of what *Socrates* said of his Demon, who advertised him of several things, and whereof *Clement* seems to speak in terms which may make us believe that he was persuaded *Socrates* spoke truth. And this also doth not ill agree with the thoughts of the same Father and several others, who believed according to many Pagan Philosophers, that each Person had his Guardian Angel, who would sometimes give him Advices.

It will be no wonder after that if *Clement* attributes a kind of Prophecy to *Plato*, chiefly if we consider that the words of this Philosopher agree so well to Jesus Christ, that scarcely at this day can the State better be described in which our Saviour was, when he was Crucified upon the Cross. He describes an exact Virtue, and saith, Thus may be named the Virtue of a Just Man, who notwithstanding should go for a wicked Man, although he courageously followed Justice, and who in spite of this evil Judgment, which all the World should have of him, should to his latest Breath walk in the ways of Virtue; *Yea, though he was scourged, though he should suffer divers Torments, though he was kept in Irons, though his Eyes were burned with a hot Iron, though all manner of evil should be inflicted on him, and lastly, though he should be Crucified.*

As to the rest, it was not that *Clement* equaliz'd in any respect the Heathen Philosophy to that of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ. He acknowledged that before his coming it was but like a Degree, or Preparation to Christianity, and that Philosophers could pass but for Children, if they were compared to Christians. He looked upon Faith as necessary, since the Gospel was Published throughout all the World. Our Saviour having given, saith he, his Commandments to the Barbarians, and Philosophy to the Greeks, hath shut up Incredulity until his Coming, at which time, whosoever believeth not in him, is unexcusable.

All the Books of *Clement* are full of these Opinions, which he defends every where with much clearness, and enlarges on them, so that we may see in those Times these Opinions were not looked upon, (at least commonly,) as dangerous; for there is no likelihood that he should have the Charge of Catechist, after his Master *Pantenus*, nor that he should have so many Praises bestowed on him, as afterwards appears, if he had been considered, as a Man infected with dangerous Sentiments. *St. Chrysostom* hath maintained the same thing, concerning the Salvation of Pagans, in his Thirty eighth Homily upon *St. Matthew*.

It was necessary to observe in a few words these Opinions of *Clement*, because otherwise divers places of his Writings could not be understood; and that it was upon these Grounds he retained all he thought rational in the Notions of the Pagans, rejecting only what appeared false unto him, or incompatible with the Tenets of the Gospel,

or what had been reprehended by Jesus Christ and his Apostles. Thus all the Greek Philosophers, until those who maintain'd Fatality, believed that Men were Free by Nature, and might abstain from doing evil; as likewise that they could apply themselves to Virtue, without having any knowledge of the way by which Jesus Christ and his Apostles undertook to rectify their Opinions, by any express Discourse. *Clement* openly maintains, that Man hath the liberty of doing Evil, or abstaining from it: Neither Praises, (saith he) nor Censures, nor Recompences, nor Punishments, are Just, if the Soul hath not power to be virtuous, or to refrain from Vice, and if Vice is involuntary. It was not known amongst the Heathens what is since called Original Sin; and *Clement* not observing that the Sacred Writers Reproach the Pagans with this Ignorance, (and teach them, that even Children, newly born, deserve the Flames of Hell) denies that Children are corrupted in any manner whatsoever. The Hereticks, whom we have spoken of, that condemned Marriage, amongst others, gave this Reason against it, that thereby nothing has been acted, but the bringing polluted Children into the World, seeing *David* said himself, That he was conceived in Sin, and brought forth in Iniquity, *Psalm* 51. and that *Job* maintains, That there is no body free from Pollution, though he had lived but one day, *ch. 14. 4, 5.* *Clement* opposes them, and says, Let them tell us how a Child newly born hath Sinned, or how he who hath yet done nothing is fallen under the Curse of Adam. Afterwards he Expounds the passage of *David*, as if the Prophet meant only, that he was descended from *Eve*, who was a Sinner.

It must also be observed, that a Man whose Judgment was thus disposed, wanted but little of believing that the Philosophers were of the same Sentiments with the Apostles, as soon as he could find any relation in their terms. So *Plato* having spoken of three Supreme Divinities whom he acknowledged, (as appears elsewhere) in terms like to those which the Primitive Christians made use of, in speaking of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *Clement* believed, that of this Philosopher's was the same as that of the Christians. "I conceive, saith he, that *Plato* understood nothing thereby but the blessed Trinity, and that the third Being, whereof he speaks, is the Holy Ghost, as the second is the Son, by whom all things were made, according to the Will of the Father. And speaking of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, he described it no otherwise than the Platonicks did Reason. The Nature of the Son, saith he, is the most Perfect and Holy, that which hath the greatest share in Empire and Government, and the most like unto him who only is Almighty: It is this excellent Nature which presides over all things, according to the Will of the Father, who best governs the Universe; who by an inexhaustible Power, and without Weariness, effects

effects all that he makes use of to act in Nature; and who seeth the most Secret Thoughts. The Son of God never leaveth the Place whence he sees all; he is neither Divided nor Shared, nor does he Transport himself from one Place to another, but is every where, and is Incircumscribable. All Paternal Light, all Eye, he seeth all things; he hears every thing, he knoweth every thing, and penetrates by his might into all Powers. To this natural Reason which hath received this holy Administration is subjected the whole Army of Angels, and of Gods, because of him who hath subjected them to it.

Clement had another Opinion concerning the Human Nature of *Jesus Christ*, into which perhaps he fell for fear of rendering the Body of *Jesus Christ* inferior to that of the Gods of *Homer*. The Gods of this Poet eat no Bread, nor drank Wine: And our Saviour according to Clement, needed no Milk in coming into the World, and was not nourished by the Meats which he took, only through condescension, and which passed not into his Body by the same Organs as they pass into our Bodies. It is also what made *Origen* his Disciple to believe that *Jesus Christ* had no Blood, but a Liquor like that which *Homer* attributed to his Gods, which he calls $\iota\chi\omicron\pi$.

Plato said in divers Places, that God Inflicts Pains upon Men only for their good: And Clement observes it after such a manner, to make us believe that he approves on't. *Plato* also said, that Souls are Purged in the other World by Fire, and that after their Purgation, they return to their first State. Clement believed that the Apostles thought the same thing, when they spoke to us of a Fire which is to Consume the World; and his Disciple *Origen*, hath concluded from these Principles, that the Devils and the Damned will be one day delivered from their Sufferings.

The Apostles describe the Place where the Wicked shall be Tormented, under the Idea of a Lake of burning Brimstone: They made use of the same word that the Heathens did to denote the State of Souls after Death, to wit, $\alpha\alpha\eta\varsigma$: They say that Men descend thereinto, and that *Jesus Christ* descended there also. This was sufficient to draw this Exclamation from Clement. What, did not *Plato* know the floods of Fire, and the profundity of the Earth, which the Barbarians called *Gehenna*, and which he Prophetically named ($\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$) *Tartarus*? He has made mention of *Cocytus* of *Acheron*, of *Pyrphlegeton*, and such like Places, where the Wicked are punished for their amendment. Clement also believed with most of the Ancients, that *Jesus Christ* really descended into Hell, and Preached there to the Damned Souls, of which he saved those who were willing to believe in him.

We might also bring many other Examples, by which it would be plain that Clement expounded the Doctrins of the

Christians, by opinion the most resembling 'em which he found amongst Philosophers. But the Examples we have shewed, may suffice for those who have neither time nor opportunity to read this Author, as well as for those who will consult the Original, because they will find enough of themselves. One thing may be apprehended by it, which most of those who apply themselves to the reading of the Fathers, do not much observe; and without which it is almost impossible to understand them well in abundance of Places: Which is, that before we begin this Study seriously, we must read with care the Heathen Philosophers, and particularly *Plato*; without which we could not well apprehend upon what grounds they reason, or examin with success the force of their Arguments, nor devise how they fell into so many Opinions, so distant from those which are this day received in our Schools.

But now, to return to the Life of St. Clement, the Ancients with a general consent say he was Successor to *Pantenus*, in the Office of Catechist. He acquitted himself of this Employment with Success, and several great Men came out of his School, as *Origen*, and *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. His method of instructing the Chatechumenes consisted in shewing them what there was that was good in the Heathen Philosophy, and so insensibly conducted them to Christianity, which they were in a much better way of embracing, after having received several of his Maxims drawn from Natural Light, and distributed through the Writings of Philosophers, for whom they saw all the World had a respect: If they were immediately told that they must renounce all their Opinions, and look upon all the rest of Mankind not only as Men who were in an Error, but such as had said nothing that was true. As Labourers cast Seed into the Earth, but not till after they have water'd it: So saith Clement, We take from the writings of the Greeks that which is necessary to water what we find Earthy, in those we Instruct, that they may afterwards receive the Spiritual Seed, and that they may be in a more likely way to make it spring up more easily. In effect, the light of the Gospel supposes that of Nature, and destroys it not. We do not see that *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles have undertaken to give us a compleat System of all the Doctrins that have any reference to Religion; they supposed that we were already prevented with divers thoughts established amongst all Nations, upon which they Reasoned; otherwise it would have been requisite, for example, that they should have exactly defined all the Vertues, which they have not done, because in respect to this, they found Ideas in the minds of Men, which tho' imperfect, were yet very true; so they were satisfied to add what was lacking, or to cut off what evil Customs might have injuriously established therein.

Besides

Besides the Office of Catechist, *Clement* was raised to the Priesthood, at the beginning, as 'tis believ'd, of the Empire of *Severus*, because *Eusebius* in his History of the Events of CXCIV, gives to *Clement* the title of *Priest*. It was about that time, that he undertook to defend the Christian Religion against Heathens and Hereticks, by a Work which he Entitled, *Stromates*, which we shall afterwards speak something of, because in this Work, in making a Chronological Computation, he descends not lower than the Death of *Commodus*, whence *Eusebius* concludes that he compos'd it under the Empire of *Severus*, who succeeded this Emperour.

Severus enraged against the Christians, because perhaps of a Rebellion of the *Jews*, with whom the Heathens confounded those that professed Christianity, began to Persecute them violently. This Persecution arising at *Antioch*, reached unto *Egypt*, and obliged several Christians to withdraw from their Habitations, where they were too well known, to escape the Violence of the Persecution. This seems to have given occasion to *Clement* of proving it was lawful to fly in time of Persecution. After having said that Martyrdom purified them from all Sins, and exhorting them to suffer, if they were called to it, he says, that Persons ought to testify that they are perswaded of the Truth of the Christian Religion, as much by their Manners, as Words. After that he Expounds this Passage of the Gospel, *When you are Persecuted in one City, flee into another.* "The Lord, saith he, commands us not to flee, as if it were an Evil to be Persecuted, and bids us not to shun Death by flight, as if we should fear it. He will have us neither ingage in or assist any one to do Evil, &c. Those who obey not, are Rash, and throw themselves without reason into manifest Dangers. If he, who kills a Man of God, sinneth, he also is guilty of his own Death; he who presents himself to the Tribunal of the Judge, &c. he assists as much as is capable, the Wickedness of him by whom he is Persecuted. If he exasperates him, he is effectually the cause of his own Death, as much as if he endeavour'd to vex a wild Beast, who afterwards devoured him. A little while after the Apostles, Persons were observ'd to covet Martyrdom; but some after desiring the Executioners, scandalously falling from Christianity, at the sight of the Torments; this Conduct was thought dangerous, and those were condemned for it, who offered themselves freely to be Martyr'd, as appears by divers Passages of the Ancients, and by that of *Clement*, which we have related. As Men ought not to shun Martyrdom, when it cannot be avoided, except by renouncing Christianity, or a good Conscience; so they ought to preserve their Lives as much as they can, whilst there is any likelihood of serving the Christians, rather to prolong it by flight, than lose it by

staying in Places where the Persecution is so violent, and whence they may get away without ceasing to make Profession of Truth. Those who blame, or make some difficulty of absolving some Protestant Pastors, because they came from a Kingdom, where they could not tarry without an eminent Danger, should first prove that another Conduct would have been more advantageous to Christianity, than their Retreat hath been. Here depends the Solution of this Question, which hath been disputed of late; If they have done well in withdrawing?

Clement seems then to have quitted *Alexandria*, seeing we find that he made some Abode at *Jerusalem* with *Alexander*, who was soon after Bishop of this City, and to whom he dedicated his Book, Entitled, *The Ecclesiastical Rules against those who follow the Opinions of the Jews.* During his Abode there, he was very useful to this Church, as appears by a Letter to *Alexander*, to the Church of *Antioch*, whereof *Clement* was bearer, where this Bishop saith, that he was a Man of great Virtue, as the Church of *Antioch* knew, and would still acknowledge him so; and that he being at *Jerusalem*, by an effect of Divine Providence, had confirmed and encreased the Church of the Lord. From *Antioch* *Clement* returned to *Alexandria*, where it is not known how long he lived. All that can be said, is, that he survived at least some Years after *Pantenus*, and that he was not old, when he compos'd his *Stromates*, seeing he saith himself, that he did them to serve him for a Collection in his old Age, when his Memory should fail him. History teacheth us nothing concerning his Death, but it may be believed his Memory was blessed at *Alexandria*, if these words of the Bishop of *Jerusalem* be considered, which we have spoken of; who in another Letter to *Origen*, saith, *That they both acknowledged for Fathers, these blessed Men, who had quitted this Life before them, and with whom they would soon be, to wit, blessed Pantenus and pious Clement, from whom they had drawn great Succours.*

Amongst several Works which *Clement* compos'd, we have but Three remaining, which are considerable. The First is, *An Exhortation to Pagans*, where he refutes their Religion, and endeavours to induce them to imbrace Christianity. The Second is Entitled, *The Pædagogus*, where he forms the Manners of Youth, and gives them Rules to behave themselves Christianly; where he mixeth Maxims very severe, and far from the Customs of this day. The Third are the *Stromates*, that is to say, *Tapestries*, which he hath Entitled thus, because of the variety of the Matters, which he treats of therein. He sheweth there the Conformity amongst divers Opinions of Pagan Philosophers, and those of the *Jews* and Christians; he censureth the Errors of Pagan Philosophy, he Maintains and Expounds Christianity; he refutes Hereticks, and manages every thing with much Learning.

ing. But he scarcely observes any Order, as he confesseth himself at the end of the Seventh Book: He goeth from one thing to another, without forming any draught of what he is to say, and without having any other design, but to gather all that he had learned by Study and Meditation, upon the Subjects which came into his Head. His Style in this last Work is harder than that of the two preceding, where notwithstanding there is more Affectation than Elegance and Neatness. He pretends that he had a Reason for so doing: But there are two great Inconveniencies in this Method; the first is, that the want of Order causes, that Men are not only ignorant of the force of the most solid Proofs, but also makes the Author too guilty of great Tautology, and heap up an infinity of Arguments, which conclude nothing: The Second is, that the negligence of the Style often renders ones meaning unintelligible; for it is not Elegance only, which is a want, but Perspicuity it self cannot be found in it. And any affected Obscurity, in hard Matters, such as *Clement* treateth of, is by so much the more to be blamed, as it is not very intelligible in matters which are more clear in their own Nature, though we neatly express them. As we ought to speak only to be understood, there is nothing that can excuse an Author for not speaking clearly, but an absolute weakness of better expressing himself; and in effect we find our selves naturally inclined to believe, that those whose Style is obscure, have not a clear Mind, and that they speak thus, only because they do not more clearly conceive the things they treat of. It is true, we may censure the affected Ornaments of a sought Eloquence; but Clearness cannot be reckoned amongst these Ornaments. We must confess that there are very few Fathers, in whose Writings the same thing may not be observed, which is in *Clement*. The greatest part in excusing their not being Eloquent, strive as much as they can to appear so, after their manner, as may be seen by a thousand Tracts, and Metaphorical Expressions, which are not very natural, wherewith their Writings are full; there being but a few who have thought that the greatest Care which a Writer ought to take, is to produce in the Mind of his Reader clear Ideas of what he saith, making use of proper terms, and such as cannot be equivocal.

There is besides, an Homily of *Clement*, Entituled, *Who is the Rich that is Saved*. It was Printed in Greek and Latin by *Combesis*, at Paris, 1672. and at Oxford in 1683. with divers other Greek and Latin Fragments. Those who had the Care of the German Edition, whereof we have read the Title, were to blame for not joyning it to the other Works of St. *Clement*, which would have rendred their Edition Commendable, which without that is scarcely so, as those who make use of it will find. We have been contented to follow the Edition of Paris of

1641, without adding any thing whatever to it, excepting new Faults.

At the end of the Volume, is found an *Abridgment of the Doctrin of Theodotus, and of the Doctrin which was called Easter in the time of Valentinus*. They are nothing scarcely but Interpretations upon Holy Writ, which 'tis thought have been drawn from the eight Books of the *Hypotyposes of Clement of Alexandria*, as we have already remarked. *Eusebius* teacheth us that he had interpreted Scripture in an Abridgment of this Work, without admitting, saith he, the contested Writings, as the Epistle of St. Jude, and other Catholicks, the Epistle of St. Barnaby, the Apocalypse of St. Peter, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he assureth to be St. Paul's, &c. *Photius*, who had seen this Work, witnesseth, that the design also was to Expound Scripture; but he accuseth the Author of upholding that Matter is Eternal; That the different Forms which it receiveth are sent to it, by virtue of I know not what Decrees; that the Son is of the number of created things; that there were several Worlds before Adam; that Eve was formed out of him, after an other manner than Scripture saith; that Angels having had concern with Women, had Children by them; that Reason was not made Flesh, though it seemed so to Men; that there are two Reasons of the Father, the least of which hath appeared to Men, and was made Flesh. If we had these Books, we might perhaps know more clearly, that these are but some Platonick Tenets, some of which *Photius* has ill understood, because of the Equivocation of the Terms; and others did not pass in *Clement's* time for Impieties, as they have since Systems of Divinity were formed amongst Christians. In the first Ages, where none were followed in Schools, and nothing was Expounded to young People, as at this time, every one plaid the Philosopher as well as he could upon the matters of Speculation, and expounded the Speculative Tenets, according to the Philosophy he had learned: Excepting some Sentiments, which for the noise they had made, or for some other Reasons, had been condemn'd by the Bishops, their Opinions were so extremely free. If any doubt of it, he might be convinced thereof by the strange Opinions which some amongst the Fathers had, who are put in the number of the Orthodox, and who have not been reprehended in their time. We may find divers Examples hereof in the 4th Chap. in the Book of *Dailleus, of the Use of the Fathers*, which in spite of the Panegyrist of Antiquity, will be always look'd upon, by those who know it, as a good Book. Such is, for Example, the Opinion of St. *Hilary*, who believ'd that Jesus Christ felt no grief whilst his Body was torn.

But *Photius* suspects that Hereticks have corrupted the Works of *Clement*; and *Rufinus* had the same thought, as appears by his Apology for *Origen*, which is in the Fourth Tome of the Works of St. *Jerom*. Yet if there was only what *Photius* cites, there

there would be no reason to believe that there was a great Corruption, though it cannot absolutely be denied. The Reason of this, whatever this Learned Patriarch saith of it, is, that these same Sentiments, well understood, are found in the other Works of *Clement*, and are conformable to the Principles which he followeth every where. 1. He approves very clearly of the Opinion of *Heracitus*, who believed that the Matter of the World is Eternal, and even shews that he had an Esteem for him, because he distinguished the Matter of the World from its Form; the first whereof is unmoveable, and the second subject to change. As to the Reasons for which the Matter receives certain Forms, *Photius* knew no more of them than *Clement*. 2. If *Clement* had said that Sovereign Reason had been Created, (*κτιστός*) we ought to observe, that to create, to produce, to beget, signifie the same thing in *Plato*, and that it followeth not that he believed that Reason was begotten, or produced from nothing. 3. It is one of the Opinions of *Plato*, that in a certain number of Years the Form of the World would intirely change, and that several of these changes have happen'd afore the Revolution begun, which now comprehends us. One may see in his *Politicks*, that he maintains, the Revolution of all the Stars will cause an universal Change in the World. Thus, in his Opinion, what was said of Mens deriving their Original from the Earth, happened in the beginning of a Revolution. That is it, adds he, which our Predecessors have said, who have lived at the latter end of the first Revolution, and who drew near the second, as well as those who were born at the beginning of this. It is they who have assured us thereof; and several are to blame, for not believing it now. The Stoicks also believed the same thing, according to the Relation of *Clement*, who seems not to disprove their thought, and who saileth not to confirm it by the Authority of *Plato*. This Philosopher believed that the first Men were *Androgynes*, and that they had four Feet, two Heads, and so of the other Members; but that God afterwards divided them into two, as may be seen in his *Banquet*. Some *Rabbins* have advanced some such thing, and grounded their Sentiment upon this, that it's said, God created Man Male and Female. This seems to be but a Diversion of the Mind, and not an Opinion, which these Authors seriously embraced. Perhaps *Clement* sported himself to make some Reflections on the thought of *Plato*, with so much the more liberty, that perhaps he believed, as his Disciple *Origen*, that there were many Allegories in the beginning of *Genesis*. 4. As to what concerns Angels falling in love with Women, *Clement* testifies in more than one place, that he hath been of this thought; and most of the ancient Greek and Latin Fathers have thus expounded the beginning of the 6th Chap. of *Genesis*. *Photius* cannot reprehend this Opinion, without censuring at the same

time all Antiquity; but it's his Custom to abuse the most ancient Authors, when he finds Sentiments in them which were not received in his time, or ways of speaking, which are not strong enough, to express those Thoughts which he believed Antiquity should have had, because it would have been a Heresie in his Age, not to have them. 5. Incarnation being a Myſtery, which we comprehend not, and *Clement's* Style being not commonly very clear, it might happen that he expresses himself after a manner which *Photius* did not well understand; and this is the more probable, because this Patriarch ordinarily Expounds the Thoughts of the Ancients, in reference to the Opinions and Manners of speaking of his time. The Writings of the Ancients are full of Equivocate Terms, which they use in such Senses as the following Ages were ignorant of. Terms which express Spiritual obscure things, and the most composed Ideas, are necessarily hard to be understood, because they took no care of defining them, or making an exact Enumeration of the Ideas which they applied thereto. Perhaps it came not once into their Mind, that this would have been very necessary to be well understood. At least we see, that when they strive to Expound themselves upon these obscure Subjects, they use as obscure Terms. 6. An Example may be remarked thereon, in regard to two Reasons, whereof *Photius* speaketh. Those who shall carefully Read the Second Tome of *Origen* upon St. *John*, may observe that he establishes a first, or supreme Reason, which is the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and several inferiour Reasons, which are made after the Image of the precedent. It might be said in this sense, that there are only Second Reasons, which are become Flesh, because there are only they which animate Human Bodies; for though the first was united to the Humanity of Jesus Christ, it was not in stead of a Soul to him. Thus though *Clement* had said what *Photius* makes him say, he could not be accused of Heresie for that; but he did not say so, as it appears by the Passage which *Photius* himself cites. The Son is called Reason, as well as the Paternal Reason, but it was not that which was made Flesh; and yet it is not Paternal Reason neither, but Divine Power, (which is as an Emanation of this same Reason) which is become Spirit, (*πνεῦμα*) and which is come into the Hearts of Men. By these Terms the Son, we must not understand the only Son of God; but Man, as is clearly seen by the Sequel. Perhaps *Clement* had called it *ὁ υἱός* simply, because he might have sufficiently intimated before, whom he understood by this word. *Photius*, who has not well apprehended the end of this Passage, might easily have equivocated concerning the Sequel of the Discourse; as the Jesuit *Schotus*, otherwise a Learned Man, was altogether mistaken in the Latin Version of these words, as we shall soon observe by comparing it with that which we have already made thereof.

But

But we have another Latin Work, which is attributed to *Clement*, and which is Entitled, *Commentariolam primam Canonicam S. Patri, in Epistolam Judæ, & tres Epistolas S. Joannis Apostoli*. There are indeed divers things in these Notes, which are not far from the Doctrin of *Clement*; but it cannot be known whether it be a whole Version of a part of the *Hypotyposes*, or only Extracts, corrected according to the Pleasure of the Interpreter. It is known, that when the *Latins* translated something of the *Greeks*, they were very subject to make Changes therein as they thought fit, as has been objected to *Ruffinus*. It is even needless to seek so far for Examples of this Ill Custom, seeing we have one concerning a part of the *Hypotyposes* of *Clement*, whereof *Cassiodorus* speaks thus; *Clement of Alexandria, hath expounded in Greek the Canonick Epistles, that is to say, the First Epistle of St. Peter, the First and Second of St. John, and that of St. James, where there are not only many subtil things; but also some things which he hath advanced, without well taking heed of them. We have translated him into Latin, so that having taken away what would scandalize, his Doctrin thus purified, may with more safety be Read. Ubi multa quidem subtiliter sed aliqua incaute loquutus est, quæ nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinam, ut exclusis quibusdam offendiculis; purificata Doctrina ejus, securior posset hauriri.*

Besides this, *Clement* composed five Treatises, which are lost. 1. *The Rule, or the Canon of the Church, against the Judaizers.* 2. *Of the Passover.* 3. *Of Backbiting.* 4. *Disputes concerning Fasting.* 5. *An Exhortation to Patience, directed to the Neophytes.*

After the particular Remarks which are made upon each of his Works, and what been said in general upon this occasion, there remains now only three things, which are much worth our notice.

He often cites supposititious Writings, as if they had been acknowledged by all the World, as may be observ'd by the Passage of *St. Peters Sermon*, which hath been a little before related, and by another of *St. Pauls*, which seems to be taken from the Book of his *Voyages*, upon which, see *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom*. This may make People believe that the great Reading of this Learned Man, had not refined his Judgment; for in fine, there is no need of being a great Scholar, to perceive what he cites, resembles not the Style of the Apostles, neither is it conformable to their Principles. It cannot be doubted, but that they believed the God whom the *Jews* adored, was the true God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who testifies it himself. Neither can the *Jews* be accused of having worship'd Angels, Months and Moons, with any manner of Probability; and the reason which the Author of *St. Peters Sermon* brings for it, is so ridiculous, that it can impose upon no body, who is not very willing to be deceived. It is true, that some Learned Men have otherwise ex-

pounded this Accusation, which this Author makes against the *Jews*, but it's plain by the Sequel, that he understood it more simply than they do. Howbeit, this Book being visibly supposititious, *Origen* acted much more prudently than his Master; seeing he had *Heracleon a Valentinian* to refute, who drew Consequences against the *Old Testament*, from these pretended words of *St. Peter*, he begins thus, *It would be very proper to examine whether this Book was really St. Peters, or if it were not wholly supposititious, and if not, if any thing was not added to it*; after which, he shews, that the *Jews* adored the Creator of the World. But it was the Custom of several of the Ancients to make use of all sorts of Reasons and Books, to perswade what they had a mind to. If it was so in our time, Men would be accused immediately of Simplicity, or of Falshood; but each Age hath its Customs. However its certain, that Rules of sound Sense have always been the same; and its not less true, that great Learning does not render the Mind more just, according to the famous Maxim of *Heracitus*, which *Clement* relates amongst his Writings: ΠΟΛΥΜΑΘΙΗΝ ΟΟΝ ΟΤ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙ.

Clement also used to interpret Scripture allegorically, without rendering his Allegories probable, as the Ancients commonly did: We may see what *Mr. Huet* says of the Origin of Allegories in his *Origeniana*, l. 2. c. 2. Qu. 14. But if what *Clement* saith be read carefully in the fifth Book of his *Stromates*, where he treats of it more at large, one may easily perceive, that what induced him chiefly to believe the Scripture was full thereof, was, that the *Egyptians* and *Greeks* had accustomed themselves to hide the Secrets of their Philosophy, under Emblems and Fables. It is true, that the *Jews* were fallen into this Opinion before the coming of Jesus Christ. It is true also that in the most distant times, this Nation expressed it self not only by dark words, but symbolick Actions, as appears by divers places of the *Old Testament*. Notwithstanding there is no Example by which it's apparent that the Sacred Authors were willing to hide the Tenets of the Jewish Religion, but on the contrary they exposed them very clearly and simply. There are but few places of the History of the beginning of the World, which may be turned into an Allegory with any probability, and those which may only regard some Circumstances, which signifie nothing in respect to the Foundation of the History, and belong in no wise to the Worship of God, or good Manners, or Tenets, without which they could not serve God, nor be honest Men, according to the Law. In the rest of all the History of the *Hebrews*, nothing appears which in the least resembles an Allegory, all is simple and easie to be apprehended; which makes us believe, that those who writ it, were in no wise Allegorists, and that if there was any thing in the

the most ancient Events of the History of Mankind, which may be understood that way; the *Hebrews* have followed this turn, only because the Tradition, or the Memorials, which they copied after, were thus express'd. We do not see that they amus'd themselves with Philosophy, or gave any opinions of Physicks, either clearly or obscurely; and the places where *Philo* strives to find Philosophical Tenets, are wrested after so violent a manner, that there is no Person who perceives not that the Sacred Authors never thought upon what he makes them to say: Also if we reflect upon the origin of Allegories, amongst the Pagans, it will appear that they are but of a late date; and when Philosophers would give a Reason for Fables, or the ancient Histories of the Gods; that is to say, to save the Honour of their most ancient Historians, who were accused of having absurd Ideas of Nature, as Excellent as that of the Gods, according to their Idea of it. Therefore it was necessary to make those believe, whom these scandalous Histories offended, that the Poets thought quite another thing than what they said, and thence comes, (*ἀλλογισμός*) which signifies quite another thing than what is meant, and is what is properly call'd Allegory. It may be found out by reading of three Works lately Printed at *Amsterdam*, and where mention is made in the 7th Tome of the *Universal Bibliothick*, p. 109. Thus Histories amongst the *Grecians* were turn'd into *Allegories*, fearing it should be thought that the Gods of *Greece* were only corrupted Men. The *Jews*, who never applied themselves to the study of Criticks and Philosophy, were no sooner amongst the *Grecians*, but they found this Method of Expounding Religion, and used it to explain the Sacred Books, after a manner more conformable to the Opinion of the Pagans, as is plain by the Example of *Philo*, who Expounds all the *Old Testament* like a Platonick. They even so much alter'd the Text, that they expounded allegorically, not only the places which might have any difficulty, but also the most clear and simple, without excepting even those that concern Manners, which being literally understood, include excellent Directions for the conduct of Life; nor the most simple Histories, whence most useful Instructions may be drawn, without searching any other sense, but that which offers it self to the mind. *Philo* is full of such Examples. The Christians afterwards imitated the *Jews*, and were not satisfied to interpret allegorically the *Old Testament*, but did the like concerning the *New*, although neither *Jesus Christ*, nor the Apostles, propos'd no Doctrin after an emblematick Manner, which they expounded not clearly enough themselves, to take away the trouble of seeking for the Sense, in having recourse to Allegories, which have nothing plain in them. For in fine, it must be granted, that according to this Method, though the Sacred Authors had

said something different, or even quite contrary to what they did, if we would we might find a Sense equally fine, as those who examin will immediately be sensible of it. Also the Heathens themselves, who were the Inventers of this strange manner of Interpreting ancient Books, could not suffer that Christians should use it, as the Christians likewise in their turn laughed at the forc'd Interpretations of Pagans: Some Heathens also more ingenious than the rest, thought them ridiculous. The Christians and *Jews* had done much better certainly to apply themselves to the Letter, than to make use of so unstable a Method, to defend the Scripture against the Heathens.

3. Though with reason we may treat as erroneous divers Opinions of *Clement* of *Alexandria*; yet if we observe each particular one which we had, and that none this day holds, he shall Remark, that there are some which are look'd upon as Erroneous, only because the opposite Sentiments are established. I know not how, in most Schools, though there have been no new discoveries made thereon, so soon as any famous Person maintained a Tenet, without being contradicted by People of an equal Reputation, or Authority, or even without any one's opposing it; this Tenet established it self so well in the minds of Persons, that Men insensibly accustom'd themselves to look upon the contrary Opinion as an Error, without knowing for what. Opinions are often introduced like Customs, that owe their beginning to some few Persons, which others imitate. They in time so well possess the minds of Men, that all others, except those which agree to it, seem ridiculous. A Garment which is seen but seldom, looks strangely, though it were in use in times past; it is even so with an Opinion which grows old, it displeaseth because none still receives it. For Example, *Clement* believed that the Angels had a Body, and that also was the Opinion of *Origen*, and of most of the Fathers. Yet 'tis now treated as an Error, without any reason; for though Scripture teacheth us, that *Spirits have neither flesh nor bone*, and that Angels are Intelligences; it saith no where that they are not cloathed with any body. There has been since no Revelation upon this matter, nor no convincing Reason discovered, which can perswade us of the contrary. Yet it is commonly said, that it is an Error, because Scholastick Doctors maintain it to be so. I confess, that the Fathers, who gave bodies to Angels, have not brought any evident Reason to prove their thought. But all that could be thence concluded, is, that they had affirm'd a thing which they know no more of than we do; so that it was better to continue in suspence, and assert nothing of a Subject, which was equally unknown to us. This Suspension was not ('tis true) accommodated to Dogmaticks, who are not very easie to grant, that they are ignorant of any thing, and who believe they

are wise enough to determin speedily upon all sorts of Questions. Indeed without that we cannot form a System so complete as we ought, to pass for Learned Men; and it would be a shameful thing to grant that upon each Article a thousand things may be asked, upon which nothing could be answered, if we should say only what we know. There may be an Application made of this same Principle, on divers other Tenets of *Clement*, upon which it would be better to confess simply one's Ignorance, than to condemn Sentiments, concerning which, we have no good Information.

Neither have these Opinions hindered some Ancients from rendering him many Praises. *Eusebius* saith, *His Books are full of useful Learning*. *St. Jerom* says, *That he composed very fine Works, full of Learning and Eloquence, and taken both from holy Scripture and profane Authors, and elsewhere*. *Clement*, saith he, *Presbyter of the Church of Alexandria, the most Learned of our Authors, in my Judgment, hath made eight Books of Stromates, as many Hypotyposes; a Book against Pagans, and three Volumes, Entituled, The Pædagogus. What is there in his Books that is not full of knowledge, and drawn from the depths of Philosophy?* *Cyril of Alexandria* assures us, in his 6th and 7th Books against *Julian*, *That he was a Man of admirable knowledge, who had thoroughly searched the Grecian Learning, with such an Exactness, that few before him arrived at*. *Theodoret* saith, *That this holy Man surpassed all others in the extent of his knowledge*.

It is easie to form an Idea of the Doctrine of *Clement*, upon what has been already said. It is necessary only to add a word of this Edition; two Defects may be observed in it, one of which is common to it, with several other Editions of the Books of the Ancients, and the other is particular to it.

Concerning the first, one may easily remark that the Editions, where there are no Distinctions nor Lines, as the way of speaking is, are destitute of one thing which appears not of Consequence in it self, but is very useful for the Understanding of what is read. This beginning of a new Line serves for an Admonition to the Reader, who in casting simply his Eyes on a Page, sees how many Arguments, or Subjects it is filled with, otherwise this want of Distinction in some degree confounds the Mind, and makes more attention requisite to understand what we read, and that we do not search for Connections where there are none, or not to confound two Arguments in one. But one ought to endeavour to diminish as much as possible, the trouble of the Reader, who has too much already to understand the very things. The Lines in some respects perform the same effect, as the Distinction of Chapters, which cannot be neglected, without Confusion. It is true, that the Ancients neglected often to divide their Books or Discourses into cer-

tain parts; but if we take notice, we shall find this negligence was because there was not sufficient Order in several of their writings. It was easier to pass from one Subject to another, by reason of some slight reference which was among them, or to throw confusedly a heap of Thoughts upon Paper, than to pass them into a certain Order: As it would be easier to lay in one mass the Materials of an House, than to dispose them each in their proper Place. If any one has a mind to have examples of Books without Order, he may only cast his Eye upon *Seneca* or *Tertullian*, who both said very enthusiastically, whatsoever came into their Minds, without almost any idea of Order which they had a design to follow. If these Authors were Printed dividing their Arguments by a Line, their meaning could be much better understood.

The other fault, which those who have the care of the Editions of ancient Authors commit very often, is, that they do not distinguish with divers Characters the Citations from the words of the Author; so that if great attention is not given to what is read, that which is attributed to one Author, may belong to another. This is what happened to *Dr. Cave* in his *English Life of Clement Alexandrinus*, which hath been very useful to us in the making this. *Clement* in the Passage which hath been related concerning the Philosophy he approved, if as *Socrates*, who in his *Phædon*, applies to Philosophers this Proverb, which they made use of in their Mysteries, *There are many who bear the Thyrse, but few who are truly filled with the Spirit of Bacchus*. *Socrates* adds immediately after, *These are I believe, only those who applied themselves as they ought to Philosophy, of the number of whom I have endeavour'd to be as much as I could*, &c. As the whole Passage is in Roman Character, *Dr. Cave* thought that these words *Of the number of whom*, &c. were *Clement's*, whereas they are *Socrates*, as appears in *Plato*, and even at the bottom of the Page, where *Clement* Cites them. If all this Passage had been in *Italick*, *Dr. Cave* would not have been deceived in it; which ought in no wise to appear strange to those who know that to write the Life of an Author, collected out of divers places, Attention must be given to so many things all at a time, that it is very difficult to avoid confounding ones self.

Besides, in distinguishing the Subjects by a Line, and the Citations by different Characters, more Facility is given to those who have read an Author in finding such places again, as they may have occasion for, which is not of little use.

As to this Edition, there are three Indexes, one of the Passages cited by *St. Clement*, the second of the Subjects, and the third of the Words and Greek Phrases, either worthy of Remark, or such as this Author applyeth to a particular Sense. If these Indexes were complete and correct, they would

would be without doubt very useful; but they are neither. There is an infinite sight of Faults in the Numbers, and often contrary to what is in *Clement*. The Passage of *Job*, *There is no one that is clean*, is related in Chap. 25. of his Books, whereas it is in the 14th. There is in the Index: *Peccato originali infecta omnium & anime & corpora*, 488. d. On contrary *Clement* refutes this Opinion in this place; but *Sylburge*, or some other who hath made this Index, had apparently in his mind what *Clement* ought to have said according to him, rather than what he effectually did say. There is besides, a fourth Index at the beginning of the Work, which contains a List of the Authors cited by *Clement*, but the Pages where he cites them being not marked, it is altogether useless. It were a thing to be desired for the Republick of Letters, not only that Kings were Philosophers, or that Philosophers were Kings, but also that Booksellers were learned, or that the Learned Men were Booksellers, and that they brought back the Age of the *Manuces* and *Stephens*, for to give us good Editions of the Writings of the Ancients, and to level the way for a Study, which of it self is hard enough, without making difficulties by our own Negligence.

Chap. 1. Our Author begins the Definition of the word Church, as used in the Primitive Times, which since it agrees so much with the present general Definition, we shall pass it over to remark what is more uncommon. Afterwards he comes to treat of its Members, which he distinguishes into the Clergy and Laity, in which he considers these three Particulars,

1. Peculiar Acts of the Clergy.
2. Peculiar Acts of the Laity.
3. Joint Acts of both.

The Clergy he considers in these three Offices, Bishops, Priests and Deacons. He begins at *Jerusalem*, where the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles and Disciples, induing them with the Gift of Tongues, working Miracles, and fitting them to Preach the Gospel to all the World. He assigns *St. Andrew* to *Scythia*, *St. Bartholomew* to *India*, *St. Matthew* to *Parthia*, *St. John* to *Asia* the less, telling us also that the rest of the Apostles had every one their Commission and Allotment, according to *Clement Romanus*.

* *Kadiga-
rov, &c.
Epist. ad
Cor. p. 54.* The Apostles went forth Preaching both in City and Country, appointing the first Fruits of their Ministry for Bishops and Deacons; which they left behind them whilst they planted

† *Smirnae-
orum Ec-
cles. &c. de
prescript.
advers.* the other Churches; Thus † *Clement* was ordained Bishop of Rome by *St. Peter*, and *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna* by *St. John*, as says *Tertullian*.

Harer. p. 80.

Our Author reconciles what the Scripture and *St. Clement Romanus* says, (*Ep. ad Cor. p. 2.*) about the Plurality of Bishops in one Church, with the Negation of *Ignatius*, *Tertullian*, and *St. Cyprian*, who affirm that there ought to be but one Bishop in a Church. He says the word ἑποικονομία was the Bishopry way of Eminency and Propriety, tho' there might be others such as * *St. Cyprian* reckons Bishop, * *Ep. 69. Pastor, President, \$ 5. p. 208. Governor, Superintendent and Priest.*

2. Our Author shews in the Second Chap. that these Bishops Jurisdiction or Ancient Diocesses appeared to him to be but one Congregation, for which he brings the Authority of several of the Fathers. He also shews that the word Parish is as old as *Irenaeus*, who in his Synodical Epistle to *Pope Victor*, calls the Bishopricks of *Asia* Parishes (ἡ παροικία, apud. *Euseb. l. 5. c. 24. p. 193.*) He brings eight more Instances of the word, and gives us some Examples of matter of Fact parallel hereunto, which could not be otherwise, as to meeting all together, receiving the Eucharist from the Bishop alone, were Baptized only by the Bishop, who was the Common Almoner; all the People met at a Church Censure; and when the Bishop was dead, all met to choose another; publick Letters were read before the whole Diocess or Parish; all the Diocess met to manage Affairs, &c. Our Author all along cites his Authorities very plentifully in the Margent to maintain his Assertion.

3. In the Third Chap. he considers the Bishops Office, which he says was Preaching the Word, Praying with his People, Administering the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lords Supper, taking care of the Poor, Ordaining of Ministry, Governing his Flock, Excommunicating Offenders, and

A very good reason for one Bishop, being Governor or Minister, but of one Church, because in the beginning of Christianity one Church was large enough to entertain all the Christians for twenty, thirty, or forty Miles distance. So that the Bishops Power extended as far as those now a days.

The People chose the Bishop, because at first the Priests were so few, and at such a distance, that they could not Assemble together without leaving their own Churches unofficiated at the same time; but when the Gospel encreased, and the number of Bishops was consequently augmented, they removed this Inconvenience, though they were long before convinced of it; for certainly Persons of an equal Learning and Piety are much fitter to constitute and make a Choice of Bishops than the multitude, which was more subject to breed Confusion, as *Gregory Nazianzen*, and many others complain of; besides, the Peoples Voice alone was not sufficient, for he was first to have the approbation of the neighbouring Bishops, according to our Authors own Citations.

and Absolving Penitents, for every one of these Offices, our Author Cites a *Father*. He proceeds a little after to shew the manner of his Electing Bishops, which he shews was by the Choice of all the People, who knew his Life and Conversation beforehand; but the Voice of the People was not sufficient by it self; for after they had Elected one, they presented him to the neighbouring Bishops for their Approbation, for without that the Election was not valid. *Tert. 3, &c. Euseb. Lib. Cap. II. Pag. 212.* After a Bishop's Election, he was install'd by Imposition of Hands by other Bishops; he cites all along his Authorities.

4. He treats of Presbyters, and gives this Definition, *That a Presbyter is a Person in holy Orders, having thereby an inherent Right to perform the whole Office of a Bishop; but being possessed of no Place or Parish, nor actually discharging it without the Permission and Consent of the Bishop of a Place or Parish;* which he says, was much like the Instance of our present Ministers and their Curates.

He considers this Subject under Two Heads, *viz.*

1. That Presbyters were the Bishops Curates and Assistants, and so inferior to them in the actual Exercise of their Ecclesiastical Commission.
2. That yet notwithstanding they had the same inherent Right with the Bishops, and so were not of a distinct Specifick Order from them.

Which is as much as to say, they were not Bishops in *Gradu*, but in *Ordine*—To confirm this, he shews out of the Fathers, too long to mention in an Abstract, that a Presbyter could not Baptize, not Administer the Eucharist, not chuse his own Subject to Preach upon, not Absolve Offenders, &c. without the Bishops consent first obtained; in short, he shews that they had a Right to do every thing that the Bishops had, when leave was given them.

5. In the Fifth Chap. he treats of Subordinate Offices, first of Deacons, which because he says there is so little contest about in our Disputes, he is the more brief on it. In short he gives us to understand, that they were inferior to Presbyters, and stood and waited on the latter, who sat down on their *Sevri* or Seats in the form of a Semicircle, being the same mention'd *Acts 6. 2. To serve Tables.* *Ignatius, Βραβύτων, &c. Deacons of Meats and Cups:* They Baptized in the absence of Presbyters and Bishops, in a word, they were call'd the Churches Servants, *Εκκλησιαστικῶν ὑπαυπητάων.* *Ignat. Epist. ad Tralles. p. 48.*

Then he comes to treat of Subdeacons, whose number was enlarged according to the greatness of the Church, and who were subservient to Deacons, as Deacons were to Presbyters and Bishops.

Besides these, he proves, that there were yet a meaner sort of Ecclesiasticks, such as *Acolyths*, *Exorcists*, and *Lictors*, which were only Candidates for the Ministry.

Here he turns to the Subject of the Presbyters, shewing how they were Ordained, which being so like that of the Bishops, I shall pass it over, only I shall Remark, that amongst other Qualifications, Learning was look'd upon as very necessary; I shall mention one Passage that he brings from the Fathers about it, *viz. Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. Lib. 1. Pag. 207. φιλοσοφία χριστιανῶν, &c. That it's profitable to Christianity for the clear and distinct Demonstration of its Doctrin, in that it helps us to the more evident understanding of the Truth.* A little farther the same Father speaking of Logick, p. 233. calls it, *A Hedge to defend the Truth from being trod down by Sophists, that it gives us great light duly to understand the Holy Scriptures, that it keeps the way of Life that we be not deceived nor circumvented by those that endeavour to draw us into the way of Sin;* he also shews us that the same Father, Pag. 472. Lib. 6. *Strom.* complains that there were some in his days, that shun'd Philosophy, lest it should deceive them, as much as Children did Hobgoblins: Because they saw that many Learned Mens Brains were intoxicated by Philosophical Notions, and thereby became Authors of most damnable Heresies, not observing the Apostles Exhortation; but the same Father Answers this Objection; *That that proceeded not from Philosophy, but from the Wickedness of Mens Nature; for whosoever hath Wisdom enough to use it, he is able thereby to make a larger and more demonstrative Defence of the Faith than others.* *Strom. Lib. Pag. 204.* And in another place the same Father adds, *It was most unreasonable, that Philosophy only should be condemned upon this Account, and yet the meanest Arts, even those of a Smith and Shipwright, which are as much Human, should be commended and approved; that they did not rest here and go no farther, but having got what was most useful and profitable for it, they ascended higher unto the true Philosophy, making this Humane Philosophy guide unto a Preparatory for the true Philosophy.* *Ibid. Lib. 1. Pag. 207.* I have been fuller upon these Citations, because that many seem to be dissatisfied now a days with Human Learning in the Ministry.

6. In the Sixth Chap. he treats of the Acts of the Laity, and shews that Baptism was the Initiating Sacrament into Church-Membership. Here the Author gives us an Account how Heathens were admitted; *They were put into the Rank of the Catechumens or Chatechis'd ones, which were Candidates of Christianity; they were permitted to come into the Church, where they stood in a place by themselves, and were present at the Sermons, which were adapted to their Capacities, being Discourses of the ordinary and less Mysterious Truths of the Gospel.* *Origen, Contra Cels. Lib. 3. Pag. 142. &c.* If they behaved themselves well in this Rank, *They were advanced to the Superior Rank of Perfecti, as Tertullian, calls them, De prescrip. Hæc. Pag. 89.* who staid not only at Sermons, but Prayers too; afterwards they were

were Baptized, and received the Eucharist. Pag. 141.

Our Author brings us Examples where the People, as they had power to Elect Bishops, so they had also power to depose them; he gives two Instances of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, who for their Apostacy were depos'd, and *Felix* and *Sabinus* chosen in their place.

7. Chap. Seventh, Our Author treats of Church-Censure, and says, *That Schism, Heresie, Covetousness, Gluttony, Fornication, Adultery, &c.* were the Subjects of Church-Censure, in their Ecclesiastick Courts; but that Apostacy and Idolatry were Prosecuted with the extremest Rigour; he gives us Examples in *Ninus Clementianus*, and *Florus*, who underwent three Years Penance before they were received again into the Church; the Judges were both Clergy and Laity, and some times the Bishops of neighbouring Parishes came over to assist, that the Censure might be free from any Imputation of Partiality or Injustice: The manner *Tertullian* describes thus, *After other parts of the Divine Service were over, then followed Exhortations, Reproofs, and a Divine Censure; for the Judgment is given with great weight, as amongst those that are sure, God beholds what they do, and this is one of the highest Preludiums and Forerunners of the Judgment to come, when the Delinquent is banish'd from the Communion of Prayer, Assemblies and holy Commerce: Approved Elders preside there, who obtain that Honour by Testimony, not by Price, Tertull. Apol. Cap. 39. P. 709.* Those who were Excommunicate, were to be look'd upon as Heathens if they returned again: What was requisite for them to do, is elegantly described in a Letter sent from the Clergy of the Church of Rome to St. Cyprian, *Let them knock at the Church Doors, but not break them; let them come to the Threshold of the Church, but not pass over it; let them watch at the Gates of the Celestial Tents, but armed with Modesty, by which they may remember that they were Deserters; let them resume the Trumpet of their Prayers, but not to sound an Alarm to Battel; let them arm themselves with the Darts of Modesty, and retake that Shield, which by their Apostacy they lost, that so they may be armed, not against the Church, which grieves at their Misery, but against their Adversary the Devil; a modest Petition, a bashful Supplication, a necessary Humility, and an Industrious Patience will be advantageous to them; let them express their Grief by their Tears, and their Sorrow and Shame for their Crimes by their Groans,* Ep. 31. ap. Cyp. *Tertullian* in a like manner describes one in this State, by lying in Sackcloth and Ashes, by having a squalid Body, and a dejected Soul; by Fasting, Praying, Weeping, Groaning, and roaring night and day; by throwing himself at the Clergies feet, and kneeling before the Faithful, begging and desiring their Prayers and Pardon. — If the Criminals Repentance was thought real, he was admitted to part of the Service, but not to all, for a long time, some two, three,

five, ten Years, and some even to their Lives end; *On the day appointed for Absolution, he came cover'd with Sackcloth and Ashes, throwing himself at the Feet of the Clergy and Laity, and with Tears in his Eyes begging their Pardon and Forgiveness, confess his Fault, and received Absolution by the Bishops putting his hand upon his Head and blessing him; and then he was looked upon as a true Church-Member again.*

8. In the Eighth Chap. he comes to shew the Independency that Churches had one of another, as to Superiority or Preheminence, which concludes very strongly against the Usurpations of the See of Rome; he Cites the Decree of the African Synod, *Apud Cyp. Ep. 55. § 16. Pag. 142. That every ones Cause should be heard where the Crime was committed, because that to every Pastor was committed a particular Portion of Christ's Flock, which he was particularly to rule and govern, and to render an Account thereof unto the Lord.* Yet he shews there was such a Dependence and Correspondence betwixt one another, *Cyp. Ep. 67. § 6. Pag. 199. Although they were many Pastors, yet they were but one Flock, and they ought to congregate and cherish all the Sheep, which Christ redeemed by his own Blood and Passion. And a little after: We ought all of us to take care of the Body of the whole Church, whose Members are distended through various Provinces, Apud Cyp. Ep. 30. § 4. Pag. 67.*

Our Author treats next of Provincial Synods, which he proves were a Convocation of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons and deputed Laimen, who often met to advise about Ecclesiastical Affairs, and regulate what should appear amiss: He shews that this Convocation was usually every Year, *Per singulos annos in unum Conveniamus, Apud Cyprian. Ep. 75. § 3. Pag. 236.* In these Assemblies they chose out of the gravest and most renowned Bishops, two to be Arbitrators and Moderators, *Apud Euseb. Lib. 5. Cap. 23. Pag. 190.* The Decrees that they made were binding, and who ever broke them, came under the Ecclesiastick Censure.

9. In the Ninth Chap. our Author treats of the Unity of the Church. Here he shews, that the Unity of the Church consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites and Usages, but every Church was at its own liberty to follow its own particular Customs, *Iren. apud Euseb. Lib. 5. Cap. 24. P. 193.* 'In some Churches they fasted one day, 'in others two, in some more, and in 'others forty hours; but yet they still retained Peace and Concord, the diversity 'of their commending the Unity of their 'Faith. And a little after, the same Father: 'They retained Peace and Love, and for 'the diversity of such Customs, none were 'ever cast out of the Communion of the 'Church. Also *Firmilianus, apud Cyprian. Ep. 75. § 5. Pag. 237.* 'That in most Provinces their Rites were varied according 'to the Diversities of Names and Places, 'and that for this no one ever departed from

the Peace and Unity of the Catholick Church. 'Twould be well if this Primitive Union was well considered on, by such as keep up the Dissentions amongst us at this day; they will certainly have a severe Account to make one day to the Prince of Peace; nor will their Ignorance excuse them, in not making a due distinction betwixt the Fundamentals of Religion and mere Circumstances.

Our Author proceeds to shew what condescensions there were amongst them from *Justin Martyr*, who speaking of those Jewish Converts, who adhered to the *Mosaical Rites*, says, *That if they did this only through their Weakness and Imbecillity, and did not perswade other Christians to the observance of the same Judaical Customs, that he would receive them into Church-fellowship and Communion*, Dialog. cum Tryphon, Pag. 266.

After this, our Author shews how the whole Churches censur'd such as were Authors of Divisions, about the different Observation of *Easter*, Baptizing Hereticks, &c. and afterwards he brings in *Irenæus*, saying, 'That at the last day Christ shall judge those, who cause Schisms, who are inhuman, not having the fear of God, but preferring their own advantage before the Unity of the Church, who for trivial and flight Causes rend and divide the great and glorious Body of Christ, and as much as in them lies, destroy it; who speak Peace, but make War, truly straining at a Gnat, but swallowing a Camel. *Lib. 4. Cap. 62. Pag. 292.*

Here our Authors defines Schism according to the *Primitive Fathers*, to be an unnecessary causeless Separation from their lawful Pastor or Parish Church: So that who ever separates upon such a Ground is a *Schismatick*; then he comes to lay down such measures as the Primitive Christians did make use of for Separation from their Bishop; (1) *Apostacy from the Faith*, (2) *Or when a Bishop renounc'd the Christian Faith, and through fear of Persecution embrac'd the Heathenish Idolatries*, as was done in the Case of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops; 3ly. *When the Bishops Life was scandalous and wicked*; he gives Instances of all of them, yet he brings in *Origen* against this last Opinion, his words are these, *Origen Hom. 7. in Ezek.* 'He that hath a care of his Soul, will not be scandaliz'd at my Faults, who am his Bishop, but considering my Doctrine, and finding it agreeable to the Churches Faith; from me indeed he will be averse, but he will receive my Doctrine, according to the Precept of the Lord, which saith, The Scribes and Pharisees sit on *Moses* his Chair; whatever therefore they say unto you, hear, and do, but according to their Work do not, for they say and do not: The Scripture is of me, who teach what is good, and do the contrary, and sit upon the Chair of *Moses* as a Scribe or Pharisee; the Precept is to thee, O People, if thou canst not accuse me of false Doctrine, or Here-

tical Opinions, but only beholdest my wicked and sinful Life; but do those things which I speak. After having mentioned this Father's Opinion, he adds, that whether *Irenæus*, or an *African Synod*, or *Origen* deserves most Credit, he leaves it to the Learned to judge; but however our Author gives his own Opinion, that they might both have condescended a little nearer. Afterwards we have an Account of several Schisms, and the manner of their Growth, all along very curious in his Remarks, and very plentiful in the Citation of his Authorities in the Margent, to which, for greater Satisfaction, we refer the more inquisitive Reader.

The Second Part of the Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church, that Flourish'd within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ.

IN the First Chap. of this Second Part, he begins with the manner of their Publick Worship in the Primitive Church; when the Congregation was assembled, the first Act of Divine Service was reading the Holy Scriptures, and sometimes the Epistles and Tracts of Eminent and Pious Men; he that read the Scriptures was particularly destin'd for that Office, being the *Lector*, which as we said, above, was preparative for an higher Office; how long they read, our Author could not determin, but he says it was a considerable part of the Divine Service.

Then follow'd singing Psalms; the Matter he says was not always the same; some times, as he Cites out of *Tertullian*, they Sung an Hymn out of the Bible, or one of their own composing; one of their Hymns, as he tells us, being made on the Praise of our Saviour, began thus *Χαίρε εὐαγγέλιον*, &c. *Hail Light*, they sung with their Voices altogether, some times alternately, *Origen. de Orat. § 6. Pag. 7. Ep. ad Trajan.* 'Twas in Rhyme, Metre, and Consort. He mentions particularly the 133. Psalm, *Oh how good and pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity*, &c. After singing of Psalms, Preaching succeeded. *Scripturae leguntur Psalmi Canuntur, ad Locutiones proferuntur*, *Tertull. de Anima, c. 3. p. 530.* *Scriptures are read, Psalms sung, and Sermons pronounced.*

The Subject of the Sermon was usually a Commentary or Explanation of the Lessons, which were just before read, according to *Justin Martyr, Ap. 2. p. 98.* 'The Bishop made a Sermon by way of Instruction and Exhortation, to the Imitation of those excellent things which had been read; They usually preach'd about an Hour, *Origen Hom. de Engast. p. 29.* The manner of their Sermons was thus; they began with a short Exordium, and then explained Verse after Verse, or Sentence after Sentence, shewing the natural and literal Signification of the Words, and then the Spiritualized or Mystical meaning of them, and concluded

cluded with a suitable Application of all, regarding the Quality of their Hearers, and suiting themselves to their Capacity; he gives some Instances of the Laity, who by the Permission of their Bishops, were suffer'd to Preach some times, but never but upon sufferance; and they were only such as were ἐπιτρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸ ὁμιλεῖν καὶ ἀδελφεῖν, fit to profit the Brethren.

II. He continues his Inquisition in the Primitive Worship, and informs that as soon as Sermon was ended, they all rose up and offer'd their Prayers unto God, Justin Martyr Apol. 2. p. 98.

The manner of their Praying was with their Faces towards the East, for these Reasons, which by the way, might give light why we make the Communion-Table at the East-end of our Churches. 1. Because the Title of East is given to our Saviour in the Old Testament, the Word is ἰσχυρὸς, which signifies an arising or sprouting out, in the Greek 'tis rendred ἀναστὰς, which signifies arising out, and by a Metonymy is appropriated to the East. 2. Because it symbolized a Spiritual arising out of the Darkness of Sin and Corruption; Here our Author mentions *Alexandrinus, Stromat. Lib. 7. p. 520.* 'Let Prayers be made towards the East, because the East is the Representation of our Spiritual Nativity: As from thence Light first arose, shining out of Darkness; so according to that Rising of the Sun, the day of true Knowledge arose on those, who lay buried in Ignorance; whence the ancient Temples looked towards the West, that so they who stood against the Images therein, might be forced to look towards the East. 3. The next Reason our Author gives, is out of *Origen*, viz. to denote our Diligence in the Service of God, in being more forward to arise and set about it, than the Sun is to run his daily course. 4. Another Reason was the Opinion of the Excellency of this Quarter above others.

— The Posture of Prayer, *Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. 7. p. 519.* was thus, *We lift up our Head, and stretch out our Hands towards Heaven:* There was a little Preface to their Prayer, as *Let us pray, or Lift up your Hearts,* and the People answer'd, *We lift them up unto the Lord.* Some times our Author says they used the Lord's Prayer, and some times not; *St. Cyprian* us'd it commonly: I can't pass over notwithstanding the smallness I design'd in this Abstract, what this holy Father has said upon the Lord's Prayer. *De Orat. Dom. § 1, 2. Pag. 309.* 'Christ hath given us a Form of Prayer, he hath admonished and instructed us what we should pray for: He that made us live, hath taught us to pray, that whilst we offer unto the Father the Prayer which the Son taught, we may be the more easily heard: — For what Prayer can be more Spiritual, than that which was given us by Christ, who gave us also the Holy Spirit? And what Prayer can be more prevalent with God, than that

of his Son, who is the Truth proceeding out of his Mouth? so that to pray otherwise than he hath taught, is both Ignorance and Impiety. Let us pray therefore, dearly beloved Brethren, as God our Master hath taught us: It is a friendly and familiar Prayer to ask God with his own, and to present the Prayer of Christ to his Ears; the Father will acknowledge his Sons Words. When we pray, let him that dwells in the Heart, be in the Voice; and since we have him an Advocate with the Father for our Sins, when we beg Pardon for our Sins, let us use the Words of our Advocate; and since he says, that whatsoever we shall ask of the Father in his Name, he will give it us; how much more efficaciously shall we prevail for what we beg in Christ's Name, if we ask it in his Prayer? For the manner of Prayer, our Author says, he finds not such a thing as set Forms, or Liturgies, that were impos'd upon the People, nor (to use his own words) that having no impos'd Form, they unpremeditatedly, immethodically, or confusedly vented their Petitions or Requests.

III. Chap. Third, our Author treats of Baptism, which was done by the Bishop, or whom he should order in cases of necessity even to Laymen, but never to Women: The Subjects of Baptism were of two sorts, either Infants or Adult Persons; to shew Infants were Baptized, he also proves that the Communion was never given till after Baptism; and then he brings Instances of Children that received the Communion. *Justin Martyr, p. 97.* To which he adds the Testimonies of *Irenæus, lib. 2. cap. 39. p. 137.* and of *St. Cyprian de Lapsis, § 7. p. 279.* which he waves, because he would be fuller in Translating an African Synod held Anno 254, which consisted of Sixty six Bishops; the occasion of which Determination was this: A certain Bishop call'd *Fidus*, had some Scruples, concerning the time of Baptizing of Infants, upon which the aforesaid Bishops determined the Case in the following Decree, *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59. § 2, 3, 4. p. 164, 165.* As for the matter of Infants, whom you said, were not to be Baptized within the Second or Third Day after their Nativity, or according to the Law of Circumcision within the eighth Day thereof; it hath appeared to us in our Council quite contrary; no one maintained your Opinion, but we all judg'd, that the Mercy and Grace of God was to be denied to no Man; for since the Lord said in the Gospel, The Son of Man came not to destroy, but to save the Souls of Men; therefore as much as lies in our Power, no Soul is to be lost; for what is there defective in him, who has been once formed in the Womb by the hands of God? To us indeed it seems, that Children encrease, as they advance in years; but yet whatever things are made by God, are perfected by the Work and Majesty of God their Maker. Besides, the Holy Scriptures declare, that both Infants and Adult Persons have the same Equality in the Divine Workmanship:

When

When Elifha prayed over the Dead Child of the Sunamitish Widow, he lay upon the Child, and put his Head upon his Head, and his Face upon his Face, and his Body upon his Body, and his Feet upon his Feet. This may be thought improbable, how the small Members of an Infant should equal the big ones of a grown Man; but herein is expressed the Divine and Spiritual Equality, that all Men are equal, and alike, when they are made by God; that though the encrease of our Bodies may cause an inequality with respect to Men, yet not with respect to God; unless that that Grace, which is given to baptized Persons, be more or less according to the Age of the Receivers; but the Holy Ghost is given equally to all, not according to measure, but according to God's Mercy and Indulgence; for as God is no respecter of Persons, so neither of years; he equally offers to all the obtaining of his heavenly Grace.

And whereas you say, that an Infant for the first Days after his Birth is unclean, so that every one is afraid to kiss him, this can be no Impediment to his Obtainment of heavenly Grace; for it is written, to the Pure all things are pure; and none of us should dread that which God hath made; for although an Infant be newly born, yet he is not so, as that we should dread to kiss him; since in the kissing of an Infant, we ought to think upon the fresh Works of God, which in a manner we * kiss

* This they speak with reference to their Custom of Saluting one another at the Conclusion of their publick Assemblies. in an Infant newly formed and born, when we embrace that which God hath made. And whereas the carnal Jewish Circumcision was performed on the Eighth Day, that was a Type and Shadow of some future good thing, which Christ the Truth being now come, is done away; because the Eighth Day, or the First day after the Sabbath, was to be the Day on which our Lord should rise and quicken us, and give us the Spiritual Circumcision: therefore was the Carnal Circumcision on the Eighth Day, which Type is now abolished, Christ the Truth being come, and having given us the Spiritual Circumcision. Wherefore it is our Judgment, that no one ought to be debarred from God's Grace by that Law, or that the Spiritual Circumcision should be hindered by the Carnal one; but all Men ought to be admitted to the Grace of Christ, as Peter saith in the Acts of the Apostles, that the Lord said unto him that he should call no Man common or unclean.

But if any thing can hinder Men from Baptism, it will be heinous Sins, that will debar the Adult and Mature therefrom; and if those who have sinned extremely against God, yet if afterwards they believe, are Baptized, and no Man is prohibited from this Grace, how much more ought not an Infant to be prohibited, who being but just born, is guilty of no Sin, but of Original, which he contracted from Adam? Who ought the more readily to be received to the Remission of Sins, because not his own, but other Sins are remitted to him. Wherefore dearly beloved, it is our Opinion, that from Baptism, and the Grace of God, who is merciful, kind and benign to all, none ought to be prohibited by us, which as it is to be observed and followed with respect to all, so especially with respect to

Infants, and those that are but just born, who deserve our help, and the Divine Mercy, because at the first instant of their Nativity, they beg it by their Cries and Tears.

This is as formal a Synodical Decree for the Baptism of Infants as can be expected, which being the Judgment of a Synod is more Authentick than the Opinion of a private Father; the Question put was not Whether an Infant should be Baptized, but When; which plainly supposes Infant Baptism in general Use, seeing so great a number of Bishops were concern'd to decide the time of Baptizing them.

He passes on to the Baptism of Adult Persons, such as came over from the Heathens; they were instructed or Catechis'd, and from thence call'd Catechumens, of which we have spoken above; the manner of their Baptizing was this, there were certain Questions propos'd to them, which consisted of Abjuration of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, and an Assent to all the Articles of the Christian Faith.

Here our Author takes occasion to treat of the Creed call'd the Apostles, which he says was not made by the Apostles, nor was it made all at once, for some Articles were made and added in Opposition to the Heresies which sprung in the Church: Thus, I believe in God, says the Greek, I believe in one God, in Opposition to the Polytheism of the Heathens; nay, for above Four Hundred Years after our Saviour, it was not all made up, for then there were two Articles wanting, viz. He descended into Hell, and the Communion of Saints. The Collection our Author has made of the Primitive Creeds is too curious to be past over without a general Transcription, as he had them from their Original Language, they are as follow.

§. 6. Κορσθῆς ἐν ὅταν ὑμῶν χεῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλήσῃ πρὸς τὸ ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ, τὸ ἐκ Μαρίας ὅς ἀληθῶς ἐγενήθη, ἐράγειν τὴν καὶ ἔπειν, ἀληθῶς ἐδιδάχθη ἐν Ποντίᾳ Ριλάτῃ, ἀληθῶς ἐσαυρώθη, καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἐλεπνίσαν ἡμῶν ἑπερανίων, ἐπηγίων, καὶ ὑποχθονίων, ὅς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείρατο αὐτὸν τὸ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ὁμολογια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὰς πνευματικὰς αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐγερῶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Ignat. Epist. ad Trallef. p. 52.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἐκκλησία καὶ πρὸ καὶ ὅλης τῆς οὐκ ἐκ μὲν ἕως πρῶτον τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, ὅσα ἡ ἀποβολὴ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων μαρτυρῶν ἀποσταλῶσα πρὸς εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ ποιητὴν τῆς ἐρανὸς καὶ τῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν θαλάσσης, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ὑὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν σκευάσαντα ἡμᾶς τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἄγιον τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀποστολῆς καὶ κληρονομίας τῶν ὁμοδοξῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ τῶν ἐκ πατὸς ἐκείνου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ πατὴρ, καὶ τὸ ἔχον ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐν σαρκοῦν εἰς τὸν ἐρανὸς ἀνάστην τὸ ἡμετέρον Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦ τὸν Κυρίον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐρανῶν ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς παρούσαν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστήναι πᾶσαν οὐρανὴν πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοκίαν τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἀόρατον πᾶν ὄντιον καὶ ἑπερανίων καὶ ἐπισίων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ὁμολογήσῃ αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν, δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσῃ, τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πνεύμας, καὶ ἀσώματος τῆς πνεύματος, καὶ ἐκ ἀποστασίας γεννίας, καὶ τῆς ἀσώματος, καὶ ἀδίκων, καὶ ἀνόμων.

resurrectionis mortuorum, cum corpus hoc quod in corruptione seminatur surget in incorruptione, & quod seminatur in ignominia, surget in gloria. *Origen in Proem. Lib. πρὸ ἀρχῶν.*

Credis in Deum Patrem, Filium Christum, Spiritum Sanctum, remissionem peccatorum, & Vitam Æternam per Sanctam Ecclesiam? *Cyprian. Epist. 76. § 6. Pag. 248.*

Ἐἰς Θεὸν πατέρα λόγον ζωῆς, σοφίας ὑπερῶς, καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ χαριστικῆς αἰδότης, τελείας τελείας γενήτως, πάσης ὑπὸ μονογενῆς, εἰς κύριον, μόνον ἐκ μόνου Θεοῦ, ἐκ Θεοῦ, χαριστικῆς καὶ εἰχῶν τὸ δέον, λόγον ὑπερῶς, σοφίας τῆς ἡλίου σφαιρῶς, οὐδὲς ἀληθινὸς ἀληθινῶς πατὴρ, ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῶν, καὶ ἀφραδελῶν ἀφραδελῶν, καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ αἰδότης αἰδότης καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ἐκ Θεοῦ πᾶσι παρεῖν ἔχων, καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν, δηλαδὴ πῶς ἀνθρώποις εἰκὼν τῆς οὐσίας, τελεία ζωῆς, ζωῶν αἰτία, πηγὴ ἀγίας, ἀγιότης, ἀγιασμὸς χορηγός. ἐν τῇ φωνῇ Θεοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσι καὶ Θεὸς ὁ οὐδὲς ὁ διὰ πάντων, τοῦτος τέλεια, δόξα καὶ αἰδιότης καὶ βασιλεία καὶ μενέουσα, καὶ ἀπαλοῦται. *Gregor. Neocæsar.*

IV. In the Fourth Chap. he continues the Subject of Baptism, and says he cannot determin whether Sponsors or God-fathers were in use from the Apostles days;—but he not consider'd that this Practice, was amongst the Jews, both in and before the Apostles days: But before Baptism was Exorcization, which was thus, The Minister put his Hands on the Persons Head that was to be Baptized, and breathed in his Face, implying thereby the Exorcization or expelling of the Devil or evil Spirit from him, and a preparing of him for Baptism and Confirmation, when and where the good and holy Spirit was conferred and given, *Theodot. Epitom. Pag. 573. Apud Cyprian. Pag. 445.* But our Author shews, that the Continuation of this Custom was grounded upon a Mistake of our Saviour's valedictory Speech, *Mark 16. 17.* for it was only to the first Preachers that the extraordinary gift of working Miracles, &c. was limited: When Exorcization was finish'd, Water was consecrated, and the Person dipped over Head and Ears, and sometimes sprinkled or washed, as in the Case of Clinicks, or those that were sick in Bed, *Ep. Corn. ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb. Lib. 6. Cap. 43. Pag. 244. Ibid. Lib. 6. Cap. 43. Pag. 245. Cyprian. Ep. 76. § 9. Pag. 249, 250.* which last Quotation we shall transcribe against the Practice of such as absolutely condemn Sprinkling.

That as far as he could conceive, he apprehended that the Divine Benefits could in no wise be mutilated, or weakened, nor that less thereof could be bestowed, where the Divine Gifts are received with a sound and full Faith, both of Giver and Receiver: For in Baptism the Spots of Sin are otherwise washed away, than the filth of the Body in a Secular and Carnal Bath is, in which there is need of a Seat to sit upon, of a Vat to wash in, of Sope, and other such like Implements, that so the Body may be wash-

ed and cleansed; but in another manner is the Heart of a Believer washed, otherwise is the Mind of a Man purified by the Merits of Christ. In the Sacraments of Salvation through the Indulgence of God in Cases of Necessity, the Divine Abridgments convey the whole to those that believe; Nor let any one think it strange, that the Sick, when they are Baptized, are only perfused or sprinkled, since the Scripture says, by the Prophet Ezechiel, Chap. 36. v. 25, 26. I will sprinkle clean Water upon you, and ye shall be clean from all your Filthinesses, and from all your Idols will I cleanse you; a new Heart also will I give you, and a new Spirit will I put within you. Also it is said in Numbers, chap. 19. 19, 20. And the Man which shall be unclean to the Evening, he shall be purified the third day, and the seventh day, and he shall be clean; but if he shall not be purified the third day, and the seventh day, he shall not be clean, and that Soul shall be cut off from Israel, because the Water of Asperision hath not been sprinkled on him. And again the Lord spake unto Moses, Numb. 8. v. 6, 7. Take the Levites from among the Children of Israel, and cleanse them; and thus shalt thou do unto them to cleanse them, sprinkle Water of Purifying upon them. And again, the Water of Asperision is Purification: From whence it appears, that sprinkling is sufficient instead of Immersion; and whensoever it is done, if there be a sound Faith of Giver and Receiver it is perfect and complete.

V. The Fifth Chap. treats of Unction, Signation, and Confirmation; he brings his Authorities from them, who mention them as succeeding Baptism, but the manner how is not exprest; only about the last he gives us an uncommon Remark, to wit, that Absolution and Confirmation were the same; and that when they absolved Penitents, the Bishop put his Hands upon their Heads, and that this Confirmation was frequently repeated.

VI. In the Sixth Chap. our Author treats of the Lord's Supper, in which he considers three things; 1. The Time; 2. The Person; 3. The manner thereof.

1. For the time he proves it to be commonly at Supper, some times Morning and Evening; and in times of Persecution, according as they had Opportunity.

2. The Persons that communicated were such as were initiated into the Church by Baptism; but Penitents, that were yet under Penance, and the Chatechumens, were not admitted.

3. The manner of Celebrating the Eucharist.—In some places the Communicants made their Offerings first, as in Africa and France, presenting according to their Ability, Bread, Wine, the first Fruits of their Encrease, &c. which were employ'd to the use of the Poor.—Justin Martyr *Apol. 2. Pag. 97.* says, Bread and Wine are offered to the Minister, who receiving them, gives Praise and Glory to the Lord of all through the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and in a large manner renders particular Thanks for the present Mercies, who when he hath end-

ed his Prayers and Praise, all the People say Amen. And when the Minister hath thus given Thanks, and the People said Amen, the Deacons distributed the Elements.

Our Author tells us, that the Prayer consisted of two Parts, viz. *ευχας*, and *ευχαριστίας*, Petition and Thanksgiving; in the former they prayed for the Peace of the Church, the Quiet of the World, the Health of their Emperors, and in a word, for all Men. In the latter they gave God Thanks for sending Christ, and for the Institution of that comfortable Sacrament, desiring his Blessing on, and the Consecration of the Elements then before them: After some Prayer, the Minister consecrated both the Elements together, blessed and distributed them amongst the rest to Children, as above. The posture of Receiving at Alexandria was Standing, in other Places Kneeling, especially at Whitsontide: After Distribution was over, they Sung an Hymn or a Psalm to the Praise and Glory of God, and then they concluded with a Prayer of Thanksgiving; and made a Collection for the Poor.

VII. He treats of the Circumstances of publick Worship, as, Time, Place, &c. He says the Primitive Christians had their Churches and appointed Places, except in times of Persecution when they took the best Opportunities they could: Their Churches were erected high, and in open Places, made very light and shining, in Imitation of the Holy Ghost's descending in Fire; they built them towards the East, as we said above.—They imagin'd no Sanctity or Holiness tied to them, or that Divine Service was more acceptable there than elsewhere, but for Convenience, *Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. 7. Pag. 520.*—The times of meeting together were constantly every first day of the Week or Sunday, by them commonly stiled *The Lord's Day*; and the Western Churches met on Saturday and Sunday both, the former to gratify the Jewish Converts, who were numerous in those parts.

VIII. The Eighth Chap. treats of the Primitive Fasts, which were of two sorts, occasional and fixt, the first not determin'd by any constant fixed Period of time, but observed on extraordinary and unusual Seasons, according as the variety and necessity of their Circumstances did require, as as in case of eminent Dangers in Church or State, particularly against Persecutions; thus Cornelius Bishop of Rome, *Ep. 57. § 3. Pag. 159.* was writ to by St. Cyprian, *That since God was pleas'd in his Providence to warn them of an approaching Fight and Tryal, they ought with their whole Flocks diligently to fast and watch, and pray, to give themselves to continual Groans and frequent Prayers; for those are our Spiritual Arms, that make us firmly to stand and persevere.* The fixt Fasts our Author tells us, were Fridays and Wednesdays, some times till Three of the Clock, sometimes till Night. Besides these, they had an Annual fixt Fast, viz. Lent, the

reason of it (says our Author) was from these words, *Matth. 9. 15. The days will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they Fast.* They imagin'd this to be an Injunction of Christ to all his Followers, as appear'd by some places he quoted out of the Fathers.

IX. In the Ninth Chap. we have an Account of Primitive Feasts, the first we meet with is *Easter*, mentioned by *Tertullian*; upon which we find there were some differences in the Churches, as to the precise time of keeping it: The next was *Whitsontide* or *Pentecost*, spoke of by *Tertullian* and *Origen*. The next was *Christmas*, mentioned by *Clemens Alexandrinus*; here the Author takes notice that the Ancients disagree'd about the time of our Saviour's Birth-day; some were for the Twenty fifth of December, some the Twenty sixth of December, some the Twentieth of April, some the Seventeenth of April, and some the Sixteenth of May.—There was yet another Feast amongst them, called by us, *Epiphany*, mentioned by *Clemens Alexandrinus*; The Author observes they kept no other Saints days, nor did they call the Apostles Saints, but plain *Matthew, Mark, &c.* only they celebrated the Anniversary of their own Martyrs, praising their Actions, and exhorting one another to Imitation; the Place of their Meeting was at their Graves and Tombs. Lastly, our Author observes, that their Festivals were not times of Revelling, Drunkenness, Gluttony, &c. but in Acts of Piety, Charity, and Religious Employments.

X. In the Tenth and last Chapter, our Author comes to consider the Ceremonies of the Primitive Church; for instance, when they Baptized in some Churches, the new Member had *Milk and Honey* given to him; and in some Places, before they prayed, they washed their Hands, they had Exorcism before Baptism, and Unction after, and innumerable more such Ceremonies, which crept in partly by a Misunderstanding some Texts, and partly by being amongst the Superstitious Heathens: Yet the Churches retain'd their own Liberty and Customs, without imposing or being impos'd upon, by one another. I shall give only one of those many Instances that our Author has brought for his Purpose; 'tis out of a Fragment of an Epistle written by *Irenaeus*, and other Bishops of France, wherein they affirm, that *Victor was in the right with respect to the time of Easter, that it ought to be celebrated, as he said, on the Lords Day, but that yet he had done very ill to cut off from the Unity of the Church those that observed it otherwise; that it had never been known, that any Churches were Excommunicated for a disagreement in Rites, an Instance of which there was not only in the time of Easter its self, but in the Fast that preceded it: Some fasted one day, others more; some forty hours, which variety of Observations began not first in our Age, but long before us in the times of our Ancestors, who yet preserved*

preserved Peace and Unity amongst themselves, as we now do; for the Diversity of Fast's commended the Unity of Faith: And as for this Controversie concerning the time of Easter, the Bishops which governed the Church of Rome before Soter, viz. Anicetus, Pius, Higynus, Telephorus, and Xystus, they never celebrated it the same time with the Asiatics, neither would they permit any of their People so to do; but yet they were kind and peaceable to those who came to them from those Parishes, where they did otherwise observe it, and never any for this Cause were thrown out of the Church; even their Predecessors, though they did not keep it, yet they sent the Eucharist to those that did keep it; and when in the times of Anicetus, blessed Polycarp came to Rome, and there were some Controversies between them, they did not separate from one another, but still maintained Peace and Love: And though Anicetus could never persuade Polycarp, nor Polycarp Anicetus to be of each others mind, yet they Communicated one with another; and Anicetus in Honour to Polycarpus, permitted him to Consecrate the Sacrament in his Church, and so they departed in mutual Love and Kindness; and all the Churches, whether observing, or not observing the same Day, retained Peace and Unity amongst themselves, Apud Euseb. Lib. 5. Cap. 24. Pag. 192, 193.

After all, our Author concludes with a most passionate Exhortation to Love and Peace amongst our selves, protesting, that in this Treatise he has not been byas'd by any Party or Faction whatever, but has endeavour'd a plain, full, and impartial discovery of Truth, leaving every one to their Liberty, as to the Judgment they shall make of it: He says he has left out many Ancient things, and handled mostly those Points that are now in dispute amongst us. He has taken a great deal of pains in citing his Authorities all along; In short, he has out-done all that ever have Wrote in this kind before him, and yet with a Spirit of so much Modesty and Humility, that every Party may see their Errors, without having any cause to be angry with their Exposer. He has given a Table of the Fathers Names, which he has made use of, as also their Ages and Countries, that we may thereby be able to ghes at the Original of some Customs amongst them, and the Places where they were chiefly practised.

St. Clementis Epistolæ duæ ad Corinthios, Interpretibus Patricio Junio, Gottifredo Vandelino, & Joh. Bapt. Cotelerio. Recensuit, & Notarum Spicilegium adjecit Paulus Colemanus Bibliothecæ Lambethanæ Curator. Accedit Thomæ Brunonis Canonici Windesoriensis Dissertatio de Therapeutis Philonis. His subnexæ sunt Epistolæ aliquot singulares vel nunc primum Editæ, vel non ita facile obviæ. London. Impensis Jacobi Adamson 1687. in 120. Pag. 377.

THese Epistles of St. Clement, which were known only by some Cita-

tions of the Ancients, were published the first time, more than forty Years ago, by Patricius Junius, who found them joined to the end of the New Testament, in the famous MS. of Alexandria. This Learned Man added to them a Latin Version and Notes. William Burton Translated them into English in 1677, and added likewise Remarks of his own much larger than those of Junius. The Edition of the latter being soon become scarce, it was imitated at Helmstadt in 1654, and Jochem John Maderus added to it a new Preface; since that time the Edition hath appear'd in Twelves, by Dr. Fell Bishop of Oxford, and that of Mr. Corelier in Folio: Here is a fifth, which we owe to the Care of Mr. Colomies, who hath compared the precedent Editions with the MS. whence they have taken them, and hath shew'd, that the Learned Junius was some times mistaken, and had in the Reading this MS. put a wrong Sense upon many things; we shall give an Example hereof after we have made some little mention of a small Dissertation, which Mr. Colomies placed before St. Clement, Entitled, *De Clementis & ejus Epistolarum tempore, Vandelini Divinatio*. This Vandelin was Tutor to the famous Gassendus, and died Chanon of Ghent. He believes that St. Clement was near the Age of St. John the Evangelist, and lived as long as he, dying the third Year of the Reign of Trajan, at Chersone in Pontus, whether he was banished. The Ancients all agree that St. Clement was Bishop of Rome, but they do not agree upon the time he was so, nor upon the Order which ought to be given him in the List of the first Bishops of this City: Baronius himself confessed, that he was not well assured of the order of the Succession of these Bishops, until the Year CLXXIX, Vandelin undertakes in this Dissertation to resolve the Difficulties, by the means of the old Breviaries and Martyrologies; after which, he speaks of the time in which the Epistles of St. Clement were written. As his Dissertation is extremely short, the Reader is desired to consult it. We shall only Remark, that according to this Author, St. Peter being upon the point of parting from Rome, for England, in the Year of our Lord LV, he established Linus to govern the Church of Rome in his absence, whither being returned in LXVI, he found it without a Pastor, Linus being dead during his absence. A little time after, being cast into Prison, he established Clement in the place of Linus, towards the time of the Pass-over, in LXVII, a few Months before his Death. St. Clement held the See nine Years and eleven or twelve Days, after which, great Contestations arose in the Church of Rome, which obliged St. Clement to quit the Episcopacy. It would not be permitted, if we believe Vandelin, that St. Clement should succeed in the See of Rome, by virtue of St. Peter's Testament, fearing lest this Example might render the Episcopacy

copacy Hereditary; and St. Clement having declared, *That if it was upon his account that these Contestations happened, he was ready to retire in what place of the World they would have him*; he was taken at his word, and Cletus was chosen in his place, to whom Anacletus, Evaristus, Alexander, Telephorus, &c. succeeded in the order we have named them.

Vendelin believes, that the first Epistle of St. Clement, as it is commonly called, was written by this Holy Man, not in his own particular name, but in that of the Clergy of Rome in XCV, after the death of Anacletus, and during the Vacancy of the See; though according to him, Evaristus had been nominated to succeed Anacletus; so that this Letter was written during the most violent Persecutions of Domitian: But Vendelin pretends, that which is called the Second, was written in a time wherein the Christian Church enjoyed an entire Peace, in LXXV; after which account the second would have been written twenty Years before the first: He grounds what he says chiefly upon a Letter of Denys Bishop of Corinth to Pope Soterus, written about the Year CLXVII, where Denys speaks thus to the Church of Rome: * *We have celebrated Sunday this day, in which we have read your Letter, l. 4. c. 29. which we always read for our Instruction, as well as the former, that Clement writ to us.* He believes the latter to be that which is called the second of St. Clements, and that the other is the first, which Clement of Alexandria calleth according to the Remark of Mr. Colomies, *the Epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians.*

After the Dissertation of Vendelin, are the two Epistles of St. Clement in Greek and Latin; the first of the Version of Junius, and the second translated by Vendelin. Mr. Colomies hath joined to it little Notes, where 1. he corrects some places of the Text, which Junius had ill transcribed from the Original. For Example, from the first Page there is according to the Edition of Junius; *That Grace and Peace which come from God Almighty, through Jesus Christ, be abundantly poured upon you* (ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἰδύς, καὶ ἐπ' ἐδύνας. Διὰ ἡμετέρας ἡμῶν συμφορὰς καὶ παρρησιώσεως, &c. upon every particular Person amongst you, and upon one towards another. *We have thought, most dear Brethren, a little later then we should have done upon what you have demanded of us, by reason of the evils and accidents which happened to us, &c. but according to the MS. of Alexandria, the Phrase is much more clear, since there it is, That Grace and Peace, &c. be given to you abundantly, by reason of the unforeseen Evils and Accidents, which have happened to us one after another, we have thought, &c. διὰ ἀπροβλεπτοῦ καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἡμετέρας ἡμῶν συμφορὰς καὶ παρρησιώσεως.* Mr. Colomies Remarks also in a place or two, wherein the Original was not observed; but these Passages are not of the same Importance with that which we have cited. 2. Some Conjectures are

in these Notes, and varieties of Reading, taken from Clement of Alexandria, who has several times cited St. Clement of Rome, which places are all marked here, as well as the rest of the Ancients, who have cited the latter Clement. 3. Mr. Colomies in some places corrects the Latin Version. 4. He Expounds divers words of the Original. 5. Upon the occasion of St. Clement, he makes some critical Observations about Ecclesiastical History: Thus also upon what St. Clement saith § 21. of the death of St. Peter and St. Paul, he affirms that the time of their death is not certain. A Council held at Rome under Pope Gelasius, says, that the Hereticks pretend that St. Peter and Paul received the Crown of Martyrdom, in divers times; nevertheless it was the Opinion of Justin Martyr and St. Irenæus, who said St. Paul died five Years after St. Peter. Philastrius also reckoned amongst Hereticks those who give the names of the Seven Planets to the days of the Week, though St. Ignatius and Justin Martyr followed the received Custom therein.

St. Clement, in Chapter 28th. cites a Passage of the Psalms under the name of *yezeqim*, the Writing, upon which it's remarked, that Mr. Vossius was mistaken, when he saith that this word was found out by Aquila, and that seems to teach us that the word *Chetoubim* כתובים Writings to mark the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and the other Books which the Jews comprise this day under this name, is not new.

2. There have been in England several Learned Men who having consumed all their Life in the study of Antiquity, seem to have studied only for their particular Satisfaction, without caring to impart to the publick their admirable knowledge therein; Such was Richard Thomson, Gerard Langbaine, and Matthew Buxus, whose few Writings which remain amongst us serve for almost nothing but to discover to us what these great Men might have done had they been willing. Mr. Colomies adds Thomas Bruno, Chanon of Windsor, who left several Collections with his Friend Mr. Vossius, but of which there is scarcely any thing that is fit for the Press. The Dissertation which we have of it here, *De Therapeutis Philonis adversus Henr. Valesium*, was by good Luck ended; and it is to Mr. Vossius, who communicated it to Mr. Colomies, that the Publick is indebted. Amongst the Works of Philo, is found a Treatise of a Contemplative Life, where he describes the Essæans manner of living, who dwelt near Alexandria, and solely applied themselves to Contemplation. There were Essæans spread through all Egypt, who sent the most virtuous amongst them to inhabit a Hill which is near the Lake of Maria, in a Place agreeable enough, and which is not far from Alexandria. They lived there after a Devout manner and very austere; and * Eusebius thought that when St.

Mark went to Preach the Gos. * l. 2. c. 17.

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pel into Egypt, he converted them to the Christian Faith: *Joseph Scaliger* hath very bitterly reprehended * *Eusebius* for saying so; and many times that these *Therapeutes*, as * *De Emond. Tanp. l. 6.* *Philo* calls them, never were Christians, but only *Essean* Jews. Mr. *Valois* in his Annotations upon *Eusebius*, holds with *Scaliger*, that the *Therapeutes* did not embrace Christianity, and also brings some new Reasons to prove it; but he denies that they were *Esseans*. He will have them to be a sort of Jewish Philosophers, who all applied themselves to Contemplation, Reading of the Law and the Prophets, and to Prayer. He brings several Reasons thereof, which may be seen in the Original. Mr. *Bruno* undertakes in this Dissertation to refute *Scaliger* and Mr. *Valois*. He maintains that the *Contemplative Esseans*, who were near *Alexandria* were converted by St. *Mark*, contrary to these two Learned Men, and endeavors to shew that Mr. *de Valois* in particular was mistaken when he said that the *Contemplatives* were not *Esseans*.

As to this last Opinion we shall make no stay at it, because it is particular to Mr. *Valois*, and the Refutation can be read in Mr. *Bruno*, in half a quarter of an hour. He is of the Opinion, that the *Therapeutes* of *Philo* were converted to Christianity. 1. Because we find in the *Lausack History* of *Palladius*, a Description of a Place, wherein the ancient Christian Monks of *Alexandria* kept themselves, exactly like that which *Philo* gives of the Habitation of the *Therapeutes*, and that there is no appearance, that 200 Years after the time of *Philo* the Christian Monks could have driven the Jews from this Place, seeing in that time the Jews were more powerful than they were in Egypt. There is much more likelihood that St. *Anthony*, and some other Solitaries of *Thebes* joined themselves to the Christians, who before lived very austere, and introduced thereby the Rules for a Monastical Life, a little time before *Palladius* lived. 2. It being very certain, that in the time of *Josephus* there were three Sects amongst the Jews, *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and *Esseans*, and that these Sects were not immediately lost; it's very strange that from that time there should be no mention of the *Esseans*. But the Wonder will cease, according to Mr. *Bruno*, if it be acknowledged that these *Esseans* embraced Christianity. *Scaliger* following the Opinion of this Author, proved that the *Esseans*, remaining *Esseans*, viz. Jews, could not be Christians; but hath not proved that they were not become so by abandoning Judaism. He speaks more largely in the Refutation of Mr. *de Valois*.

This Learned Man said particularly, that *Philo* observed, that the *Therapeutes* had Writings from some ancient Authors of their Sect, who interpreted the Law after an Allegorical manner, which did not agree with Christians, who then had

no Ancient Author of their Sect. Mr. *Bruno* answers to that, that they might have been some old Jewish Authors, who since the time of the *Ptolemy* had expounded the Law allegorically, and had thus rendred the Jews more proper to receive the Gospel, than if they were kept only to the Letter of the Law. Such were *Eleazar* and *Aristobulus*, whereof *Eusebius* speaks in his *Evangelical Preparation*, Book 8. c. 9. It may be that St. *Mark* sent the *Essean* Converts to these Books, to convince themselves of the Truth of the Gospel, by seeing the Law was expounded therein after a manner conformable to what he told them. Mr. *Bruno* believes even that it was these Books that Jesus Christ had respect to, when he said to the Jews, Search the Scriptures, they are they which speak of me: * Because to take Prophecies according to * *Jean.* to the Letter of the Word, it V. 39. would not be easie to form a clear Idea of the Messia. It was necessary that the Christians should be satisfied at that time, with the Books of the ancient Jews, seeing that under the Emperor *Claudius*, the Books of the New Testament were not as yet published. We shall say no more concerning the Dissertation of Mr. *Bruno*; it is so short, that those who have a mind to examin his Opinion, may read it in less than an hour.

3. Mr. *Colomie* added to the end of this Volume a Collection of Fifty five Letters of divers Learned Men, both of the past and present Age; there are several which never were Printed, and it is certain, that those which have already appeared, either are more correct in this Edition, or such as were become so scarce, that it was not easie to meet with them. There is no Question treated on in these Letters; but some Events of the Times are spoken of in which they were written, or some Circumstance about the Life of these great Men, or other Places, which will divert those who love to be instructed in the least things, which concern Manners, or the Genius of those whom their Knowledge, or their Employments have rendred Illustrious. There is, for Example, a small Address of Father *du Moulin* in the Fifteenth Letter to *Lancelot Andrews*, Bishop of *Winton*. Father *du Moulin* writing to this Bishop, calls Episcopacy a thing received since the Age which followed that of the Apostles, *Rem à saculo Apostolis proximo receptam*; but as the Bishop reproached him with it, he immediately writ, *à saculo Apostolorum*, from the Age of the Apostles. After that he blotted out the word *Apostolorum*, and substituted those of *Apostolis proximo*; yet so, that what he writ at first might be read. The Bishop suspects him to have made this Correction in favour of those who inclin'd to the Opinion of the *Presbyterians*; and of having half blotted the word, which he at first writ, to make People suspect that he was not

not a zealous Presbyterian, seeing this word slip from him before he was aware: For the Letter otherwise is so short, that it was easie to transcribe it, which he undoubtedly had done to a Person of the quality of Bishop Andrews, if he had not the design we observed.

All these Letters are short, and there are a great number which were written by English men: Amongst others, the XLII Letter which is directed to Mr. Anthony de Dominis. It's Joseph Hall who writes to him, and testifies that he is very much scandalized through the Reports which ran then concerning this Arch-Bishop, and which were found to be true afterwards. It is that he would not quit England, but to return into the Bosom of the Roman Church. This Letter is very fine, and worthy to be read, although it had then no effect. Some others will be found, which are not less curious, as the LI. tho it treats ill enough of St. Augustin, under the name of Traducianus.

A New Bibliothique of Ecclesiastical Authors, Containing the History of their Lives, the Catalogue, Crisis, and Chronology of their Works, the sum of what they contain; a Judgment upon their Style and Doctrin, with an Enumeration of the different Editions of their Works: By Mr. Ellis Du Pin, Doctor of the Faculty at Paris, and Royal Professor in Philosophy. Tome Second, of the Authors of the Fourth Age of the Church. Octavo, at Paris 1687. Pag. 1060.

THE Design and Method of Mr. du Pin, in this new Bibliothique of Ecclesiastick Authors, is very largely treated on in his first Tome, an Abstract of which is to be found towards the latter end of this * Book;

* As is directed in the Table.

(which is transferred by reason of the Inconvenience of so many Printers that were forc'd to be employ'd upon't) the only difference in these two Tomes, is, that the Extracts of the Fathers of the Fourth Age, which are in the second Volume, are longer, and consequently more exact than those in the first.

He begins with Eusebius of Casarea, whom his Ecclesiastick History hath rendered so celebrated, of whom he gives a very disinterested Judgment, Pag. 19. "Although he found no difficulty in the Council of Nice, to acknowledge the Son of God was from all Eternity, and that he absolutely rejected the Impiety of Arius, who said that he was Created out of nothing, and that there was a time when he was not; yet he always found it hard to believe the Term *Consubstantial*, that is, to confess that the Son is of the same Substance with the Father; and after he had received it, he gave such a Sense of it, as establish'd not the Equality of the Son with the Father, since he speaks thus in a Letter that he writ to his Church, to give it an account

of his Conduct: When we say that the Son is Consubstantial with the Father, we Mean only that the Son hath no resemblance with the Creatures, which were made by him, and that he is perfectly one with the Father by whom he was begotten, not of another Hypostasis or Substance. — When we would justify Eusebius in respect to the Divinity of the Son; it is more difficult to defend what he says of the Holy Ghost; For he affirms not only in his Books of the Preparation and Evangelick Demonstration, but also in his third Book of Ecclesiastick Divinity, that he is not the true God: The holy Spirit is not God, nor the Son of God, because he has not taken his Original from the Father as the Son has, being in the number of such things, as are made by the Son. This shews, says Mr. du Pin, that Socrates, Sozomenes, and some Modern Authors, have been mistaken in excusing him entirely; whereas on the other side 'tis a very great Injustice to call him an Arian, and even the head of them, as St. Jerom does. His Judgment upon other points of Religion appears very Orthodox to the Author; and in respect to his Person, he says he was very much disinterested, very sincere, loved Peace, Truth and Religion; He authoris'd no new Form of Faith, he no way endeavour'd to injure Athanasius, nor to ruin those of his Party. He wisht only to be able to accommodate and unite both Parties. — I doubt not, adds Mr. du Pin, that so many good Qualities was the Cause of placing him in the number of the Saints, in the Martyrologies of Usard of Adon, and in some ancient Offices of the French Churches. It is true, he continued not long in the peaceable Possession of this quality of Saint: But it would be, in my opinion, a very great boldness, to judge him absolutely unworthy of it.

The second Author in this second Volume, is the Emperor Constantine, whose pretended Donation he rejects * as well as the false Acts attributed to † Pope Sylvester, because nothing to him seems more fabulous. If Constantine was the first Christian Emperor, he was also the first that made Edicts against the Hereticks. But he did well in not pushing things to that Extremity as his Predecessors have carried them to. It is true, that he sent Arius into Exile, and the two Bishops that had taken his part in the Council of Nice; and that he caused all these Hereticks Books to be burnt: But he afterwards recall'd him, and banished St. Athanasius to Treves. He made also an Edict in the Year CCCXX against the Donatists, by which he commanded those Churches they possess'd to be taken from them; but the Year following he moderated the Rigor of it, permitting those who were exiled to return to their

Country, their to live in rest, and reserv'd to God the Vengeance of their Crimes. This alteration of his Conduct, sufficiently shews, that this Prince on these occasions acted not according to his own Reason, but according to the different Motions that inspired the Court Bishops, who made him the Instrument to execute their Passions. He was not of himself inclin'd to persecute Men for Opinions in Religion; for the 27th of September, the CCCXXX Year, he granted the Patriarchs of the Jews an Exemption from publick Charges.

In the Month of May, *Anno Dom. CCCXXVI*, he made an Edict to forbid the admitting into the Clergy Rich Persons, or such as were Children to the Ministers of State. The occasion of this Edict was, because many Persons entred themselves amongst the Clergy to be exempt from publick Charge; which was a great Oppression to the Poor. And *Constantine* thought it very reasonable that the Rich should support the burthensom Charges of the Age, and that the Poor should be supported by the Riches of the Church.

Grotius, *M. Ludolf*, and others, have observed the Disputes of the *Eutychians* and *Nestorians*, were not really such as they were imagined, for many Ages. *Mr. du Pin* is not very far from this Opinion, since he says, (p. 80.) that the Eastern People always applyed themselves more particularly to observe the distinction between the two Natures of Jesus Christ, than their intimate Union; whereas the Egyptians speak more of their Union than Distinction: Which has been since the Cause of great Contestations, that they have had amongst themselves upon the Mystery of the Incarnation.

As the Life of *St. Athanasius* is one of the most remarkable of the Fourth Age, for the variety both of his good and bad Fortune; so *Mr. du Pin* relates it more at large. It's plain, that from the time of this Father, Persons were very much inclin'd to the Exterior parts of Religion, since two of the greatest Crimes which the *Arians* accused *St. Athanasius* of, were breaking of a Chalice, and Celebrating the Mysteries in a Church that was not Consecrated.

* *Pag. 129.* We may also observe after these Authors, that the Communion was then given to the Laicks under both kinds; that there were Women which vowed Virginity, which were not Cloister'd up; that there were Priests and Bishops married; that the Monks might quit their State and take a Wife: That it was not permitted to make new Articles of Faith; and that even the Ecumenick Councils were only Witnesses of the Faith of their Age, whereas they authoritatively judged of such things as regarded Discipline. Thus the Bishops of *Nice* said well in appointing a Day for the Celebration of *Easter*: *It pleases us, we will have it so*: But they express'd themselves quite otherwise in respect to the *Consubstantiality* of the

Word, since after having given their Opinions upon it, they content themselves with adding, *Such is the Faith of the Catholic Church.* † As for the rest although *St. Athanasius* was an Ardent Defender of this Council, * *P. 137.* he was not for having those treated as Hereticks, which could not without difficulty make use of the Term *Consubstantial*, when as they freely acknowledg'd the Divinity of the Son of God. He approved not of the Disputes at that time upon the Subject of the *Hypostasis*, because he look'd upon those that received Three into the Trinity, and those that admitted but of one, to be of the same Opinion, and only to differ in the manner of Expressing.

St. Basil was not so moderate, for according to his Opinion, those were *Sabellians* that said the Father and Son were two in Thought, and one in Substance. The *Demi-Arians* or *Homoioufians*, that was, those that would not acknowledge that the Son was *Consubstantial* with the Father, and that said nevertheless that he was like him in all things, &c. the same in Substance, were no more Hereticks than those that maintain'd the Three *Hypostases*, in the Judgment of *St. Basil*, *St. Hilary* of *Poitiers*, of *Philaster*, and even of *Saint Athanasius*, who confesses in his Book of the Synods, that *Basil* of *Ancyra*, and those of his Party, differed from those who made a Profession of *Consubstantiality* as to the name only. Some of these *Demi-Arians* are placed in the number of Saints in divers Martyrologies, as *Euseb.* of *Cæsarea*, and *Euseb.* of *Emissa*; and * *P. 214.* *Pope Liberius* also being a Catholic, † *P. 225,* receiv'd them into his Communion. † *P. 226.*

St. Hilary of *Poitiers*, although a great Defender of the *Nicene* Faith, was not free from Error; * for to Answer to the Objections that the *Arians* * *P. 250,* drew from such passages of Scripture, as proved that Jesus Christ was subject to fear, sorrow, and grief; he fell into such an Opinion as made the Humanity of our Saviour a Fantom; he maintained that Jesus Christ sustained not really either Fear or Grief, but that these Passions were only represented in him. To explain what the Son of God says of himself, *That he was ignorant of the day of Judgment*, Mark 13. He says it ought not to be understood in the Letter, as if Jesus Christ had been effectively ignorant of this Day; but in this Sense, that he knew it not to discover it to Man. * He had an other very very particular Error; * *P. 268.* that he advanced in the Twentieth Canon upon *St. Matthew*, that *Moses* and *Elias* should come with Jesus Christ near the time of Judgment, and that they should be put to death by *Antichrist*, contrary to the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for he says that Jesus Christ being rais'd from death, shall dye no more. * *Pa. 277.*

He was of the Opinion also, that

that Predestination was subsequent to Merit, and that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was separated from his Humanity in the time of his death. † As to the rest, the † P. 283. Roman Catholicks, which complain, that some Protestant Refugees have spoken too freely of those that have deprived them of their Goods, and reduced them to the utmost Misery, may read what St. Hilary * says of Constantius, That neither he, nor the * Lib. 1. Bishops of his time received the adv. Const. thousandth part of the evil Treatments that the Reformed have suffered.

† Mr. du Pin thinks the Errors † P. 336. of Optatus of Milan, small and pardonable, although he believed that Hereticks ought to be Rebaptized; and seems to give Free-Will the Power, not only of willing and beginning a good Action, but also of advancing in the way of Salvation, without the Assistance of the Grace of Jesus Christ. He approves not however of the Allegorical manner, whereby this Bishop explains many Passages of Scripture, giving them a very distant sense from what they naturally have, and applying them to such things as they have no Relation to: This defect, says our Author, that might be suffered in a Sermon, appears intolerable in a Treatise of Controversie, where all the Proofs ought to be strong and convincing. But Optatus had to do with Enemies that did the same, and who abused Passages of Scripture to injure the Church, and give Praises to their own Sect.

* After having complain'd of the loss of Apollinaris's Works, † P. 374. the most Learned of all the 376. Christians Authors in Humanity, this Loss is attributed to his Errors, or rather the Zeal of the Catholicks, which have had such an Horror to the Books of Hereticks, that they have not even preserv'd those that regarded not their Heresie, and that might have been useful to the Church. Wherefore (continues du Pin) we have almost no Books of the Ancient Hereticks remaining.

Many Men believe, that the Disputes with the Heterodox have been the Cause of the Catholicks inventing Solutions, which have afterwards pass'd into Opinions; such is the Doctrin of the Infallibility of the Church, which was not regarded till towards Luther's time. Some in this Rank place Original Sin, which begun in the Seventh Age to be more acknowledg'd than before, * according to Mr. † P. 940. du Pin. They speak also more of Grace than they did in the preceding Ages, and notwithstanding much was always attributed to Free Will. † It's surprising, that Titus of Bostres, † P. 381. whose Arguments are solid and subtil, had not recourse in his Treatise against the Manicheans to Original Sin, which he might have made use of as a general

Solution to almost all their Difficulties. For we may easily apprehend why Man is inclined to evil, why he suffers, why he is subject to hunger, to grief, sickness, miseries, and to death it self, where once we have admitted Original Sin. Neither doth this Author speak of the Grace of Jesus Christ, and he seems to have supposed, that Man can of himself as well do good as evil. The Disciples of St. Augustin will not find Dydimus of Alexandria much more Orthodox, since he maintains, * that Predestination is nothing else but the Choice, which God * P. 389. hath made of those, that he 390. foresaw would believe in Jesus Christ; and would Act according to it. He likewise believed with his Master Origen, that the Incarnation of the Son of God was beneficial to Angels, as well as to Men, and that it took away the Guilt of their Transgressions. As to the Sentiment of the Eternity of Spirits, he speaks on't without condemning or approving it. In Truth it would be absurd and impious to fix Eternity to any other Being than God, if by this word was understood an Absolute Eternity or Existence by it self; but if we suppose that the Souls of Men were Spirits created a long time since, which have offended God, and which he sends into mortal Bodies, there to do Penance for their Faults, this Hypothesis perhaps would be instrumental to discover many Difficulties in Divinity, which have hitherto appeared Unexplicable.

All the World hath heard of the Catechumens of the Ancient Church, that few well know what they were. 1. † When an Infidel presented himself to be admitted into the † P. 395. 399: number of Christians, they begun to instruct him in private, but he was not suffered to enter into the Church, nor to assist at publick Exhortations. 2. Afterward when he was believed to be well undeceived of his old Errors, he was permitted to go to the Church, but only to hear Sermons, and not to assist at any Prayer. Therefore this second kind of Catechumens were called Hearers. 3. But those to whom leave was given to assist at publick Prayers, until the Consecration of the Eucharist, and to Kneel to receive the Benediction of the Bishop, bear the name of Prostrates. 4. When they were found sufficiently instructed to receive Baptism, they were permitted to demand it, and to give their names, to be admitted thereto, and they were then called Competents; or if their demand was accepted of, Chosen and Enlightned. These are all the Degrees that can be distinguished amongst the Catechumens: But commonly the Fathers, without stopping at these Distinctions, call'd them the Hearers, and the Prostrated, when as they give the name of Competents, and Enlightned to those that were in a Condition to receive Baptism. Which relate well enough to the Mystes and Epoptes of the Mysteries of Ceres.

As Tradition was not so clear against the *Arians* as against the Hereticks of the first Ages, the Fathers who lived after the Council of Nice, studied Scripture more than before, because the strength of the the Dispute run upon the Sense of divers Passages, for the Exposition of which, they had recourse to the Greek of the *New Testament*, * as to the Original. The

* P. 245. holy Books were then the only Rule of Faith, and the Writings of Doctors that were dead before the Contestations of *Arianism* were considered only as Human Testimonies, where the Doctrin of their time might be learned. *The least thing ought not to be taught, saith Cyril, of Jerusalem, according to the Relation of Mr. du Pin, touching Divine My-*
† P. 405. *steries, that cannot be established by Testimonies of Scripture. Even believe not what I say to you, if I do not prove it by Holy Scripture.*

The Letters of St. Basil, which may be of very great help to those that would know thoroughly the Ecclesiastical History of that time, are placed without any order, as well as the Epistles of Cicero, and the most part of the ancient Works of this Nature. The Author promises us a Translation thereof in French and Latin with Notes; in the mean time he gives here divers Extracts of these Letters, disposed according to the order of times. There are several of them that bear evident Characters of being Supposititious, as the 203, with this Title to *Julian the Apostate*.

* Would St. Basil, saith Mr. du Pin, have directed him a Letter with this Epithet? *This Letter besides is not like the Style of this Father, it is only a Profession of Faith, to which is added, the Invocation of Saints, and the Worship of Images; whoever heard that this was put in the Professions of the first Ages? The Author of this Letter saith, that he Honours and Adores the Images of Saints, because it's an Apostolical Tradition. Did St. Basil speak thus? and is it not visible, that this Letter is the Work of some Greek, who lived since the seventh Council? For the same reason he rejects a Work which is attributed to St. Athanasius, and Entitled, The Narration of the Passion of the Image of Jesus Christ in the City of Berytus. In the CCCXCI Letter, answering to divers Questions, that Amphilocus Bishop of Iconium, had put to him, he Expounds this Passage, That no Body knows the Day of Judgment, but the Father; after this manner; that the Father knows it by himself, because he is the Source and Principle of this Knowledge, whereas the Son receives it from the Father; as it is said in the same Sense, That there is only God who is Good, (p. 517.) In the CCCCX Letter, he saith, that we ought to be contented with the Faith we have made Profession of in our Baptism, to keep to the Terms of the Holy Scripture, and shun all new Expressions; because our Faith depends not upon these Terms, but the Orthodox Doctrin.*

Of all the Fathers of the Fourth Age, there was none more moderate, nor perhaps, a Man of more Worth than Gregory of Nazianze. * In the Apology he made, for his Retreat into * P. 603, Pontus, when he was going to be 604. made Bishop, he pathetically describes the Disorders of his time, *Where the Priests were like the People*: "After that he deploras the Unhappiness of the Catholics, who were divided upon unprofitable Questions, or such as were of small Consequence. He says, that in the same time when Faith is in dispute, we are oblig'd to separate our selves from those that teach Impiety, and to suffer any thing rather than approve on't; but that it's a Folly to break Union, and excite troubles, for Questions that are not of Faith.

In his Oration against the Emperor Julian, † this same Father makes a Digression upon the Mildness that † P. 608, the Christians have kept, when they were Potent; and opposes it to the Cruelties the Pagans have exercised. *There was a time, say he to the Heathens, that we have had the Authority as well as you; but what have we done to those of your Religion, that comes near what you have made the Christians suffer? Have we taken away your Liberty? Have we persuaded Governors to condemn you to Torments? Have we attempted the Life of any? Have we even put any from the Magistracy and Employments? In a word, have we done against you any thing, that has given you Cause to make us suffer? I do not conceive, saith Mr. du Pin, hereupon, how St. Gregory of Nazianze can reconcile all these Maxims with what he hath just now said; that Constantius had done very ill to leave the Empire to Julian, because he was an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and that he would persecute it, maintaining that, in that Constantius had made a very ill use of his Mildness and Bounty. As to the purpose of Constantius, whilst Hilary of Poitiers calls him Antichrist, and speaks a thousand other injuries against him. Gregory of Nazianzen* * excuseth this Emperor upon the Subject of *Arianism*: He * P. 612. casts the whole Fault upon the Great Men of the Court, and even pretends, that after his death Angelical Voices were heard, that celebrated his Praises.

In the Funeral Speech of his Brother Cæsarius, † "he saith, That he was informed by the Discourses of † P. 616. Learned Men, that Souls that are Holy and acceptable to God, being delivered from the Bonds of the Body, feel an ineffable Joy and Pleasure, in considering the Beatitude they are one day to receive; that they go strait to God, and that they already know as 'twere in a Representation and Image the Beatitude they will receive after the Resurrection of the Body.

In his fifty third Poem * he * P. 648. numbers holy Books exactly as

the Protestants do, only he doth not put the *Apocalypse* in the Canon of the New Testament; otherwise this Bishop had a very ill Opinion of the Councils, for in his LV Letter, he declares that he fears all the Ecclesiastical Assemblies, † P. 632. because he never saw the End of any Council, which had been happy, and which had not rather encreased their Misfortunes, than diminished them.

Gregory of Nyssa, * in his Discourses against those that defer Baptism, distinguisheth three sorts of Persons, with Relation to the other Life. The first Order is, that of the Saints and Righteous, which will be happy; the second, those that shall be neither happy nor unhappy; and the third, those that shall be punished for their Sins. He puts in the second Rank those that cause themselves to be Baptized at the point of Death. There is a Letter of this Father † concerning Voyages made to

† P. 681. Jerusalem, where he diverts the Faithful from undergoing slightly these sort of Pilgrimages, by reason of the Abuses that proceed from thence. Some Catholicks have been willing to make it pass as Supposititious, but Mr. du Pin believes it to be true.

Here Priscillian and his Disciples are placed in the Rank of Ecclesiastical Authors,

* after St. Jerom, who speaks thus of them: Priscillian Bishop of Avila was put to death in the City

† Hieron. of Treves, † by the Command of Casal. the Tyrant Maximus, having been Scrip. Ec- oppressed by the Faction of Itharius. cles.

He hath written several Works, whereof some are come to us. Some accuse him this day of the Heresie of the Gnosticks of Basilide and Marcion: But others defend him, and maintain, that he was not Guilty of the Errors that are imputed to him. "It's true," pursues Mr. du Pin, that the same St. Jerom in his Letter to Ctesiphon, speaks "of Priscillian, as of a notable Heretick," which hath made Mr. du Quesnel believe, "that this place of the Ecclesiastical Writers was corrupted." This Conjecture "which is grounded upon the Authority "of a Manuscript, would be of Consequence if we knew not, that St. Jerom "hath often spoke differently of the same "Man; besides, it's apparently the manner that St. Jerom speaks in his Catalogue, which placed Priscillian and Martinian his Disciple, in some Martyrologies amongst the Holy Martyrs.

The second Letter of Pope Syricus, furnissheth us with a fine Example,

* P. 734. Saith Mr. du Pin, of the Ancient manner of the Holy Patriarchs Judging: He writes in it to the Church of Milan, that having Assembled all his Clergy, he had condemned Jovinian and all his Seditors, by the advice of the Priests, Deacons, and the whole Clergy.

Baronius, Bellarmine, and some others, pretend that part of the second Letter of St.

Epiphanius is Supposititious; because he there relates a History, which is not favourable to the Worship of their Church. †

Being entred, saith this Bishop, into † P. 745, a Church of a Village in Palestine, 747.

call'd Anablatha, and having found a Vail that hung at the Door which was Painted, where there was an Image of Jesus Christ, or some Saint, for I do not remember whose it was; but since, against the Authority of Holy Scripture, there was in the Church of Jesus Christ the Image of a Man: I rent it, and gave order to those that had the Care of this Church, to bury a dead Body with this Vail. Mr. du Pin, after having proved, that all this Letter is St. Epiphanius's, adds, "That though it be true, that there were "placed in some Churches Pictures, that "represented the Histories of the Scriptures, and the Actions of the Saints and "Martyrs, it cannot be said that this use "was general; and that it must be granted "that St. Epiphanius hath disapproved it, "although without reason, (according "to him,) for I believe, continueth he, "that it would be contrary to the Candor "and Sincerity that Religion demands "of us, to give another Sense to these "words.

After the Extracts of the Writings of the Fathers, are found those of the Councils held in the Fourth Age. † The

Canons of that which is called † P. 770. the Council of Elvira, are an

old Code, or an ancient Collection of the Councils of Spain; and it cannot be doubted, but these Canons are of great Antiquity, and very Authentick.

The XXXIV Canon and the XXXVI, have given much Exercise to the Roman Catholick Divines. The one forbidding to light Wax-Candles in the Church-yard, because the Spirits of Saints must not be troubled; and the other Paintings in Churches, lest the Object of our Adorations should be painted on the Walls. "They have endeavoured to give several "Expositions on these Passages; but it "seems to me, saith Mr. du Pin, that it is "better to understand them simply, and "to allow that the Fathers of this Council "have not approved the use of Images no "more than of Wax-Candles lighted in "open day. But, continueth he, these "things are of Discipline, and may or "may not be in use, and do no Prejudice "to the Faith of the Church. The XXXV Canon prohibits Women to pass in the Night in Church-yards, because often under pretence of Praying, they in secret committed great Crimes. The LX deprives such of the quality of Martyrs, as are killed in pulling down Idols publicly, because the Gospel commands it not, nor is it read that it was practised by the Christians in the time of the Apostles.

The same Spirit of Parties, which wrested the Canons of the Council of Elvira, hath caused Men to doubt of the History of Paphnusius, related by Socrates, lib. vi.

c. 9. This *Egyptian* Bishop opposed the new Law that was going to be made in the Council of *Nice* to oblige Bishops, Priests and Deacons to keep unmarried, and abstain from Women, that they had espoused before their Ordination. Although he himself had never been married, he maintained that this Yoke was not to be imposed upon the Clergy, and that it was to bring the Chastity of Women in danger. "I believe, saith Mr. du Pin, upon this speaking of the Roman Catholick Doctors, that this doubt proceeds rather from the fear they are in, that this act should do some hurt to the present Discipline, than of any solid proof. But these Persons should consider, that this Regulation is purely a Discipline, which the Discipline of the Church may change according to the times, and that to maintain it, it is not necessary to prove it hath always been uniform in all places.

The Author shews, that it was *Osius* Bishop of *Cordova*, who presided in the Council of *Nice*, and not the Legats of the Pope. He only acknowledges for Authentick Monuments of this Council the Form of Faith, the Letter to the *Egyptians*, the Decree touching *Easter*, and the two first Canons. He consequently rejects as Supposititious pieces, the Latin Letter of this Council to *St. Sylvester*, the Answer of this Bishop, and the Canons of a pretended Synod held at *Rome*, for the Confirmation of that of *Nice*.

The Christians of that time, who were not perfectly instructed by the holy Scripture in what they ought to believe touching the Mystery of the blessed Trinity, were in great uncertainty; for neither the Tradition nor Authority of the Church were then infallible marks of the Truth of a Tenet, since the Ecclesiastical Assemblies that the most reasonable Catholicks make the Depositories of these Traditions and Authority, some time declare for the *Arians*, some time for the Orthodox, and another for a third Party, which is that of the *Semi-Arians* or *Homoioussians*. The Reader will not be displeased to find here a List of these Councils, which is made upon the Remarks of Mr. du Pin.

Councils against Arius.

1. At *Alexandria* composed of near a hundred Bishops, in the Year 322.
2. At *Nice* in 325, composed of 318, or 270, or 250 Bishops.
3. The Third Council of *Alexandria*, where *St. Athanasius* was absolved, in 340.
4. At *Rome*, by the Bishops of *Italy*, in 341, where *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* and *St. Athanasius* were justified.
5. At *Milan*, where *Ursacius* and *Valens* were received into Communion, for condemning *Arius*, in the Year 346.
6. At *Sardica*, in 347, composed of an hundred of the Western Bishops, who sent back *St. Athanasius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, Absolved.

7. At *Alexandria*, in 362, with *St. Athanasius*, where it was declared, that the difference upon the three *Hypostases* were only Disputes of words. It was composed of the Bishops of *Egypt*.

8. At *Paris*, where the Bishops of the *Gauls* retracted what they had done at *Remini*, in 362.

9. The Bishops of *Italy* did as much, in another Synod the same Year.

10. At *Antioch*, in 363, where the Bishops of *Egypt* approved the Form of *Nice*.

11. In 370, at *Rome*, under *Damasus*.

12. At *Aquileia*, in 381.

13. At *Constantinople*, in 383.

Councils for Arius.

1. In *Bithynia*, in the Year 323, *Sozom. Lib. 1. Cap. 15.*

2. At *Antioch*, where *Eustathius* Bishop of this City was deposed, in 330.

3. At *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, where *St. Athanasius* was cited, but appeared not, in 334.

4. At *Tyre*, where *St. Athanasius* appeared, as accused in 335. It was composed of a hundred Bishops.

5. At *Jerusalem*, where *Arius* and his Party were received to the Communion of the Church, in the same Year.

6. At *Constantinople*, against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, which communicated with *St. Athanasius*, and who was deposed as convicted for renewing the Errors *Paul* of *Samosetus* and of *Sabellius*, in 336.

7. The Third Council of *Constantinople*, where *Paul* Bishop of that City, Defender of *St. Athanasius*, was deposed, in 338.

8. At *Beziere*, where the Followers of *Arius* were reconciled to the Church, in spite of *Hilary* of *Poitiers*, and some other Bishops, which were banished in 356.

9. The Third Council of *Sirmium*, where the Father was declared greater than the Son, in 357.

10. Another at *Melitin* the same Year.

11. At *Antioch*, in 358, where they condemned these Terms, *The same in Substance.*

12. At *Constantinople*, where the *Anomeans* cunningly condemned *Arius* their Head, and deposed many *Semi-Arian* Bishops, in 360.

13. At *Antioch*, where *Melece* Bishop of *Antioch* was deposed, and where the Son was declared Created out of nothing, in 367.

14. At *Singedun* in *Mesia* against *Germinius* a *Semi-Arian*, in 366.

15. In *Caria*, where they rejected the Term of *Consubstantial*, in 368.

Councils for the Semi-Arians.

1. The Second Council of *Alexandria*, in 324, where nothing was determined against *Arius*, and they treated only of the Terms *Substance* and *Hypostasis*, against *Sabellius*, where *Osius* presided.

2, 3. Two Councils at *Antioch*, in 341, and 342, where they declared they received *Arius*, because they believed him Orthodox;

dox; where they composed three Forms of Faith, in the which they Anathematize those who said there was a time when the Word was not, and made a Profession of believing him, *like to the Father in all things*. This Council made XXV Canons, which are inserted in the Code of the Universal Church.

4. Another Council at *Antioch* by the *Eusebians*, where the word *Consubstantial* is not found, though it be *Catholick*, as to the rest. It was held in 345.

5. At *Philippolis*, in 347.

6. The Second Council of *Sirmium*, the Form whereof was approved by *Hilary of Poitiers*, although the word *Consubstantial* be not in it. In the Year 351.

7. At *Arles*, where *St. Athanasius* was condemned, in 353.

8. At *Milan*, in 355, where *St. Athanasius* was also condemned by Violence.

9. At *Ancyra*, where those were Anathematized, which held the Son *Consubstantial* with the Father; and those who deny'd he was the same in Substance, in 358.

10. The Fourth Council of *Sirmium*, where they approved of the Forms of the Councils of *Antioch*, and of the second Council of *Sirmium*.

11. The fifth Council of *Sirmium*, in 359.

12. At *Rimini*, composed of 400 Bishops where they rejected Terms of Substance and *Hypostasis*, as was done in the fifth Council of *Sirmium*. Notwithstanding they held the Son to be equal to the Father in all things. It was also in the Year 359.

13. At *Selucia* the same Year, where forty *Anomean* Bishops, or pure *Arians*, were condemned by 105 *Semi-Arians*.

14. At *Antioch*, in 363, where the Term *Consubstantial* was received in different senses.

15. At *Lampaca*, in 365, where the *Anomeans* were condemn'd, and where the Bishops were re-establish'd, which they had deposed.

16. Divers Synods in *Pamphilia*, *Isauria*, *Lycia*, and *Sicily*, in 365, and 366.

17. At *Tyanes*, in 368, where the *Anomeans* were reunited with the *Semi-Arians*.

In 370, * a Synod was held at *Gangres*, the Canons whereof are inserted in the Code of the universal Church, and the fourth of which condemns those that say the Communion ought not to be received from the hands of a married Priest.

The 59th and 60th, and last † P. 882. † Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which *Mr. du Pin* believes to have been held between the Year 360, and 370, prohibits the Reading at Church any other than Canonical Books, and those that were acknowledged for such, and those the Protestants receive, excepting the *Apocalypse*.

The 8th Canon * of the Council of *Saragossa*, defends the Vailing of Virgins, that have conse-

crated themselves to Jesus Christ, before the Age of forty Years.

The Bishops of *Macedonia* willing to confirm a Judgment they had given against a Bishop, named *Bonosus*, by the advice of Pope *Syricius*, he answered them, † *That the Council of Capua having sent this Cause to them, it belonged not to him to judge on't, and that 'twas their business to determin it.* † P. 903.

The * most ancient Monument, according to *Mr. du Pin*, where the name of *Mas* is found to signify publick Prayers, that the Roman Church makes in offering the Eucharist, is the third Canon of the second Council of *Carthage*, held in 390.

At the end of this Volume † † P. 947. the Author makes an Abridgment of the Doctrin of the 4th Age, as he did in his precedent Book, in respect to the three first, and he confesses, that though nothing was taught in the 4th Age, which was not believed in the three first, nevertheless the principal Mysteries were much more clear'd and expounded in the fourth.

The Travels of Mars, Or, The Art of War, divided into three parts, &c. With an Ample Relation of the Soldiery of the Turks, both for Assaulting and Defending. A Work enriched with more than 400 Cuts engraven in Copper-plates, by Allain Manesson Maller, Master of the Mathematicks to the Pages of his Majesty's lesser Stable, heretofore Ingenier and Serjeant-Major of Artillery in Portugal. Paris, Sold by Denis Thierri in St. James Street, and are to had at Amsterdam at Henry Desborde's, 3 Vol. in 8o. 1685.

THIS Author, who published a Description of the Universe, in five Volumes in Octavo, in 1683, with a curious Collection of a thousand things concerning Geography and History; had also published these *Travels of Mars* some Years since. The Work was esteemed by the most Learned in that Science. It was immediately Re-printed at *Amsterdam*, and was soon translated into several different Languages. It is a right Judgment upon this Second Edition, that it hath been enriched with many new Treatises, several Maxims and particular Remarks, which the Author hath endeavoured to conform to the excellent Maxims of famous *Mr. Vauban*, one of the chiefest Men in the World in these sorts of matters.

He gives us in the first part of this Work the Explication of the Elements of Geometry, which are necessary to Fortification. After that, he Expoundeth not only the Construction of regular places, whether on Paper or on the Earth, and the method of raising and leveling the Ground, but also the manner of Fortifying all sorts of irregular Places in what Situation soever.

He gives and examines in the second place, the divers methods of Fortifying Places, which have been invented by the most

able Authors or Ingeniers, as *Errard, Marolois, Tritach, Stevin, Dogen, Marchi, Sardi, de Ville, le Comte de Pagan*, and others. He compares their methods with his own, and adds to all this, several fair and ample Dissertations for and against the use of *Cazemates*, second Flanks, &c. to which he adds, the different manners of laying Foundations, transporting the Earth, &c. This Work will hold its place above all others, seeing we may find there faithfully exposed the Constructions, that the greatest Masters approve of, and that which the Author judges the best.

The third part is very fine and proper for all manner of Persons, because there they may learn an infinite deal of things, which they would be glad to be instructed in, though they have no design of going to War. There may be found the Names, the Charges and Duties of the Officers of Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery. There are seen all that regard Military Exercises, the March of Troops, the use and difference of Arms, the Service of Cannons, artificial Fires, the Instruments used for Assault or Defence of Places, the Sieges of Cities, the duty of the Besieged, and the War of the *Turks*. This latter Article is replete with a great deal of Curiosity, by reason of the War they have with the Emperor, which will make the Book of *Debricius* to become dear, although it has been laid by, since the Rout of the *Turks*. The meaning of it is, that we must neither assure our selves of, nor be frightened at any thing.

Nemo confidat nimium secundis

Nemo desperet meliora lapsis

Seneca.

Misceat hæc illis prohibetque

Clotho

Thyest.

Stare Fortunam, &c.

We shall be able one day to come to speak more distinctly, and in particulars of this Book of *Monsieur Mallet*. In the interim what we have said thereof will serve to shew the Profit and Importance of it.

The Education of Daughters, by Mr. Feuelon Abbot, according to the Copy Printed at Paris, Sold by Peter Abouin, 1687, in Twelves.

THIS is a matter of one of the most grave and important Concerns of Life. Mr. Abbot Feuelon, concern'd at the negligence wherewith Virgins are Educated, thought he could not better Consecrate his Cares, than to the Instruction of this Fair Sex. Fathers in reference to publick Good, or by a blind Inclination to Young-men, abandon their Daughters almost without giving 'em any Education. Notwithstanding, saith he, they are destined to fulfil the Duties which are the Foundations of human Life, and which decide that which most nearly concerneth Mankind. There is then nothing more important than the Precepts that are given us here. And

indeed the Source of Men cannot be too pure. But the difficulty of Succeeding is greater than is imagin'd. For if to give a good Education to Young-women be to be remov'd intirely from the World to apply them to what concerning Housewifery and House-Government; it is to be feared, that their Restlessness and natural Curiosity, will push them upon other impertinent Accomplishments. That whereof *Moliere* gives a Model of natural Simplicity, and which seriously asked,

If Children that are begotten, were made by the Ear, being clear'd of its doubts, made him repent himself for being jealous of the Ignorance he had taken care to Educate his Daughter in. Some pretend also, that it is not less dangerous to let Maids take pleasure in Reading and frequent Conversation, fearing they should fall into the Extremities of the Learned and knowing Women, who never come down from Heroism and Refined Wit.

Let us then see what way Mr. Abbot Feuelon traceth out for Mothers to prevent these two Defects. He begins with the tenderest Infancy, and even regulates the Diet to give a more sweet Blood, and strengthen the Organs. He pretends, that the Pleasure which is taken about lusty Children, spoils them, because they begin too early to be applauded, and to hazard all that comes into their mind, and that thus there remains with them all their Life time a Custom of precipitate Judging. It is better to moderate these first Heats, to render them more quiet and patient, and to approve them rather when they doubt, than when they decide well, because thus Modesty insensibly enters into their Mind. As Curiosity is an Inclination of Nature, which prevents Instruction, he takes occasion whereby to instruct them in every thing, and hastens to settle in their Brains the most perfect Images, because Traces are more easily imprinted in this Age, and hardning, become indelible. And that there may be no delay in the least Circumstance, Mr. Abbot Feuelon enters into the most particular Condescensions, and prescribes amongst others, that in passing by Shopp, they should be instructed in the just price of all things; which is the Foundation of OEconomy, the Portion of Young-women. He adds as a thing that ought not to be omitted, *viz.* That the best Education befalls Children that feel nothing. This Towardness renders Care useless. For if such as are naturally sensible have great Errors, they likewise have great Helps.

After that coming to a more advanced Age, he saith, that nothing backwards Young-women so much, as the bad Humours of those Mothers, who make perpetual Lessons, and render Virtue odious by too much Preaching on't: Wisdom

ought

ought not to be shewn to this Age, but under a Smiling Countenance, and under a pleasant Image. The most serious Occupations ought to be seasoned with some honest Pastimes; and a familiar and open Conduct makes more progress than a more severe Education, and a dry and absolute Authority. Notwithstanding it's the common Injustice of Mothers, who taking always an Austere and Imperious Countenance, judge not of Pleasures but by the Sorrow and Care of their Age; instead of Judging thereof, by the Joy and Sportings they had in Times past. It falleth out often, that they cry out against Pleasures because they themselves cannot taste of them. Howbeit we cannot be Old as soon as we come into the World; and Mr. Abbot Feuelon condemneth these constraining Formalities, and these dimm Ideas of Virtue, which render it Sad and Tedious to Young-women. Notwithstanding, continues the Author, as they are destined to moderate Exercises, it is good to give them a slight Employ; for Idleness is an unfathomable Source of Troublesomeness; and besides, the wandering Imagination of a Young-woman turns it self easily towards dangerous Objects. Therefore also he will not have them to accustom themselves so much to sleep, because that mollifies the Body, and exposes the Mind to the Rebellion of the Senses.

Mr. Abbot Feuelon condemns utterly Romances, because according to him, Young-women fall into Passions for Chimerical Intrigues and Adventures. Being charmed with what they find tender and marvellous in them; what a Distaste is it to them to abase themselves unto the lowest part of Housewifery, and to this ordinary Life we lead? He is not yet altogether against their Learning some Languages; but he Rejects the *Italian*, because it's only proper to Read dangerous Books; and he prefers the Latin Tongue by reason of the *Divine Office*. But without mentioning other Inconveniences, he forgot that *Ovid* and *Martial* are Poysoners, far more pernicious than *Amintas* and *Pastor fido*; for besides the Obscenity of *Martial*, there is in *Ovid* all that Love can inspire, most Tender, most Ingenious, and most Delicate. In Truth, it were a thing to be wished for, that the Modesty of a Young-woman should make her Ignorant of all things that concern Love; but it is convenient enough to know it in order to prevent it as much as possible. At least it was the Advice of *Madam de Chartres*, a Grave Authorities upon this Matter, and which well may be opposed to Mr. Abbot Feue-

lon. The greatest part of Mothers imagin, (saith the Author of the *Princesses of Cleves*) that it is not sufficient to speak of Gallantry before Young Persons to make them keep from it. On the contrary, *Madam de Chartres* often depainted Love to her Daughter. She would tell her what there was pleasing in it, the more easily to persuade her of the Misfortunes whereinto Engagements lead us.

This Conduct hath something in it very Acute. For nothing is more dangerous than to expose a Young-woman to know Love by an interested Persons Mouth, who far from making her observe the Troubles that follow this Passion, hath no greater Care than to hide them from her. So that it is very hard, that a Young Person should resist Love, whilst never hearing mention made of it; she begins to know it by that which is taking in it; and how shall she defend her self from a Passion, which only Promiseth Sweetness, and which offers such pleasing Baits! But the Question is too important to be decided so; we shall pass to the Chapter which speaks of the Faults of Young-women.

Mr. Abbot Feuelon says, That they must be Corrected for those Tears they shed so Cheap. They have been always Reproached with a marvellous Talent of Speaking, and it's even presumed, that there is a little Lewdness intermix'd: For according to Mr. *Fontaine*, a Handsom Woman when she is in Tears, is by the half more Handsome. It is without doubt a great Art to know how to shed some Tears to the purpose. Notwithstanding the Author condemns these over-frequent Tears, as marks of Weakness and Artifice. It's also sometimes the Effect of a sensible and compassionate Nature. It's needless to say, that they should be told of Expressing themselves in a few words, and not to be transported with a Faculty of Speaking, and Vivacity of Imagination, which are natural to them. Mr. Abbot Feuelon sparreth not these Affectations of Grief; these perpetual Complaints, these little Indispositions, which always shew a negligent Countenance; and these precipitate Decisions of the curious Ladies which so much displease Men of good Judgment. A Poor Man of a Province, saith he, will be the Ridicule of five or six *A-la-mode* Ladies, because his Peruke is not of the best make, or because he wants a good Grace, though he hath an upright Heart, and a Mind Just and Solid: When a Courtier is preferred, whose whole deserts consist in Fashions and Cooks,

and who hideth a low Heart and False Mind, under an Exterieur Politeness.

Finally, he inveighs mightily against the Vanity of Women, their violent Desire of Pleasing, and the Passion of Dressing themselves, which they make their most important Business. He pretends that this Haughtiness draws after it the Ruin of Families, and the Corruption of Manners; and he neatly decides, That *Beauty is noisom, if it doth not advantageously serve to Marry a Young-woman*. This Sentence is a little Rigorous. It's true, that the Virtue of an Ugly one seems to be more secure, because she is sheltered from the Attacks to which a Fair one is continually exposed: But on the other side the Virtue of a Handsom Woman shines more by the Conquests she goes through; and we may doubt of her that never was Attacked. The one is injured by the Assaults which she repelleth; and the other that is not accustomed to defend her self, may be more easily surpris'd. On the other hand, seeing the ways that Conduct Men to Authority and Glory, are deny'd to Women, and that they have for their Lot only the Charms and Graces of Nature; what a Spite then is it for 'em to deny 'em their utmost they are capable of doing, to

raise and preserve the Lustre thereof? What! Because Men are too sensible of it, must they be deprived of all their Pleasingness, and cloister up all their Charms to expect patiently an advantageous Match, that is to say, to become the Prey of some happy Fop, or Capricious Fellow? In Truth, it is a crying Injustice, and I should as soon have the Stars condemned to give light no more, because Men being surpris'd by their Lustre, adored them. Beauty makes the Glory of Women, as Valour that of Heroes. Therefore one of the most polite and refined Authors of this Age opposeth a Fair Virgin to Alexander the Great, and maintains, that she had more Right to make Conquests than him; because Beauty hath a natural Right to Command over Men, and that Valour hath a Right only acquired by Force. Notwithstanding Conquerors are permitted to set fire upon whole Cities and Kingdoms; And must not Fair Women be able to fire Hearts, or make Conquests in their Territories, without being exposed to Censure? We shall then conclude this Article by a Passage of the same Author, That *the chief Merit of a Woman is to be Handsom, and that there is no Prettier Condition than that of a Pretty Woman*.

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...the same Author, That the chief Merit of a Woman is to be Handsom, and that there is no Prettier Condition than that of a Pretty Woman.

Curious

Curious Miscellanies: or, the Journal of Physicks; by the Curious in Nature of Germany. Noremberg, at the Expences of Wolfandus Meuricius Endterus. 1685, in 4to.

WE have spoke in the Novels of *October* 1685, of the Institution of this Academy of the Curious in Nature; and we have mentioned several of their Observations in their Journal of the year 84: Now we hope that their Journal of 85, is furnished with no less rare Curiosities. Nature does not grow old, what ever People say: She is always fertile in all Productions; and we may observe her Effects, to see that She Signalizes herself every year in some Country or other, and sometimes in all Countries, by Distempers, singular Cures, Monsters and other rare Phenomena. I may be suffered without doubt, to place among the Works of Nature, that do not happen often, the heat that is conserved in a dead Body for 3 or 4 days; which is the Subject of the 18th. Observation of this Book; wherein is seen that a Man of 72 years of Age, but Strong and a great Drinker, dying of a *Burning Fever* on *Christmas-day*, 84, was found Hot by his Domesticks at night; who were curious to feel him for a certain Superstition which reigns in several places of *Germany*, whereby they believe that if the Deceased do not grow Stiff, it is a Sign that many of his Friends will dye soon after: This Mans Servants having found him hot the 1st. day, tryed next day, whether he continued so, tho the Weather was very cold; and they found him as hot as the day before, both at his Back and Region of the *Abdomen*; and they found him Luke-warm the 3d. day and 4th. and it was but the 5th. day that he became intirely cold. A *Gangreen* that had possessed his Bowels, did without doubt much contribute to this Heat: For this poor Man having lost the parts of Generation before his Death, by a Descent of his Guts into his *Scrotum*, which occasioned a Castration, and made the rest disappear after such a manner, that if it did not concenter inwardly, it mixt after an insensible manner, among the other Excrements which were taken from the Sick Mans Body. M. de le Boe, had already observed that the Bodies of *Hydropicks*, remain hot some time after Death, for 2 or 3 days: Nor is it after all, so surprizing, seeing that Plants parted from what nourished them, ferment after a marvellous manner.

Let us pass to the 32d. Observation, where the Opinion of *Scaliger* is refuted about the Cry of Crikets. It is a Noise that agrees with the *Africans* very well, and serves as delicious Musick to lull them asleep: This makes them nourish Crikets in Iron Cages, and purchase them at considerable Rates: And they receive them as acceptably at *Fex* it self, the most learned place of all *Africk*. We find the noise of these little Animals, sometimes troublesome; but because tis thought an Ill Omen if they

quit the House, we do not wish to be rid of them. M. *Konig* having searched the Organ of the Cry of Crikets, found that it was not the Passage or Fistule of the Belly, as *Scaliger* believed, but that it is a very dry Membran that foulds it self as a Fan, and which is fastned under the Wings to a *Tendon* that is pretty long, and which when the Muscle shortens, forms them, folds upon the Membran, and thence comes the sound, which can be renewed in some manner in a dead Cricket; so that the *Tendon* be dexterously drawn: And it is remarked that a Cricket cut in two, sings and lives a long time.

The same Mr. *Konig* furnisheth us in the Four and Thirtieth Observation, with the Anatomy of an Owl: He found that the Eyes of this Bird are shut up in his Scull, that they are immovable, and that they neither have an Elliptique Figure as Mens Eyes have, nor a round one as other Birds; they are like a Globe, in the midst of which, a Turner would make a Hole on both sides, and there are seen the Parts of the Bones all in a row. There has been mention made the 10th. year of this Journal, of some Flyes, that did great Damage in *Poland*; their Figures are seen here in different Fashions, as they appeared in a Magnifying Glas to M. *Pelissus*, who tells us a very strange thing in his 43d. Observation; which is, That a Rosemary-Branch which was according to Custom put in a dead mans Hand, grew so strangely, that it spread it self and covered with its Greenness, the whole Face of the dead Person; as it has been found to the great Admiration of many, some years past, on uncovering the Coffin.

The 106th. Observation contains one of those happy Temerities, that are seen some times as well in Physick as Politicks. A Peasant of the Dutchy of *Meklenburg*, seeing his Wife almost dead in Child-birth, pressed the Midwife so much, to draw the Child from her with a great Scale-hook, that the Midwife was at last obliged to make Tryal, and hit so well the Nape of the Childs Neck, without knowing what she did, that she brought the Child into the World in a very good Condition, and with little hurt, and is living yet. In the following Observation, we are entertained with a Child already Rotten and Corrupted, that was delivered from a dead Woman, which confirms the 42d. Observation, that says, some 7 days after the Death of a poor Woman that dyed a Month before the time she should be brought to Bed at, was put in a Byer; the Child was observed to have rouled to the dead Womans Feet; and it is more credible that a Child should come into the World of it self from a dead Mother, than that pieces of Gold, Brass and Iron, fall with the Thunder in the *Indies*. However that is, M. *Rumphius*, the Historiographer of the *Dutch* Company in that Country, has sent to M. *Menzeliur*, a Physitian of *S. A. E. of Brandenburg*, a

mong other Rarities, whose Catalogue is here to be seen, a piece of Brass weighing about 12 Ounces, which he says fell from the Skies in a great Tempest. The *Indians* make great Account of these Metals, which they pretend do fall with the Thunderbolt, and make Rings of them, believing them Powerful to preserve their Healths, and to render them Victories over their Enemies. Few Physicians will meet with as much Satisfaction in these things, as in the Remarks of M. *Harderius*, Professor of Philosophy in *Basil*, upon the Venom of Vipers; he gives M. *Redi* an account of the different Effects of this Poyson upon several Beasts, and admires the difference in the Experiences of M. *Redi*, and M. *Charas*, about the Yellow Juice which is in the Vipers Gut, which M. *Charas* says is very innocent; but in the Opinion of M. *Redi*, it is their very Poyson: He seems to be inclin'd to this last Opinion.

Let us now speak of the Appendix, which is worth as much, if not more than the whole Work. We first meet with the *Mystical Key to the Doctrin of the Chinois*, about Pulses; composed in 1658, by the Polish Jesuit *Boymus*, Missionary of *China*. The Title of this Book insinuates that Mr. *Cleyerius*, first Physician to the *Dutch Company* in the *Indies*, had gathered some Fragments, and committed them into *Europe*, and that now at last he has sent 'em all well corrected, having received them from *China* by the hands and care of Father *Couplet*, a *Flemish* Jesuit, that was lately sent to *Rome* in Embassy about the concerns of that Country: I find something dark in the Title, for I do not see why that Jesuit returning to *Rome*, could not bring that Manuscript along with him, but must leave the Glory to a *Dutch* Physician, of sending the Work of an other Jesuit into *Europe*: However it be, the Treatise of Father *Boymus* is very curious, and shews he had a great deal of leisure, which he well employed in learning the Foundation of the *Chinois* Physick; he explains the System very nearly, and it is easie to see, by what he says, that the *Chinois* are very able men. 'Tis true, their Principles are not the clearest in the World; but if we had them in the time of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, they would be much admired, and there would be found in them as much Reason and Evidence at least as in our own. But they were unluckily brought into *Europe*, when the Mechanick Principles invented and received by our *Modern Naturalists*, had given our Physicians such an Aversion for the Faculties natural Heat and radical Moisture. The great Bases of the Philosophy of the *Chinois*, agree well with the *Peripateticks*: We should do ill to say that the *Chinois* had their Physick from *Europe*, since the first Physician of that Nation, was their Emperour *Hoamti*, who lived 400 years after the Deluge, and 2697 years before the Birth of our Saviour. We took notice last year p. 97, that the chief Ability of the *Chinois* Physicians, consists in the

Knowledge of the Pulse, wherein they are very expert. This is the reason why this Jesuit thinks to learn the Subtily of their Precepts, if he can explain unto us their Speculation and Practice upon the Pulse; to render which, he says more likely, he observes that that several *Chinois* Physicians apply themselves solely to certain Distempers and particular Persons; some undertake only Hectick Fevers, some Children, others Women, and these last have most Trouble, because they are not permitted to see Women of Quality; they must divine by their Pulse, which they will without the help of the other external Signs, which they consult with Success in the Distempers of Men; a strange Madnes of these People that will not suffer that their Wives be seen, even when they prove rather Objects of Pity than an incentive to Lust. The *Eastern* Christians are yet more foolish about their Wives; for there is a certain * *Armenian* that has never yet seen his Wife, whom he married * *Tavernier*, liv. 4. chap. 8. Ten years ago; nor ever heard her speak.

When she lyes with her Husband, she takes not off her Veil until the Light be first put out: And in whatever Season it is, she gets up before day, and never eats with her Husband. The *Chinois* want one thing very necessary to the Perfection of Physick, which is, the Anatomy of Human Bodies; whoever would undertake to direct any Person upon what account soever, must expect a publick Execration. The Author conjectures that they have not always been of this Humour, because they have very exact Draughts of our internal Parts; and it were hard to imagine that the Emperour *Hoamti*, had formed the Theorie of the Pulse, without the help of Dissection: His Precepts upon this are very different from those of *Galen*; for as this latter will have the Pulse to be felt but in one place of the left Arm, the *Chinois* have ordered it should be felt in Three different places of both Arms, and by Three different Degrees of Pressure: First to the Flesh, then to the Nerves, and at last to the Bones. *Galen* confesses that he knew not the number of the Beatings of the Arteries, for any considerable time; but *Hoamti* has given a very particular Table of them, taking his Rules from the Intervals of Respiration.

It will do well to acquaint the World with the Abilities of the *Chinois*, that their Observations may be compared with those of our Moderns, who are certainly more acquainted with the Qualities of the Pulse, and have a far more perfect knowledge therein than *Galen* himself: This appears by the Treatise *de variatione Pulsus*; Printed at *London* in 8vo. and Writ by Mr. *Abercromblus* Physician, that made himself known before by his Method of curing veneral Distempers, without the help of Mercury, and without any mercurial Salivation.

The other pieces of the Appendix, are 1. a Letter of M. *Sturmius*, wherein he gives M.

M. *Volkamer* an account of the Experiences which he has spoken of in the other 2 Letters, and that serves to shew the Truth of the Principles by which the subtle *Borellius* hath explain'd the force of the Office of the *Muscles*. 2. A Letter of M. *Lauranti*, Physician at *Boloyne*, to Father *Ferroni*, a Jesuit and Professor of the Mathematicks in the same place; upon the erecting of Figures in an Optick Chamber, for so is that Chamber called that is close on every side, one place only excepted, that gives passage to the Light to shew plainly upside down upon a piece of clean Paper, all the Objects abroad, that are opposite to this Hole, wherein a convex Glass is put: It would be much more pleasing to the Eye, if Objects could be so represented as to give their true Situation; and for this purpose, Expedients have been thought to redress the Figures, before they came too near the Glass, or to the utmost end of the Radius, which is before they came to the Paper. The Author mentions 10 of these Expedients, and in every one, are some inconveniencies; at last he finds one that is without any, and which by the means of a Prisme through which the sight is, and by which the Images are seen in Paper, in their natural order, that so it increases the vivacity of their Colours: We are oblig'd to Chance only for the Discovery of this Phenomeny. The 3d. piece of the Appendix, is a plain Table, invented by *Lothaire Zumbach*, and much better, as is reported, than all the Endeavours that divers Astrologers have made in Instruments of this kind.

There are in the 4th. place two Manuscripts, compos'd by two Fryars of *Corbie* in *Germany*; one of these Fryars is called *Isibord D'Amelaxer*, and the other, *Alexander* of the *Island*, both very good Gentlemen, of an extraordinary Application to Learning, which was more commendable, because they lived in those ill times wherein the Fryars of *Corbie*, as well as of other places, were too much addicted to Vice and Idleness. These two Religions made a Collection of memorable Adventures, which had remained a long time unknown, and all covered with Dust; but at last M. *Paullini* published them with Notes of his own making, upon the places that have any particular Relation to natural History; there are many things very remarkable, as that the Cook of *Corbie* getting up at Midnight, the Eve of *St. Vitus*, the year 86, and opening the Larder Door, it appear'd to him all of a light fire. *Coc'ta autem comestaque in festo patroni carne, quam ubi suspenderat Oeconomus splendor iste evanuit.* I relate these words in *Latin*, because I fear I could not Translate them well, for I find no Syntax in them. Upon this M. *Paullini* says, That *Bartholin* and *Aquapendente* have made the same experience.

The Journal of the Learned informs us, That on the 14th. of June 83. at *Orleans*, Meat has been seen at the Shambles to shine like *phosphore*. The Conjecture of *Bartho-*

lin is not altogether improbable, that somewhat of the Glo-worms sticks to this Flesh and communicates this shining. There is affirm'd in one of the *French* Novels of the foregoing Month, That M. *Lanzwerdo* does not much credit such Generations as are called Equivocal; that is to say, where the Mother is of a different kind from that which engenders, or is produced; nevertheless one of these Fryars assures us, that in the year 874. a Woman brought forth a Black Cat, and that a Mare brought forth a Calf. He adds, That this Black Cat was burned, because the Father of it was supposed to be of Devils. M. *Paullini* makes mention of several such Generations; and it may be concluded in general, that the Text and Commentary thereon, make a very curious Treatise. There is likewise the History of a Dog that lived in the year 897. at *Corbie*, which was of an Exemplary Devotion, hearing the Mass very modestly, and observed all the requisite Postures at the reading the Evangelists, or when the Priest rais'd up the Host: Besides this, he kept Fasting Days with so much exactness, that all imaginable Civility could not engage him to taste Flesh. If he had seen any Dogs piss against the Walls of the Church, he went presently to bite them with great Zeal, and if there were any that barked in the Yard during the Mass, he would not fail to quit the place without disturbance to quiet them; he never suffered any Dog to enter into the Church. Father *John Eusebe* of *Nieremberg*, brings yet a more admirable Example of a Dog; if the Crow of the Abby of *Conrad* were as wise as that Dog, he had not felt an Excommunication that took away his Appetite, and ordinary briskness, the cause whereof was thus: *Conrad* having a mind to wash his Hands, took the Ring off his Finger, and could not find it when he wanted it again; he caus'd it to be sought for in every place, without hearing of it, so that he had issued out an Excommunication against whoever had stole his Ring; the Crow that took it, presently felt this stroke, and confin'd himself within his Nest, with a heavy heart; this rais'd the Abbot's suspicion, that it was he that had stole his Ring, and in effect so it proved, for it was at length found in his Nest, upon which the Crow came to his first Condition, as may be seen more at large in the Holy Recreations of Father *Angelin Gazee*. A Work full of Pious Fests and Diversions for Devout Souls; as the *Sieur Rems* remarks, who has Translated them into *French*: It may be truly said, that there are more pleasing Accounts in this Book than in that of *Bocace*. I do not know what to say to that which Fryar *Isibord* relates concerning a Cat of their House, which hatch'd Ducks Eggs, and took all possible care of the young ones, to whom she communicated her Nature of warring against Rats. But for what concerns the inability of the Ears of a certain young Girl, the Abbot of *Marolles* has left no room to doubt of it, being so confirmed

by the Philosopher *Cressot*, in the 32 page of his Memoirs, *She much resembled* (says he) *the Figures or Pictures of the Cynick Philosophers that are in the Closet of the Curious, being as dirty as they, with a long Beard and Hair uncombed; she had a very particular thing which I never took notice of in any but in her, which was to raise her Ears and to fould them at pleasure without touching them.* Father *Messie* in his 24th. Chapter of his first Part makes mention of a Man which *St. Augustin* has seen not only to move his Ears at pleasure, but also his Hair, without any motion of Hand or Head. This little Girl then is not so great a rarity as the Relation of a Woman who had 4 Breasts, corresponding to each other before and behind, equally full of Milk; she lived in the Year 1164, and had thrice Twins who sucked her on both sides. Nevertheless what we hinted at the Fryars of *Corbie*, does not hinder, but there have been very famous Men amongst 'em, which may be seen in the Account that *M. Paulini* published at *Ione*, intituled *Theatrum illustrum virorum Corbeæ Saxonice*.

Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum: Or, a Collection of Things to be sought after, and Things to be avoided; Published at Cologne, in the Year 1535. by Orthuinus Gratius Presbyter in Daventry, for the Use and Instruction of an Assembly then Conven'd, freed from Innumerable Faults, according to the best and choice Editions of those may Tractates which are contain'd therein; by the Labour and Study of Edward Brown Minister. Tom. 19th. Sold at Amsterdam.

When *Orthuinus Gratius* (alias *Graes*) Publish'd this Work, there was a Council call'd, for a Reformation of the Church, and the Catholick Princes did extremely desire it from the Court of *Rome*; yet it was doubted very much whether they shou'd obtain it. Nevertheless the Collector of these Pieces believed he ought to publish 'em, that in case the Assembly met, they might draw thence some very necessary Instructions to satisfy such as were for a regulation of Abuses: Wherefore he added it to his Title, which was since a little changed in this new Edition. *Quod si futurum Concilium celebrari contigerit, summopere, tanquam cognitu necessaria, ab optimis quibusque exposculabuntur.* All these Advertisements being unprofitable, this Collection is become very scarce: Whether it was endeavour'd to be suppress'd, because it has been condemn'd by the Index's of many Books; or that length of time only had produced this effect, is uncertain: However 'twas, this perswaded Mr. Brown to publish this Book anew; though the *Roman Church* having

not received those Truths it contain'd, 'tis not likely they shou'd be more welcome now than formerly; also the World hath not seen this Collection, because of the fewness of the Copies. I will in brief give an account here of what it means: It's compos'd of 66 different pieces, all which relate to some Abuses of the *Roman Church*, either in the Doctrin, or in the manner of the Clergy, or some Scandalous Histories which this Church hath produc'd since the Popes have had a desire to usurp a Despotick Power over the Revenues, and even the Consciences of the Christians, or of pretended Priviledges of the Church, which is there refuted, and of which he shews the evil Consequences; or, in fine, of Heresies condemn'd some time since. One may gather from all this, that there were great Abuses in the Church of *Rome*, for which there was no remedy in the times of *Orthuinus Gratius*, nor is there any to this day.

There are four Pieces which give an account of the History of the Council of *Basil*, who have declared the Authority of the Councils Superior to that of Popes.

The First is an Account of this Council by *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, since Pope, under the Name of *Pius* the Second—This History is so ingenuous and plain, that in the reading it seems as if one were present at the Council, and even heard the Fathers speak which compos'd it. There is no doubt but it has been faithfully done, since he that wrote it was Secretary of the Council, and whose interest it was as much to speak ill as well of its Authority: Since according to the Remarks of *John Mason*, the Popes gave Benefices, whereas the Council gave nothing. Thus, although the Author had retracted it, 'twas not of less consequence, because he was Interest'd so to do, when he became Pope; whereas when he wrote it, he was engag'd of neither side. The reasons of the retraction, which was found in a Bull at the head of his Works Printed at *Basil*, are very weak, as *Edmund Richer* proves in the fourth Book of his History of the General Councils.

The Second Piece concerning the Council of *Basil*, is a Letter of the same *Aeneas Silvius* to a *Spanish Divine*, where he relates after what manner *Amideus* Duke of *Savoy* was Elected Pope, under the Name of *Felix*, to oppose *Eugenius IV.* who had refus'd to submit to the Council. This Letter was dated at *Basil*, August 12. 1440.

The Third Piece consists in two Letters from *Julian Cardinal* of *St. Angel*. *Julian* the IV. Predecessor of this Pope, had call'd together the Council of *Basil*, and Nam'd this Cardinal as President, who had taken much care to Assemble it; but *Eugene* fearing that this Council might be some prejudice to the Council of *Rome*, resolv'd to Dissolve it, and enable the Cardinal of *St. Angel* with a sufficient power to do it. Nevertheless this Cardinal, who foresaw the scandal it wou'd cause, cou'd not perswade himself

himself to obey it; but writ to *Eugenius* all the Arguments he had against it; although those Reasons are in bad Latin, they were nevertheless Vindicated very strongly:

He saith also first in other things, * *Quid dicet universus orbis, cum hæc sentiat? nonne iudicabit clerum esse incorrigibilem, & velle semper in suis deformitatibus fordescere? celebrata tot sunt in diebus nostris concilia, ex quibus nulla secuta est reformatio. Expectabant gentes ut ex hoc sequeretur aliquis fructus; sed si hoc dissolvatur, dicetur quod nos hridemus Deum & homines.* What will all the World say when they shall see it? will they not judge the Clergy is Incorrigible, and that they are willing to run into greater disorders? since which, there have been so many celebrated Councils in our days, of which there hath been no Reformation that people expect some fruit from this. But if it is dissolved what will be said, but that we mock both God and Man. There is also in these Letters very lively painted the Terrors of the Court of Rome, when a Reformation was fear'd, and the ways that they took to hinder the Blow. — We may consult upon these 2 Letters, *Edmund Richer* in the third Book of his History of the Councils. *Richer* has also in his fourth Piece, which is much more Correct than this last, an Appeal from the University of *Paris* in 1517. to the following Council again *Leo X.* where appears a List of the chief Abuses, that reigned then in the Eastern Churches, and which made the Convening of a Council necessary; with the proofs which the University shews contrary to *Leo*, that the Council of *Basil* was Canonically Assembled, and cou'd not be rejected. The University protests also against the Treaty that *Francis I.* hath made with *Leo*, as pernicious to all the Kingdom in general, and particularly in respect to *Dauphine*. At this time was made the Elegy upon the *Pragmatick Sanction* (after which succeeded this Treaty) and is express'd throughout the whole, with more Life and Courage than they dare do at this Day. For although *France* has much Learning, yet it hath as little Valour.

If *Orthuinus Gratus* had had any regard to order in his Collection, 'twou'd ha' been seen here in the extract which is at the 123. Page of the Works of *Nicholas de Clemengis*, where this Author reports, That *Eugenius* spoke freely against the Council of *Basil*. There would also have been the Letter of *Frederick of Brunswick* (a little while after chosen Emperor) to *Charles VIII.* King of *France*, where he desires him to send Deputies to *Mentz*, to try if they cou'd remedy the Schism that was then in the Eastern Churches. It's Dated 21st. of May 1460, and it might contribute much to the knowledge of what was treated of in the Council of *Basil*, concerning the Peace of the Church.

* There may be added to * *Script. 5.* these pieces concerning the Council of *Basil*, those that

one *Brown* speaks of in his Preface, which he had drawn from a Manuscript shewn him by the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*. These are the Credential Letters and Instructions, that King *Henry* the 6th. gave his Embassadors, which were to go to the Council of *Basil*; and the Dispatches that he had made to the Court of *Rome*, under *Martin* the 5th. to hasten the Assembling of that Council. Secondly, The pieces which relate to the Council of *Basil*, are follow'd with an Harangue that the Legats of *Leo* the 10th. made 1519, before the Emperor *Maximilian*, and the Assembly of the Princes of *Germany*, to perswade them to consent to the levying in all their States, the 10th. part of the Ecclesiasticks, the 20th. of the yearly Revenues of the rich Laicks, the 5th. part only of all others; and every House tax'd to the maintaining of a Soldier under the Pretence of making War with the *Turks*. This Design was only to get the *Germans* Money, to enrich the House of *Medicis*, which sufficiently appear'd by the Affair of Indulgence: But the Princes of *Germany* wou'd not hearken to it at all, as may be seen in the Refutation of this Harangue, by *Ulricus Hutterius*, who hath unmask'd these Legats of *Leo*.

If I shou'd keep the order of the old Edition of the Collection, I shou'd put before it this Harangue and its Refutation, a piece that Mr. *Brown*, hath inserted in its Preface; which is the Account of an Answer given to Cardinal *Cajetan*, Legate of the same Pontiff, in 1518, in the name of the Princes of *Ausburge*; by *Richard Bartholini de Barouze*, Chaplain to Cardinal *de Gurk*. There are in this History, all the Difficulties that were found in this Demand of the Court of *Rome*, and particularly the just cause they had to distrust him for his Covetousness, after having been deceived so often under the same pretext.

* 3. After that, there is the Life of *Gregory* the 7th. by * *Script. 6. et Cardinal Benmon*; the reasons, *Seq. ad 11.* for which *Henry IV.* Emperor, chose *Guibert* instead of *Gregory*, are drawn from *d' Orbon de Frisinge*; the manner how *Silvester* the Second, was accus'd of giving himself to the Devil, with an Account of his Death, taken out of *John Stella*, a Venetian; the Judgment that *Peter Crinitus* made of *Boniface* the 8th. the Life of the Emperor *Henry* the 4th. Written by *Otbert* Bishop of *Liege*, in the year 1106, with some Letters of the same Emperor to the Pope, and to divers Princes; the cruel manner wherewith *Henry* was treated by *Gregory*, is sufficiently known, and may be seen in their Lives, what Princes ought to expect from the Pope, if they are so vain to promise an Establishment of those Opinions in their States, which the Court of *Rome* hath endeavoured to spread every where about her Sovereign Authority, in all matters, Spiritual and Temporal.

4. How Popes have to the utmost endeavour'd to render the Election of the Emperor, dependent upon the Court of Rome. The Princes of Germany have not fail'd to oppose it, and one of the principal Ramparts against the Enterprizes of Italy, is the *Golden Bull*, given * by * *Script. 12.* Charles the 4th. in the year 1365 and the 10th. of January: 'Twas this that oblig'd *Ortuinus Gratius*, to publish this Bull, in a Collection, wherein he design'd to advertise the Princes of dangerous Abuses that ought to be corrected, which was daily put in practice by the Court of Rome.

5. One of the Fictions, which hath been the worse founded, and which was forg'd to establish the temporal Greatness of the Pope, is the pretended gift of *Constantine*, where he says, that he gave all the West to Pope *Silvester* and his Successors. Now there is none who hath Learning or Sincerity amongst the Roman Catholics, that will not acknowledge this to be merely Supposititious; and that this is not the same that was 200 years since: And he is wanting in the serious Refutation of a piece which he dares not now make mention of; wherefore we ought not to regard, as foreign to our purpose, the Refutation of * *Laurentius Valla*, here brought

* *Script. 13.* against this Gift of *Constantine*, which is thoroughly examin'd by the Collection of divers Learn'd men, who either doubt it to be Authentick, or wholly reject it. If all these pieces were lost, we shou'd not want to object to those Men who look upon this Gift as ridiculous, the novelty of their Opinion which opposes the consent of many Ages. Thus we must abolish all Writings which prove it, with those that condemn it: Or in keeping the first we must preserve the second.

6. The *Vaudois* are in the number of those who have complain'd of the Abuses of the Roman Church, and who * *Script.* have * endeavour'd to Correct 19. & 20. them, as may be seen in the Confession of Faith which some of 'em sent formerly to *Uladislaus* King of Hungary, with their Answer to one *Augustine* Dr. of Divinity, address'd to the same Prince—This Answer is Dated 6 days after *Epiphany*. The Confession and Answer are much better Translated than most of the Pieces in the Ages past, and contain Opinions very conformable to those of the Reformed, on the Sacraments, Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, Holy Scripture, and some other Articles; those who desire to know in what those who have written these Epistles, differ'd from the Reform'd at this day, may have recourse to the Original, tho' it is not to be found only in this Book, but also in the Collections of the *Historians* of Bohemia by *Freber*.

7. After this of the *Vaudois* are some Pieces concerning the Doctrin of *Wickliff*,

and the manner how they were condemn'd, viz. in a Book of one *William Woodward*, who lived at the end of the 14th. Age, against the Opinions of *Wickliff*, in 18 Articles which are at the beginning of this Treatise; and with a much greater number of Articles which were attributed to *Wickliff*, whether true or false, and condemn'd in the Council of *Constance*, with the Censure and Refutation of 44 in particular: Without doubt several of these Treatises are attributed to *Wickliff*, as some Learn'd Protestants have made appear. Some seem to be ill understood, as the last. *Omnes Religiones indifferenter introductæ sunt à Diabolo*: If *Wickliff* had said, he understood by Religions the Order of the Monks, against whom he was much Incens'd, as it appears by the Articles of Page 277. against the Religions; Nevertheless the censure of this Proposition supposes that we must take the word Religions in the most common sense of the different manners of serving God, as are the *Judaick* and *Christian Religions*. But when they will condemn any one, or take all that he says in the worst sense, it ought to render their Explications extremely suspected, who has given us his Opinion of the *Ancient Hereticks*, as well as the *Orthodox Fathers*, hurried away by their Zeal, ordinarily render'd 'em as worthy to be condemn'd as possible. There are Remarks also upon this ill Custom, and the manner whereby * *Aeneas Silvius* * *Pag. 296.* exposes the Opinions of *Wickliff*, which he says pass'd from England to Bohemia, and in the Sentence of the Council of *Constance* against him, who declared him to be a Heretick, after his Death commanded to take up his Bones, if it was possible, to distinguish 'em from those of the Faithful who were buried near him, and cast them out of the Church-yard.

8. * *Aeneas Silvius* faith in his * *Scr. 24.* History of the Bohemians, That the Opinions of *Wickliff* were transferr'd from England into Bohemia, by a Bohemian Gentleman who Studied at Oxford, and returning into his own Country, carried some of *Wickliff's* Books with him. However the Council of *Constance*, after they had condemn'd him, also condemn'd *John Hus* and *Jerom* of Prague, and their Disciples, as may be seen *Scr. 26.* at large by divers Pieces which *ad 31.* are here insert'd touching the affairs of the Bohemians. It is shewn there also what pass'd in the Council of *Basil*, the Demands that were made to 'em, and their Answers thereon.

Ortuinus Gratius has not forgot on this occasion the celebrated Letter of *Poggius* to *Leonard Arretin*, upon the Death of *Jerom* of Prague; but he endeavours to be beforehand with the Reader against *Poggius*, that he may not believe all he says to the honour of *Jerom* of Prague. This is apparent, that this History has too much effect

effect upon the mind of the Reader, and makes him suspect *Jerom* of *Prague* of Hypocrisie; and the same Author hath put after the Letter of *Poggins*, a Discourse of *Leonard Arretin* against Hypocrites, where *Gratius* having easily apply'd the Truths that *Leonard Arretin* advances, to the Fathers of the Council, which is not to be believed, altho' the Application was but too just.

9. This Piece that follows contains the Canons of a Council, held by an Archbishop of *Mentz*, nam'd *Arribon*, the year 1023. concerning some abuses of that time, as against Priests, who imagined themselves to be able to extinguish a fire, by casting into it a consecrated Host.

10. There are afterwards two Writings which contain the Examination of *John de Wesel*, Doctor of Divinity, accused of Heresie; he was brought before two Dominicans, *Gerard Elten*, and *James Springer*; the first being an Inquisitor of Faith, in 1479. Some Thomists had remark'd in his Sermons, Propositions they judged Heretical. There are some Opinions suppos'd to be faithfully reported, which agree to those of the Protestants, touching the Scripture, the Authority of the Ecclesiasticks, and fasting. He says (for example) that the holy Scripture must be expounded by its self, and that we are not obliged to comply with Expositions, or other Writings of Doctors. There are also some particular Propositions very remarkable, as this, *Raro reperio vel duas unanimes literatos, etiam in fide. Nullus tenet mecum, dempto Evangelio, ubi omnes sumus concordēs.* I rarely find two Learned Persons of the same Opinion, even in matters of Faith; but no Body is of my Opinion, except in regard to the Evangelists, in which we all agree. He also says, *Quod Papa & Episcopi & Sacerdotes nihil sint ad salutem; sed sola concordia sufficit & pacifice vivere;* that the Pope, Bishops and Priests, are nothing to our Salvation, but Unity alone suffices to live happily. He believed also that one ought rather to give Faith to St. *John*, who says, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father; than to that Article of *Athanasius's* Creed, that these Doctors cite under the name of the Council of *Nice*; which Article says, the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. In the Assembly, where the Inquisitor *Elten* was President, he demands of the accused Doctor, if those Propositions of which we spoke, were his? The Doctor would have explain'd himself more at length, and said, that he did not know that he had writ any thing against the decisions of the Church; but if it was so, he was there to retract it. *Magister noster Gerardus* immediately interrupted him, and told him, after having heard that he was ready to retract the Errors that he had committed: *Petis nunc gratiam? Do you beg pardon?* The Divine answered him, that he could not for errors un-

known to him: And upon that, the Inquisitor said that he shou'd be put in mind of 'em by examining 'em. He came to this *Examen*, which they read in the Original, where they might mark the Spirit of the Inquisition, or those who imitated it. *Magister noster Gerardus* did all he cou'd to manage this poor Doctor, so that he might not justify himself, or draw him from his pretended Errors without a noise, by good reasons: But to render him infamous and guilty, in malignantly explaining all his words; 'twas this made him say with sufficient reason to this misfortune: *After the manner you have used me, if Jesus Christ were here, you might condemn him as a Heretick;* to whom it was answered laughing, *That if he were, he would overcome him by subtilty.* In fine, Whether convinced or no of his errors, Mr. *Wesel* was obliged to make a publick Retraction, and so submit to what penance they pleas'd to impose on him.

He that writ the relation of this Examination, ends with considerable Remarks upon the understanding of the Divines of that time, except, says he, the Article of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, which imports very little; it seems not to have deserv'd so deep a censure as the others. If they had given him time and liberty to consult persons about 'em, he might have clear'd himself, if the most part of the Judges had not been Realists; or if the Religious had not had a mind to insult over a secular Priest, who had no esteem for St. *Thomas*, he might have been proceeded against with more humanity. I can take God to witness, that their manner of dealing with him until he had retracted and burn'd his Books, hath extreamly displeased Mr. *Engelin de Brunswick*, and Mr. *John Keisersberg*, who were Men of Learning and Integrity. Mr. *Engelin* in particular, thought they acted with too much Precipitation against so great a Man as *John de Wesel*; he confesses freely, that the most part of his Articles may be maintain'd. He dissembled not the hatred that the Thomists had against the Moderns (he observes some amongst the Divines of that age, who did not believe St. *Thomas* to be infallible) and the satisfaction the Monks took in triumphing over Seculars: This can be nothing but the Devil, who sow'd this Division amongst the Divines, which causeth so much Inveteracy amongst 'em, and diversity of Opinions, as those who follow *Thomas Ascot*; and if any should deny the Universals to be Realists, they judge him guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost, which they think to be a most culpable sin against God, the Christian Religion, Justice, and all Policy; from whence comes this but from the Devil, who deludes our Imaginations, and draws us to the search of useless things, and cold Speculations, which make us neither devout nor charitable, lest we should oblige our selves to what is more honest, and learn how to regulate

gulate our Manners, and to procure Salvation to our Souls? This is the reason that none is edified, and that the Zeal of *Christians* diminishes daily.

11. The greatest part of the rest of the Writings which compose this Volume, are Complaints that the *Germans* and *French* made some Ages past against many Abuses, whereof they demanded a Reformation at the Court of *Rome*, who troubl'd themselves not much with it. Most of these Pieces are very well known; therefore we shall mention 'em in a few words: There are divers Grievances, that the *Pyets* of the Empire made known to the Pope's Legat, which was sent to 'em, and the Answers of these Legats, to evade the Complaints; *Nicholas de Clemengi's* Writings upon a General Council, and Abuses that ought to be reform'd. The Harangues of *John Francis*, and of *Anthony Cornelius Linnecau*, upon the Depravation of Manners and Discipline, with the Book of *Erasmus* of the manner whereby their Controversies, which divided the Western Churches, are sufficient to put a Period to all these Animosities.

12. In fine, there is some Discourse upon the Original, and Power of the *Turks*, with the manner of its Abatement, and Reasons that introduce *Christian* Princes not to despair of their overthrow. *Orthuinus Gratus*, who hath often placed unuseful Prefaces and Advertisements both at the beginning and ending of his Works, of which I have treated, ends his Collection with a Discourse, where he protests the Innocency of his design in publishing so many Heresies and Complaints against the *Roman Church*; he makes it appear by his Declamations against the Hereticks, which were spread through the whole Work and Advertisements, that he was zealous for the *Roman Religion*, although he wish'd they had Corrected some Abuses which insensibly slip'd into their Manners. He made the *Elegy* upon the Council of *Basil*, and University of *Paris*, and defends others who have opposed themselves to the utmost Authority of the Popes. 'Tis apparent, that all his Zeal against the Hereticks could not hinder him from ranking this Work at *Rome* amongst Prohibited Books. There is more profit in reading the great Preface of *Mr. Brown*, where he not only makes useful Remarks upon this Collection, and upon those of its Supplement; but also relates some curious Pieces, that had not been seen until then, which hath been already spoken of: There are some nevertheless, since this Collection is not for the People; he that publish'd it might very well have forborn many Invectives in his Preface and Notes against the *Roman Church*; and there are a thousand Pieces more proper to declaim against, than a Work of this nature; this is a fault for which *Orthuinus Gratus* hath been oftentimes reprehended.

The Christian Wife of John Mayerus, Professor of Divinity; or three Dissertations about Wedlock, Incest, and Divorces. Amsterdam at Janssonius Waesburgs, 1688. in Quarto, page 438.

SINCE Laws punish Polygamy with so much severity, it seemeth there was no need of the assistance of Divines to stop the disorders which might have given life to a Book, call'd, *Polygamus Triumphans*, written by one *Mrs. Lyserus*; yet this Opinion wou'd nevertheless be as dangerous to the Heart, as to the Mind. For if it was true, that there was a Legitimate privilege, of which the Laws have deprived Man, so as he cou'd act no farther, except he violate them without their taking notice that he was not exempt from their Penalties: Yet Industrious Love would not want means to laugh at their injustice, and enjoy a liberty which should set no limits to his desires. Thus *Mr. Mayerus*, who is a learned Professor at *Harderwick*, finding the Question important, and worthy of his utmost endeavours, undertaketh here to overthrow the imaginary *Triumph of Polygamy*. His Work is divided into three dissertations. The first regards *Polygamy*, the second treats of *Incest*, and the last of *Divorce*. He observes, that the first care of Legislators ought to make Laws for Marriage, which is the Basis and Foundation of Common-wealths. Therefore, after God had imprinted in Man the Inclination which induceth him to Wedlock, he ordered him besides to *encrease and multiply*. The Author grants, that these words include a Command, which concerneth not only Men, but Women also; so that nobody ought to bury their Talents. Yet he adds, that the Obligation was much more indispensable immediately after the Creation and deluge, because the World was then a vast Desert. But the rule ought no more to be taken in the Rigour: Yet he maintains with the Fathers of the Church; that *Adam* looked not on *Eve* as his Wife, nor had for her the tenderness of a Husband, until after his crime. This is it which hath given place to the pleasant Imaginations of the *Rabins* upon the Apple gathered on the Tree of Life, which the Serpent tempted the Woman to taste, who having found it delicious, corrupted the Innocence of the first Man, and made him become the Father of Mankind. Doth it not seem that *Mr. Sarazin* hath sweeten'd this Thought to make his Sonnet so much the more famous against Women?

Mr. Mugerius afterwards maintains, that the Polygamists can draw no advantage from the Command of God, *Encrease and Multiply*, because it bears an unlimited Licence to mix himself indifferently: For this is understood only in relation to a just Marriage, such as God hath instituted from the

the beginning of the World, to wit, between two persons. The proof drawn from the example of Beasts cannot be applied to Man who governs himself according to the Laws of reason, which abhors this confused mixture. If he was governed by a blind instinct meerly, it might be maintained, that there is nothing criminal in the most unlawful Copulations. After all, Is not the Turtle-Dove with its tender Coatings, and Sighs, the Symbol of Conjugal Fidelity? Its true, that Men sometimes resemble wild Beasts which tear one another, the most powerful destroy the weakest. His Passions, which tyrannise over him, and keep him as a Slave in Chains, often overwhelm Reason which distinguishes him from them. Nevertheless they enjoy, say they, much more than he does this precious liberty, which he prostitutes to whosoever will buy it; and according to *Montaigne*, *We are but the Tenants of our life*. But these disorders suffice not to take from Man all his Prerogatives. The Arts and Sciences which enlighten his reason, and enrich his mind, give him a Preheminence which suffers not these odious Comparisons. It is not to lose his liberty when it is limited only by reason, and the Laws of Society: It is on the contrary a more noble liberty which cannot be put in competition with this natural brutality which makes the liberty of Animals. It followeth then, that he ought not, as they say, to trample under foot Modesty and Chastity, and being endowed with an understanding, he ought to distinguish himself from Beasts in the very things which he resembles them most in, to shew that he doth not behave himself like unto them, by a brutish impetuosity, and that he can bridle his desires.

Having answered the vain Declamations of the Polygamists, the Author strives to shew that Polygamy is repugnant to the Law of Nature; and he calls the *Law of Nature* the Will of God, who hath fixed Laws of Nature in the Creation of one only Man, and one only Woman, which he hath formed upon that account. He pretends also that it overturneth natural Equity; because it is not just that a Wife should be constrained under the Yoak of an exact Fidelity, whilst the Husband is prodigal of his Conjugal Love elsewhere: Both of 'em, according to him, are strictly tyed by this Precept of Law, *To give to every one what belongs unto him*. Men, if we believe *St. Gregory of Nazianzen*, do abstain only because they have made Laws which take away a tyrannical authority over a Sex, which hath no other power to defend its Rights, but that of Charms and Natural Graces. The Wanderings of a Husband then are Frauds and Stealths, and directly contrary to the Fundamental Contracts of Marriage, by which he obligeth himself solemnly to his Wife. *Mr. Myerius* adds, That Poligamy is opposite to the tender Union which ought to be be-

tween Marry'd Persons. Diversity of Women divorces and weakeneth the Desires and Transports of the Heart. It is with them as with *Brooks*, which being divided into several Branches, leave dry those Meadows from whence they arose in abundance. It was for this reason that the *Hebrews* called him who kept himself single *a sad half of Man*; whence it's easie to conclude, *that he hath need but of another half*. The Jealousie which would infallibly kindle amongst the Women, seems yet another important reason to the Author, against the Opinion of Polygamists. For it would be a Civil-war as dangerous in the small Domestick State, as in a Commonwealth wherein every one would be Master. Those which unhappily find, that

*Repenting Marriage claims the Rights
Of Palling Joys, and Tedious Nights.*

Will not perhaps think these Arguments convincing. As Marriages are commonly the Works of Love or Fortune, how can we still apply our selves to the same person, when the Heart hath not chosen her; or to make our tenderness live longer than the Charms which gave it birth? Second Marriages would remedy all, and would be a kind of Infidelity, and Inconstancy without a crime. Besides, the Jealousie of several Women animated with a design to please and to be preferred, is not without Charms. Is it not said, That the Patriarch *Jacob* was rejoyced by the Emulation of *Lea*, which had given Mandrakes to obtain what was due to the Beauty of *Rachel*? Whilst a Woman which hath no Rival, keeps the heart of her Husband without any fear of losing it. But this is to be understood something more seriously; and it is maintain'd, that the reasons which favour Poligamy are suggested by the Intemperance and corruption of the Heart. And indeed Honesty (which is an inviolable Law in good Manners) doth not suffer these Extravagant Conjunctions, and Immoderate Transports. Love, who only looks on the heart of the person beloved, cannot consent to those new Engagements which divide his Cares and Wishes. But Debauchery may be extended to a thousand, because it hath but unsettled Sentiments. After that the Author enters into a Calculation of numbers, to perswade Men what a rashness it is to have several Women at once. *Juvenal* saith, who reckon'd it amongst the Troubles of Marriage, that if a poor Husband hath slept quietly all Night, nothing is in order the next day, and the Wife expresseth nothing but Discontent, after a most Terrible manner.

*Si nocte maritus
Aversus jacuit tota, periit domus.*

All the Infirmities which spring from Debauchery, are here marked out as so many Reasons to overthrow Polygamy, and we must not forget to take notice of the Pains of the Gout, which make Old Men remember the sins of their Youth. In fine, because Errour seems to have its spring as much from the Temperament, as from the Heart, Mr. *Mayerus* prescribes ways how to overcome it. He compareth the Flesh to a mad Horse, which ought to be tamed by Temperance and Work.

In the 4th. Chapter he answers the great Argument of the Polygamists, which is drawn from almost all people who have ever made use of it. To end the Dispute of this History, the Author observes, that the Author of Polygamy was *Lamech*, and his example, though a great Libertine, was almost generally followed: So that the *Rabbins* maintain, that before the Flood, they were wiser than we in following Ages, because they took two Wives, one for Pleasure and Delight, and the other only to get Children. The Emperors *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, and *Honorius* in 393. forbid Polygamy by an express Law. It is certain that until then it was very common throughout the whole Empire, and with the Nations of the East. The Romans, which were a little more severe in their Manners, did not put it in practice. *Mark Anthony*, being seduced by the Charms of *Cleopatra*, was the first who took the liberty of marrying two Wives; although some pretend, that *Cæsar* had introduced the liberty by a Law which was since renewed by the Emperour *Valentinian* the I. Whence Polygamists may conclude, that it is a natural Law, because *Grotius* confounds the Law of Nations, with that of Nature. And Mr. *Mayerus* is of Opinion, that the Corruption and Errors of Nations constitute not the Laws of Nations, since we have seen some so barbarous as to feed on human Flesh: So we must consult the Laws of Nations the most polite, and see if they have been enlighten'd by the Gospel, and conducted by Reason in the Establishment of their Laws. As for *Cæsar*, it is not true, that he published such a Law; but as he was the most voluptuous of all Men, it was said of him, that he was the Husband of all Women, and the Wife of all Husbands. *Suetonius* saith, that he intended thereby to authorize his Baseness under the vail of a Lawful Polygamy. They say, the same thing of *Valentinian*, who renewed not the Edict of *Cæsar*, as *Socrates* hath reported it, or who did it through the same motive; to wit, that he abused the Supreme Authority to colour his double Marriage, contrary to the Purity of Christianity. The Examples of *Abraham* and the Patriarchs, seem to be more pressing, and better to fortifie the cause of Polygamists; but Mr. *Mayerus* sheweth, that the Patriarchs having no Revelation, followed the custom which was in that time: Yet their ignorance can be no proof for it, and we must

not imitate them, seeing we have Revelation for a Guide. As to *Moses*, it is not agreed on, that besides *Zipperah*, he married the Daughter of the King of *Ethiopia*, as *Joseph* testifies. After that, the Author taking all the Passages of Scripture, which command Man to be satisfied with one Wife only; he clears this matter with a great deal of Learning, and attacks the Chimerical Opinion of the Polygamists by most positive Authorities, drawn from the New Testament (amongst others, by the 12th. Chapter of St. *Matthew*) which wholly blots out the strong impressiion that Examples could make, which God had tolerated under the Old.

The second Dissertation is employed to speak of unlawful Degrees of Kindred, and in which it is not permitted to contract Marriage. If we considered nothing but the Law of Nations, every one would have a full liberty in his choice. The Persons that are the nearest related, would not be excluded thence, that they might joyn to that of Blood, a more tender Union, and tye the Knot still closer.

Gentes tamen esse feruntur
In quibus & nato genitrix, & nata parenti
Jungitur, ut pietas geminato crescat amore:
Ovid.

But God having prohibited us to marry in certain degrees of Proximity, no body ought to oppose it. To that end, Mr. *Mayerus* gives us a Theological Explication of all the Precepts of *Leviticus* upon this matter. He speaks accidentally of several Questions which spring from those Laws, where all the Cases are not expressed. The Decision of it might be expected from Lawyers; but so many curious things would not be found in them, and chiefly concerning the *Jews* and *Karaites*, whose Opinions are here expounded, and which may be read with a great deal of profit: Yet we shall stop but at one general difficulty, which is to know if the Levitical-Law is a moral and natural Law, or simply a Ceremonial one, which the Church may pass by: Those who extol the power of the Pope, stick not at flattering him with this Power, excepting in a direct line. Some Protestants have embraced the same Party, and maintained, that these Politick Laws had respect only to the Republick of the *Jews*. The Author is of the contrary Sentiment, and pretends that as there is Incest betwixt the Father and Grand-Daughter, there is no difference for the other prohibited degrees. According to him, the Commands in *Leviticus* are not pure Ceremonies, and Rules of Policy; they are the Determinations of Reason and Sense, and the Decrees of Nature, which God hath engraven in our Hearts. In effect, natural Modesty resists these Marriages betwixt Persons so near, in whose Veins the same Blood seems still to run. As Decency and Honesty ought always to preside, it is better to be too scrupu-

scrupulous, for fear of wounding good Manners, than to expose our selves to give a scandal to the publick. Consequently, the Pope cannot dispense with the Precepts of *Leviticus*, which are of a positive right. It was the Opinion of *Thomas Aquinas*, that these Laws are Obligatory, and of a perpetual Observation, with which the Pope cannot dispense, because his Authority is Inferiour to him that made them. The greatest part of the Doctors which were consulted upon the famous question of the Divorcement of *Henry the VIII.* which made so much noise in the last Age, upheld the same Sentiment. To this we shall add but one thing; That there ought to be some difference put betwixt the Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity. The latter do not produce so streight a connexion, and often are but fictitious, which Men have invented for Decency, whilst the first are formed by Blood, and Nature it self.

In the third Dissertation, which treats of Divorces, Mr. *Mayerus* maintains that under the ancient Law, Women taken in Adultery were punished with the utmost Punishments. But since that time, Men have been mighty slack in this: For now the whole affront is on the Husbands side; and it hath been very prettily said, that if a young Woman commits Uncleanness, it is for her self; and that if a Wife doth as much, it is imputed to her Husband. Neither is it remark'd, that this extream rigidness was practised amongst the *Jews*. On the contrary, here its related, that there was amongst them two Opinions, which divided them: The one maintained, that the Bill of Divorce could be given for Adultery only; the other, that it could be done on other occasions, provided they were of consequence; Deformity for example, old Age, or ill humour, or for boiling the Meat too much. Howbeit, Mr. *Mayerus* proves, that Adultery is the only cause for which Marriage may be dissolved; and shews it plainly by the words of *Jesus Christ* in the Gospel. This truth cannot be withstood; but the use on't would be dangerous in so corrupt an Age as ours, and where the disloyalty of Women is only a pleasant entertainment. The best on't is, that each quietly dissembles his Disgraces and Sorrows, without rushing into sad demonstrations of it: And Men laugh as well at the Accuser as the accused. It is then better prudently, not to clear our selves herein, and to believe our suspicions and restlessness ill grounded. When all is done, there are such Husbands, as it is difficult to be faithful to them, and whose Person is a kind of excuse for the Weaknesses and Errors of a young Heart. For in fine, we do not love by Reason and Duty, and nothing is truer than,

*Who gives his Child, a Man she hates,
Must answer all the faults such Cypre creates.*

Moliere.

Discourses upon the Sciences, in which, besides the Method of studying, it is taught how we ought to make use of Sciences, to enrich our Minds with Justice, and our Hearts with Piety, for the Good of the Church: With Advice to such as live Retire in Holy Orders at Bruxels. Sold by Eug. Henry Frick, 1614. in 12s. and at Rotterdam, by Reiniers Leers.

There is all the likelyhood in the World, that these Discourses were made by the same Father of the Oratory, who is the Author of the *Art of speaking*, and of the new reflection upon the *Art of Poetry*. He is a Man that understands the Mathematicks, examines things with much application, expresses himself clearly, and who wanted no fine Thoughts. As he has studied much, it was impossible for him not to observe the usual defects, as to the Methods which are followed in studying: He gives us his Reflections thereupon. They are sometimes superficial enough, but it is a mark of his Judgment; for a Book that is for the use of all those that study, must not be filled with Depths and Abstractions, which is to refer all to God. All the World needs to be advertised thereof, and the Men of Letters more than others.

The first of the seven Discourses where-with this Work is composed, shews the Profit of Learning: But after that we are shewn that it is prejudicial to certain Men, because it swells and spoils their Mind, and that it procures them nothing which doth free them from this loss. A man, saith this Author, whom too violent an Application to his studies hath made sick, and reduced into Poverty through his neglecting his Affairs, amongst Persons which neglect or despise him, which is the common lot of Learned Men: This man, I say, is esteem'd by perhaps a dozen Scholars, English, German, Italian, &c. whereof one speaks of him advantageously in strange Countries, another cites his Works with Encomiums; but these praises which scarcely do reach him, do not deliver him from his Sickness, do not feed him, nor secure him against the Judgments of God. We are moreover advertised, that over-curiosity is no less prejudicial to Men of study, than Pride; it is necessary notwithstanding, very necessary to study. Let the Debauched boast as much as they will of their Genius and Wit, the Author cannot believe their Ability, even in sensual Pleasures. To advance in Letters, saith he, we must love Solitude; deprive our selves of pastimes, resist the lightness of our Mind, which requires change; we must oblige our selves to a certain rule for rising, for going to Bed, for taking our Meals, and our Recreations, that we may fix the hours of our Study, and find time, which we should employ thereat. These are Labours essentially

entially necessary to become Learned. After that, we must no more admire that amongst so many that are destined for Studies, there are so few that succeed. True it is, that we see People who pleased themselves in naming certain Learned Persons, which have been very disorderly in their Youth. The name of these Learned Men is cited in all places; but it is an ill excuse for the Slothful and Voluptuous to make use of where they see that they are upbraided with the Abuse which they make of their time; and that they are foretold of the sorrowful Consequences thereof. It is an unhappy Illusion: It is impossible, that those who constantly study may not become very Learned; but it is almost impossible, that a Man who doth not extremely study, should acquire much Learning; and if the few Examples which are alledged were examined well, it would be found, that they are neither extraordinary Wits, nor have they much Learning, but only a little Address to hide their Ignorance. Scarcely do we know any thing, when we study Night and Day. How should we be learned without studying much? The Author gives some Advice to them that would instruct others, and maintains with a great deal of reason, that it is by good Logick that we ought to begin to study.

After having given us some general Counsels, he descends to particular ones in the third Discourse, as to that which we call the Study of human Letters. He saith, that as in a Common-wealth there must be People who inhabit Mountains and Barren places; it is also in Letters advantageous, and even of the order of Providence, that there should be Persons that are willing to cultivate the most unfertile Grounds. A Man which looks upon it as a great thing, (adds he) to know what was the order of the Monks of the Macedonians is despicable; but he that collects this order (if there was occasion for it) the clearing thereof deserves so much the more praise as his work is the more painful. Its unnecessary, that all the World should study Arabick; but 'tis necessary some Body should be found, whom one should have recourse unto, when this Language is of any necessity. This is for the instruction of those who absolutely condemn all the Studies which have not a continual use in the course of civil Life, and which do not bring as great Riches into the Country, as the Occupation of Merchants: Several other good Reflections may be seen in this third Treatise.

The fourth begins with very pious Discourses, which are followed with several Considerations upon Poetry and Grammar. The Author describes the advantages and necessity of Eloquence, and advises to the reading of Cicero. *There is no Author amongst the antient Heathens, saith he, whose Study is more useful for the solidity of Thoughts, for the admirable Maxims,*

for the Idiom of the Latin Tongue, and for the fine way of discovering Truth, and making it known with so much variety and fruit, that the Minds of the most distracted are necessitated to perceive it.

The fifth Discourse contains a Description of the Life, which the Congregation of the Fathers of the Oratory had. The Author speaks very finely thereof; for example, that although they do not make the three Vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, they are notwithstanding observ'd. *There is no Indulgence, saith he, for the opposite Vice to Chastity. Those that cannot be profitable to Persons of a different Sex, never to speak to them, though they are consecrated to God. Those which are confessed, are seldom seen out of the Tribunal of Penitents. What Conversations they have with them are short, never by nights, nor in remote places, but as publick as can be, and in presence of Witnesses. By this means Scandal is avoided, and suspicions, being vigorously punished, the Crime is not committed.* He adds, that they undertake nothing which engageth them to great Expences, as Magnificent Buildings, Guildings, rich Paintings; and that also they have no necessity of making recourse to rich Persons, not in danger of betraying their Ministry by baseness and flattery: *It is a Crime with us, pursues he, to intrude into Families, to meddle with Marriages, or Law Suits.* He speaks much of their manner of studying, and instructing young Persons. He saith, that when they find any penetrating and great Wit, which hath a good Genius for their Sciences, he is disburthen'd of all other Affairs; and they believe, that he cannot render better Services to the Church than by studying. He saith also, that they use great Precaution to those who desire to enter into their Society; for if they have any Inclination to Vice, and feel themselves weak, they are advised to uphold themselves by Religious Vows, and to shut themselves up in Cloysters. If they have fallen into great Crimes, they are perswaded to fix on Monasteries, and to pass their whole life in Repentance therein, without ever making themselves Priests. But if they give marks of a holy Calling, without perceiving themselves called to an Austere Religion, they are received without speaking to them of receiving any Order; but after being purified by a long Penitence, in which, a regulate Life, and remote from all Commerce with the World, makes the Principal part. He relates several other things infinitely glorious to this illustrious Congregation, but he advertises us in two or three places, that he makes not an *Encomium*, but gives an *Image of an Holy Community*; wherein may be seen what Men ought to be. He adds to his fifth Discourse, what hath been said of the *Cyclopedie* of Xenophon, that it was not an History, but the Idea of a wise Government, *non ad Historiæ fidem, sed ad effigiem veri Imperii Scriptum esse.*

It is the means of appeasing a little the other Orders of the Church, which might perhaps believe that they had a design to oppress them.

The two following Discourses are plac'd in a Library which is valued at more than 20000 Crowns. There are considered the Books that are most necessary for each Science, and the most proper Method to make a good use thereof. He speaks very contemptuously of the Scholasticks, and maintains it is sufficient to read one or two of them, because commonly they do but copy one another. He has not more consideration for the Casuists, but believes them dangerous for the most part, because they seem to confirm Sinners against God, and teach them the means to shuffle with him, in shewing them how far they may offend him without his having a right to punish them. M. Bornier in

his excellent Abridgment of *Tome 7. p. the *Philosophy of Gassendus 529. 2 edit. relates a Spanish Proverb which he heard the late chief President of Moignon say, That those who trouble themselves to seek for a prop to their doubts amongst Casuists, seek silently to perplex the Law of God, *Quieren pleytear contra la ley de Dios.* Afterwards he speaks of Preachers, and praiseth above all others Father le Jeune, and a Father of the Oratory, who lately died with the Reputation of one of the first Preachers of his time, though he only clothed Father le Jeune after such a manner as might be acceptable to the World. They had this in common, that both Lived as they Preached. The latter had no concern with the World, but by necessity, and he was never seen at Feasts, where Preachers destroy all that they have maintained, according to our Author.

At the end of this Book are two Letters of Morality: The first treats of the beauty and necessity of Order: The second presents to an Ecclesiastick, who would leave his Retreat to take a Benefice upon him, the danger he exposed himself to by this change. He shews him how the Commerce of the World is dangerous, and how it sometimes happens, that a Priest, who hath resolution enough to renounce lewd Pleasures, yields to the temptation of Goodfellowship. At first the necessity of eating is pleasing to him, which afterwards he prevents, and eats between Meals, will have Sauces, and employs in them the Money he at first gave the Poor. He gets him Friends who are people of pleasure and Goodfellowship. He thinks himself no longer rich enough, but seeks after Benefices; he is distast'd at a Regular Life, and in a little time becomes like the Laicks, *Commixti sunt inter Gentes & didicerunt operum:* For in fine, he keeps not Company with them in their Pleasures, to Preach Repentance. They invite him, to divert themselves with him, and he strives to be neither Incommodious, nor Displeasing. He, like to them, esteems

Goodfellowship, they Sing, they provoke one another to Drink. It is indeed a most dangerous Temptation for Ecclesiastical Persons: They are too much afraid, lest they should pass for Formal Men, and interrupt the Pleasures of a good Meal. They are too solicitous, lest People should complain, that they are not contented only to be tedious in their Sermons.

A Recital of the Conference that Luther had with the Devil, given by Luther himself in his Book of the Private Mass about the Unction of Priests; with Remarks upon his Conference at Paris, by John Baptista Coignerd, 1684.

THIS is the third Edition of this Work of Monsieur Cordermoi. He relates the Dispute, that Luther confesses himself he had one Night with the Devil, touching private Masses, and draws from them most grievous and odious Consequences against the Protestants. The Lutherans who have made so great a number of Books, ought to oppose him. It looks as if he was not willing to destroy the disadvantageous Idea that it represented to the mind when in a Dream, or any other manner, an Instruction is received from the Devil; for as he is call'd in the Evangelist the Father of Lies, so there is no great Persuasion necessary to make one believe he never spoke truth: But we ought to conclude otherwise when a Spirit is so wicked as himself, which delights in the disorder of the World, and in committing many Crimes, so that nothing is more hateful to him than the Truth, that he shou'd be capable to Induce Men to speak the Truth: 'Tis not wonderful that the Providence of Almighty God, who often to his end makes use of second Causes, and sometimes employs the Malice of the Devil to the advancement of good. Now in part omitting here the Question, Whether Luther Preaches the Truth, or not? It is easily apprehended, that 'tis possible that an Evil Spirit might at that time believe a Lye would be less proper than the Truth, to excite cruel Passions in their minds. It is not very likely that any thing was more pleasing to the Devil, than the Discord that was caused about the Contest of Truth. As for Example, The Ten Persecutions of the Ancient Church sufficiently shew.

The Grand Seignior's Spy, and his Secret Relations sent to the Divan of Constantinople, discovered at Paris in the Reign of Lewis the Great, in Twelves, at Amsterdam, by Westhein.

THIS Work was Counterfeited at Amsterdam, with the consent of the Bookseller of Paris who first Printed it; its composed of many little Volumes, which contain the most considerable Events of Christendom in general, and of France particularly, from the Year 1637. to 1682. An Italian, Native of Genoa, Marana by Name, gives these Relations as Letters Written to the Ministers of the Ports, by a Turkish Spy, who conceal'd himself at Paris. He pretends he Translated it from Arabick into Italian, and relates at length how he found them. It's probably suppos'd 'tis the product of an Italian Spirit, and an Ingenious Fiction like to that which Virgil made use of to praise Augustus. This Poet very often introduces Anchises, sometimes Vulcan, who to praise this Emperor more artificially, begins by little and little, and falls by degrees into the Panegyrick, which was the Poets main design; this is much handsomer than to praise a Prince purely with a prospect of Interest. Its thought, that the Sieur Marana had no other design, than to make an Elogy upon His Most Christian Majesty; the better to conceal his Game, and to render him something marvellous, he puts into the mouth of a Turk, that which himself had studied upon the Glorious Actions of this Puissant Monarch; but before he hath done, makes his Spy say many other things; 'tis no matter whether it be a Turk, or Genoesse that speaks to us, provided he gives us a good Book. The first Book is very agreeable, it contains the History of the last Month, from the Year 1637. and of the most part of the Year 1638.

An Anatomical Bibliotheque:

Or, a New and Copious Treasury of Anatomical Discoveries; in which there is a full and exact Description of the whole Human Body, which is accurately treated of, from the Collections of the Tractates of the most Famous Anatomists, Publish'd and Unpublish'd: To which is added, an Anatomical Administration of all its parts, with divers Curious Preparations: A Work very profitable and necessary for Anatomists, Physicians, Surgeons, Philosophers, and all Learned Men whatever, performed by Daniel le Clerke, and Johannes Jacobus Mangetus, M. M. D.D. who have supply'd the Tractates, Arguments, Notes, and Anatomico-practical Observations, with necessary Indexes, and a great number of Copper Cuts. Geneva, at the expence of Johannes Antonius-Chouet, in Folio 2 Vol. 1684.

A Title so well Circumstantiated as this, seems to leave nothing for the Journalists, or the Novelists of the Learned to add. It carries the Recommendation, and Praise of the Work with it self. Nevertheless if we had seen it, we would observe many things of this Anatomical Bibliotheque; but how can we see it, not being yet publish'd, but hope it may be soon ready for the Press. 'Twill be a most useful Work, because it unites in one Body many Books of Anatomy that were dispers'd, and being joyn'd together from a Compleat Anatomy, there are divers pieces of Mr. Malpighi, and some Celebrated Authors, which never appear'd in the World. Those who have endeavour'd to gather so many separated Pieces together, and give an account of them as soon as they came out, are Mr. Clerk, and Mr. Manget Physicians of Geneva, which will be very serviceable to the Republick of Letters. There was Printed also in Geneva, the Research of Truth, translated into Latin, with a handsome Preface, which the Translator had joyned thereto, to shew the usefulness of those Principles; the Author hath offer'd to give some Advice to them who would read the Work with advantage: And in fine, 'tis to shew that it is impossible to have an exact knowledge of these things, if we are not skill'd in the Abstracts of Metaphysicks: If any will buy the whole Edition, Sieur John Picteat, Bookseller at Geneva, will sell it at a reasonable Price. 'Tis in Quarto.

A Treatise of the Excellency of Marriage; of its necessity, and of the means of Living Happy therein: Where is an Apology made for Women, against the Calumnies of Men: By James Chauffe, Master of the Court-Rolls. Printed at Paris, sold by Samuel Parrier in the Pallace, 1685. in Twelves, and at Amsterdam, by Peter Morteri.

I Have in the first Article of the last Month said, that 100 Officious Writers might please themselves infinitely in imploying their Pens to the Glory of the Fair Sex: He needs be no great Divine that says so; and he must have but a little Memory, and a very mean Knowledge of Books, who without this Treatise, is afraid of being deceived in judging as we do, since so many have Written in favour of Women in all Countries, and all Ages of the World. We shall always find some who exercise themselves with pleasure upon this repeated Subject. How many Books have we seen in favour of Women? Those Written by Monks, would stock a Library; even the Chief Magicians, (according to the Common Opinion) have Written upon this Inviting Subject, as appears by the Discourse of Agrippa, *De nobilitate & præcellentia femineæ Sexus*. I know some have Writ against them, but their number is inferior to those who spoke in their Praise. There are too many, as well on the one side as the other; but those who know how to Write, being sensible of the trouble there is to keep the Mean, more easily pardon the Extreams these Authors fall into. 'Tis very difficult to maintain Marriage without decrying Celibacy, and speak for a single Life, without bringing Marriage into Disgrace. Therefore we ought to excuse those who cannot shun this Rock. St. Jerom had so little power in this Affair, that his Friends were forc'd to suppress some of his Books, where under pretext of establishing Continency, he entirely ruin'd the Doctrin of the Church concerning Marriage. Some say, that Mr. Chauffe runs upon the different Rock, when he says, *That Marriage is the only way to Paradise, and 'tis to rob himself of the greatest happiness, and the most solid Blessings of this Life, to forbear entering into the Matrimonial State*. But certainly when they only imputed these thoughts to him, they forgot the Declaration, which he made in these decisive Terms, *Nothing is better, nor more excellent than Marriage, except an absolute Continency*. There are some who indifferently regard the Disputes of these Authors, and only divert themselves, as if they saw different Persons acting a Comedy. Yet there cannot be seen, without some agreeable Sentiments, two Books

publish'd at Paris, both at the same time, each well arm'd with *Approbation and Privilege*, which maintains absolute Contraries upon the great Theme of *Matrimony*. One of these Books is an Answer of Mr. Ferrand to his Apology for the Reformation; the other is that of which we are going to speak. Marriage is in it every where, almost elevated to the highest point of perfection, where Fidelity continues during this Life; but in the other Book 'tis to Virginity, that this advantage is attributed, and that in so violent a manner, that if we follow'd the Maxims of the Author, cited step by step, we shou'd look upon Married Parsons but as Vultures and Swine. We ought certainly to remit something of each side, and say, that Celibacy and Marriage are, speaking Morally, in themselves neither good nor bad. Those who remit nothing on the part of Marriage, will immediately shew us how to prove the Excellency thereof, by these three Reasons.

First, Because it was God that Instituted Marriage in the Earthly Paradise, during the State of Innocency.

Secondly, There is nothing agrees better with Man than Marriage, nor is more adapted to his Necessities.

Thirdly, That Marriage is the most necessary thing in the World to maintain Society, Wildom, and Chastity.

These three Proofs are clearly amplified, these two Considerations annex.

First, *That Marriage is the most perfect Bond, the sweetest and most beneficial of all humane Unions*.

The Second, *That 'tis the most legitimate and agreeable exercise, and of the most absolute Authority in the World*.

This he proves by most lively Descriptions, and observes, that this Union includes both Body and Souls, that it represents the greatest Mysteries of Religion, that 'tis a Source of sweetness, and infinite Consolations, and which furnishes us with excellent Vertues, as Patience, Charity, and a desire to improve our selves amongst the number of the Elect, and Fellow-Citizens: He adds, that the Father of a Family is Master of a little State, where he exercises the Function of a King, Priest, and Prophet. It allows him a very lawful and priviledg'd satisfaction of that desire which rules in a Man: He ends with this Consideration, *That in one sense nothing can be more excellent than Marriage, since 'tis an Universal Custom, and the most general of all Societies in all times, all places, and all sorts of persons, how different soever*. This seems to me a just Abridgment of the first part of the Work.

In the second is represented the Infamy of Incontinency, considering three sorts of people that plunge themselves therein, one by Inclination, another by Habit, and the last by both, but with this difference, that the first look upon Lasciviousness as their Sovereign good, whereas the second con-

tinues

tinues there in spite of themselves, being subjected to the force of Custom and Temper; but the last look upon these Irregularities as an *Innocent Gallantry*.

The Author considers besides that, four sorts of Importunities; that of the *Heart*, of the *Eyes*, of the *Mouth*, and that of the *Hand*; he shews wherein they consist; he proves 'em Criminal, and gives the Reason why God hath so severely prohibited such things to Man, as he was Naturally inclined to, and why he tolerated *Polygamy* in the Ancient Patriarchs.

The Third Part contains the full End and chief Design of the Author; for he writ this Book only to persuade the necessity of Marriage to a considerable Person whom he extremely Honoured, for his Merit and Family, where in this place he displays all his force to represent to the life, those Motives that ought to persuade People to Marry, he immediately proposes this Principle, *there is nothing but Marriage that can naturally preserve Man from the guilt of unchastity, and by consequence that 'tis necessary for Salvation*. After that other Reasons seem Superfluous: Nevertheless, the Author sticks not to this great Principle which he ought to make appear, since he believes it is true, but he brings many other Advantages with abundance of Truth; he urges the usefulness of Continency, he says, *that the most Favourable Judgment of the Wisest about a single life is, that 'tis a virtue neither good nor bad and that being without Action it is a kind of Vice*. He maintains that God made Two Sexes in Nature, to shew they cannot subsist without being joyn'd together; he sends us to learn of the Animals amongst which the Mutual love of Males for Females, and Females for Males is common to every Individual; after this he considers Men as Men in a State, in a Family, and in a Church, and he says, that in all these regards they are obliged to Marry, because (adds he) 'tis necessary to endeavour to preserve their own kind, as they are Citizens to the Republick, Successors to their Families, and Servants to the Church; he speaks very large upon these three Duties, and considering the Beauty and Perfections of Man, he is wrapp'd up in admiration, and says, can there be any thing more Noble than the Ambition of Producing Creatures so perfect? He asks if it is possible that we should be so much moved with the Glory of making a fine Book, drawing a Beautiful Picture, or a handsome Statue, and should not be sensible of the Glory of making of Man. This appears so Noble and Admirable that all men that we read of in Scriptures, have thought themselves very happy in it; as *Ishmael* and *Abdan*, of which the first had 30 Sons and 30 Daughters, and as many Sons and Daughters in Law; and the second had 40 Sons and 30 Grandsons, whom he saw altogether on Horse back. O God, (cries he out) can any thing be added more to the Happiness of a Father, can any thing be seen

more memorable in the Life of Man! In my Opinion it exceeds all the Acts of Cesar and Alexander. such an Increase is more Noble than any Action that can be found in History. Hence he supposes that *Augustine* had acquir'd more Glory, if instead of leaving so many Volumes he had furnished the World with 30 Children, and he would persuade us that the Invention of *Archimedes* and *Des Chartes* are Trifles in Comparison of the Exploits of a simple Country Fellow, who helps to People the World by lawful means; I say lawfully, For the Author thinks no Off-Spring good that is not from Marriage. He fortifies his Proofs as much as possible, and goes back to the Ancient Jews, observing that Marriage being one of these things which generally happen, sooner or later, it is better to engage our selves in happy time, than after a thousand declamations against it, whilst we are hurrying on to old Age, when Marriage can produce nothing but vexatious consequences, *Dom. Antonius de Guevara*, Preacher to *Charles* the 5th. represents it very Ingeniously in one of his florid Epistles.

Yet what Reasons appear so fine and commodious to *Monsieur Chaus*, are subject to a little Inconveniency, because they are the same which are brought for *Polygamy*, and which indeed is the best Argument for it; and because they ruin a Notion that was very common, even among those, who for Political Reasons ascribed a kind of dishonour to a single Life. The Notion is, That a Widow which Marries not, is more esteemed than she that a second time admits another into her Embraces: We have not much Authority for this, only the words *Virgil* makes *Dido* speak, teacheth us that it was the opinion of the Ancients.

*Ille meus primus qui me sibi junxit Amoris,
Abstulit, ille babeat secum servetque sepulcro.*

The Ideas of Honesty are more Favourable to second Marriage, therefore we must agree to 'em: But 'tis as certain that these Weddings were formerly, and still are subject to many Canonick Penalties; and if you'll believe the Learned Counsel, who assisted in the *Laws of the Queen*, the Devolution that hath been in certain Countries was established there but to keep the widowers from Incontinency, and prevent their second Marriages, to the great prejudice of the first Wives Children; all this is silenced by the principles of our Author: For if we agree with him, we shall find that a Widow which Marries not at the end of six Months at the least, is answerable to God, her Country, and Mankind, to the State, her House, and to the Church, all the time she lives in Widowhood, since she robs the Publick of a great Advantage, and Generation, the most memorable thing, that can be done of the handsomest Action of life, and of atchieving a more Illustrious Glory,

Glory, than *Alexander* and the *Cesars*: According to these Principles, the man whereof *St. Jerom* speaks, that had been a Widower 21 times, and Married a Wife that buried as many Husbands, was an *Incomparable Hero*, and that he and his Wife ought to be received into the Catalogue of Saints: We may say also, according to the same Principles, that Incontinence is a great Sign of Gods Favour, since it obliges Man to keep in the State of Matrimony, and make himself as Famous as possible by the Increase of Children. This may be said in the abuse of *Monsieur Chause* his Reasons; but no Equitable Persons will put so far fetch'd an Inference upon the Intention of the Author. Now let us review the 4th Part.

It is designed as an answer to those which exclaim against Marriage: The Author is consider'd as an oppositor against all Mankind, and it ought not to be taken for a Contradiction, altho he acknowledges in another place that all the World should Marry, for he had drawn from thence a proof of the Excellency of Marriage. Nevertheless 'tis next a Contradiction what he says here, provided it be true that those who are Marry'd speak ill of the State. If men will Criticize, it must not be upon what they ought to do, but rather upon the extream difficulties which the Author represents in the Combat he undertakes, since it is certain all that is said against Marriage, hath been only for a little merriment, and is very little perswasive, since it makes but a slight Impression upon the greatest number of Men; he refutes these Railers who speak contrary to their practice; for very often, if they lose their Wife, they take another in three or four days after: But as the Author hath writ his Book in Favour of a Man of another Temper, that is to say, who would not so much as hear of the Conjugal Bond, he endeavours to make all the Apologies he can for Marriage, First, against those who raise Accusations against the Conduct of Women. Secondly, Against those who found it upon the Nature of Marriage it self. Thirdly, such as say, the consequences and obligations are an unsupportable Yoke. These three chief Accusations furnish him with a large Field, in which the Reader may trace him with pleasure.

The first Head is composed of divers Branches, which the Author displays without any dissimulation: Having collected faithfully the chief Invektives against the Sex, he afterwards answers them in order, using the same sincerity in relation to the Reasons that respect the other two Heads; and says, amongst other things, *That the state of Angels and Saints, ought not to be alledged as a prejudice against Marriage, since on that account their possession is equal with the Devil and the damn'd.*

The last part is very important, for it treats of the most likely means to make our Marriage happy. The Author gives us thereupon many good Counsels; first,

that after having recommended our selves to God, who presides in a more particular manner over that state, we make a Choice of such a Person as pleases us, and who has an agreeable Temper. It would not be unpleasing to have her handsome; but since 'tis not very common to find such a one, we ought to be contented, if she please us, whether she does others or no; and that 'tis not always advantageous for the Wife to please all the World: But 'tis not sufficient to be pleas'd with her Beauty, except there be a Sympathy in Humours. The Author advises us to study the Genius of those we design to marry, that may the better succeed in spite of the Address that some make use of to hide their weakness; he adds for the better security, that we may choose one that is young, and resides near our own habitation. In the first place he advises to a choice in a well ordered Family, and to observe the equality of Condition and Fortune, and to take care that she has no such pre-engagements as may make her marry him by constraint: To these things only, which regard the Lover he adds two others for the choice of a Husband, which relate both to Women and Children; he adviseth them upon the whole to a conjugal Amity, good Example, Devotion and Moderation in the pleasures of the Bed, and gives good reasons for what he says. There is upon this subject also one of the elegant Epistles of *Anthimus de Guerre's* Advice, touching the Education of Children. In fine, we may say without flattering *Mr. Chause*, that there appears in the whole Book the Character of an honest Man, and good Christian, without prejudicing his Favour; we may see, besides good Wit, much reading of the ancient Poets, many things that divert the Reader at the same time that they instruct him. I believe that a good part of Mankind, would be glad that this Work might have the same Success that the discourse of *Socrates* had at *Xenophon's* Feast; this great Philosopher, so sensibly touch'd the Guests in speaking to 'em of Love, that those amongst 'em who were yet Batchelors, made Vows to marry, and those that had Wives, immediately took Horse, and ran full speed home, that they might soon embrace their Wives.

'Tis a good Observation, that the Author, who in his Book exhorted Men to marry, says not a word to perswade Virgins to the same: He well foresaw, that this Silence would surprize some of his Readers, therefore he has put 'em out of pain in the Preface, by acquainting them that Virgins are sufficiently convinced of the necessity of Marriage, therefore want no Exhortations thereto; 'tis certain, (says he) that though a Virgin never proposes Marriage, because of her modesty, there is nothing she so passionately wishes for; her Heart often gives her Mouth the Lye; she often says I will not, when sometimes she dyes for desire. The rest of the Passage ought to be read.

*The Lives of Saints and Saintesses, drawn from the Fathers of the Church, and Ecclesiastical Authors. Tom. II 4to. at Paris, 1687 with Approbation of the * Doctors.*

* Of the Roman Communion; nevertheless, the Ingenious will like the Bee, find something good in all Flowers.

WE have not seen the first Volume of this Work; but 'tis sufficient to give an Idea to the Reader of it, and the other Ten that are to follow; because 'tis apparent the Saints in January and other Months, have not been less fruitful in Miracles than those of February, whose Lives are contained in this Second Tome: But two of the *Licencers* assure us that the Author continues to give Marks therein of his Exactness and great Judgment.

Tho' the Month of February hath but 28 Days, yet there are more than 60 Lives in this Volume, without reckoning that one Life sometimes includes the History of several Saints. They are all Edifying, at least for those who suffer themselves to be gained rather by Declamations than solid Reasons, who are only touched with Noble Actions, rather than with what is related in a Sublime and Periodick Style. In the Title the Authors which are made use of, are commonly marked, and the place is sometimes marked in the Margen. Neither do the *Licencers* fail to say, that *tho' Men make a kind of Religion, of Piously cheating others in the matter that the Author treateth on, after having first abused themselves: He on the contrary advanceth no fact, but for which he hath Witnesses, which cannot in Reason be denied, being perswaded that how bright soever the Actions of Saints are, they always makes less Impression upon the hearts of Men, as soon as there is any Ground to doubt of them.*

It were a thing to be desired that not only the Lives of the Ancients that have been Canonized, were given to the Publick; but also a compleat Ecclesiastical History, written in a Style as pure as that of this Book. Such another Work would be extremely profitable, providing the Author always kept the Character of an Historian, and fell not into the ways of Preachers, especially of the *Catholicks*. It may be that Vertuous Actions that would be read therein, would make more Impression upon the

Mind, and would more Effectually oblige the Readers to imitate them; such is that which the Author relates of the Solitary *Moses*. * which *Maria* Queen of

the *Sarazins* asked of the Emperour *Valens* to be Bishop of the Christians of her Nation. He was brought to *Lucius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who was an *Arian*, to be Consecrated; but *Moses* would

not receive from him the Imposition of Hands, because he had dipped them in Blood, and defiled them by the Death of a great many Saints. *Lucius*, who imagined that the refusal of this *Hermit* came from this, that he believed him an *Hertick*, answered him, That not knowing which was the Faith, it was against Justice that he should thus treat him, before he knew him. Your Faith, replied *Moses*, shews it self clearly by your Actions. So many Servants of God banished, so many Priests and Deacons Relegated into Countries, where Jesus Christ is not known, exposed as a Prey to wild Beasts, or consumed by Fire, are convincing proofs of the Impiety of your Belief: For we know that these Excesses are infinitely opposed to Jesus Christ, and unworthy of all those who have the Sentiments which they ought to have.

Ethelbert was made a Saint, who was first King of *Kent* that embraced Christianity; and he certainly deserves it, were it for nothing, but the Sweetness with which he received the Preachers Pope *Gregory I.* sent him. * P. 596.

The Monk *Augustine* was * the chief of them, and was accompanied with Forty others. Before they came into *England*, he stopped in the Isle of *Thanet*, which is on the East of the Province of *Kent*, whence he sent word to the King, that he came from *Rome*, to bring excellent News to those that would believe him, and would follow the Advices he would give them, seeing they would be certain to Reign everlastingly with the True God, and of enjoying Heaven, and all manner of Happiness. Some time after the King himself went to meet those *Missioners*, and speak to them in these terms: These are fine words, and great hopes that you give us: But these things are new and uncertain, and consequently I cannot embrace such a Religion to the prejudice of that which we have profest for so long a time: Yet as you are come so far off, and according as I can judge, only design to make us share of what you look upon, as best and most advantageous, we will do you no displeasure, but rather receive you favourably into our State, and procure you an Establishment to live therein. We shall not hinder you to preach the Faith of your Religion, and to Profelyte all that you can. He kept the same Moderation after he had Embraced Christianity; and having learned, saith the Author, after venerable *Beda* * * *Bed. Hist.* from the Ministers of the *Angl. l. 1. c. 26.* Gospel, that Piety towards the true God is a thing altogether voluntary, and that all the Authority of Men cannot inspire; he would exercise no Empire upon the Minds, nor force any body to make Profession of Christian Religion; contenting himself to Testifie a greater Bounty to those that were converted of themselves.

There

There is another *Moses* towards the latter end of the 4th. Age, who was an *Ethiopian*, and who from a Captain of Robbers became chief of the *Hermits* of *Thebaides*. He betook himself afterwards to the exercise of a Penitence more marvellous than imitable: But instead of falling into Pride, that excessive Austerities ordinarily inspire to those that practise them; he kept

* p. 318. alwaies much Humility, in calling to mind his past Crimes. One of the *Monks* of *Siete* having committed a considerable Error, and all his Fraternity being gathered to judge him, *Moses* was called thereto with the rest: He at first refused it, and after not being able to put it off; whilst all expected him, he loaded himself with a Basket full of Sand; and went in this State to the place of Assembly: They all were very much surprized, asked him what he would do with the Basket. I carry, said he, my Sins behind me, which hinders me from seeing them. Yet ye will establish me Judge of other Folks Sins, when I cannot see my own.

A Collection of several Pieces of Eloquence and Poetry, presented to the French Academy, for the Prizes of 1687, upon St. Lewis day, with Orations the same day, at the reception of Mr. Abbot de Choisy, in the place of Mr. Le Duc de St. Aignan, At Paris, Sold by Peter le Petit, 1677 and at Amsterdam, by Henry Desbord in 12s.

TO say that Mr. De Fontenelle, hath aspired to the Prize of Eloquence, the Distribution whereof is made every Two Years, by the Judgment of the French Academy; and to say that he hath carried this Prize, is the same thing. For if he is so much distinguished by the Excellent Works that he hath given the Publick, nothing can come from his Pen which is not immediately followed with a general Approbation: The Academy alone gave him the Prize, which no body could reasonably contest about. It Assembled according to Custom last St. Lewis's day, which is the 25th of August; and the Discourse of Mr. Fontenelle, Upon *Patience and its opposite Vice*, was proposed by the Deceased Mr. De Balzac, for the Prize of Eloquence. To undertake to give here an Abridgment of this Discourse, would be the same thing as to take away the greatest part of its Grace. Those that will have the Curiosity of seeing it, as undoubtedly its very well worth the while, will find it in this Collection. He will not have much difficulty to find out the Character of the Illustrious Author of the Dialogues of the Dead; of the Plurality of Worlds, &c. Every where he commands

this happy turn that he knoweth so well to give to things; the same Elevation of Thoughts, the same Purity of Expressions. Can there be any thing more Ingenious, but at the same time more True, than what he saith to shew how much corrupt Reason, and divine Revelation are opposed? O blindness of Nature, O Heavenly Lights of Religion how contrary you are! Nature by its inordinate Motions augments our Grief; and Religion teaches us to profit by 'em, by the Patience it inspires us with. If we believe the one, we add to necessary Evils a voluntary Evil, and if we follow the Instructions of the other, we draw from those necessary Evils, the greatest of all Goods.

All this Discourse should be copied, if we should remark all the fine places of it. Nothing weak appears in it, nothing languisheth in it, and it's difficult in reading it, not to conclude, that if the Academy hath done Justice to Mr. de Fontenelle on this occasion, it may also very soon acknowledge his Merit after a more solemn manner; whilst receiving him into its Bosome, it will give him the place, that great Men, whose Name he bears, have so worthily enjoyed.

But what Honour soever the Prize doth to Mr. Fontenelle, the Prize he hath already carried, to wit, the Ode of *Mademoiselle de Houlières* was Crowned the same day, is still more Glorious to him. What a wonder to see a person of her Sex, in so tender an Age, to Triumph over so many Learned Rivals, who expected nothing less than such a defeat! We should scarcely believe it, if these words that are at the end of her Poem, *Non degeneres progenerant Aquilæ Columbæ*, did not teach us that she being Daughter to the Illustrious *Madam des Houlières*, it could not be that so great a Desert as hers should not pass unto her. The Subject given for the Prize of Poetry, was about the Education of Nobility in the Schools of Gentlemen, and in the House of St. Cyr. They read in the Academy two pieces of Prose and Verse which have carried the Prize; but they were not satisfied to print them in this Collection; there have been joyned two pieces of each sort, which tho' they were not honoured with a Prize, have nevertheless their Beauty. A Discourse on the praise of the King sent by the Academy of *Soissons* to that of *Paris*, an Epistle to the King of Mr. *Perrault*, and some other pieces in Verse, are found at the end of this Collection. But at the beginning were placed two Discourses delivered in the Academy, the same day which was that of the Reception of Mr. *Abbot de Choisy*, in place of Mr. *le Duc de St. Aignan*, and I believe it will not be amiss to give it here.

*A Discourse in the French Academy
by Mr. Abbot de Choisy.*

S I R S,

IF the Laws of the *Academy* suffered me, I should this day keep a respectful Silence. I should imitate the new *Cardinals*, who in taking of their place in the *Sacred College*, forbear speaking for some time, and I should think on nothing but holding my peace, untill you should teach me to speak. But Custom must be obeyed, my acknowledgment must appear; and what Expressions must I make use of to shew it to you altogether? How shall I Express the joy I feel, in seeing my self Associated to all that is Great and Illustrious in this Kingdom?

Here it is that the first Men of State divest themselves of all the Pride and Grandeur, and seek for no Distinction but by the greatness of their Knowledge and Capacity. For *Sirs*, it is neither Birth, nor Dignities alone, which render your Society so Famous. To have gon through, the greatest Employments would not suffice, to come amongst you: Wit and Knowledge have opened to you the Doors of the *Academy*. This is it which distinguisheth you amongst the rest of Men, and which makes you to be admir'd amongst Great Divines, profound Philosophers, Poets and Orators of the first Order, and Historians that will Transmit it to Posterity the Wonders of our Age.

When I see my self-placed amongst these great Men, whom hence forward I shall call my Brethren, I feel my self excited by a Noble Emulation to follow their Examples which are now going to be Familiar to me. My Assiduity in your Assemblies, will be to me instead of Desert, and perhaps will give me some: I think I feel in my self the Spirit of the *Academy*, which raised me above my self, and that I need to repair the loss which you have sustained by my Admittance. It is He Great *Sirs*, whose place I fill that deserves your Regrets and our Praises.

Scarcely was he out of his Infancy, but he runs into Combats; and Glories, in the steps of his Ancestors. He was wounded at the Battle of *Vaudrevange* at the Siege of *Dola*, and more Dangerously at that of *Graveline*: And if for the future he seeketh occasions every where, to make his Valour shine, the reason is, that this Valour, this Ardour of Glory, which makes *Hercules*, did fill his Soul so, that it being too great and lively to be contained, did shew it self outwardly.

Which of you, *Sirs*, hath not known the Elevation and Vigour of his Mind? At every moment he would give some strange Instances thereof. Governour of a Province, Duke and Peer, first Gentleman of the Chamber, notwithstanding which

Charges, he yet found time for the *Muses*, and was honoured with the Title of *Academist*.

The Bounty of his heart engaged him to serve all the World: It was enough to be a Man of Wit, or miserable to have his particular protection; but that which alone would make his Elogy, he had always an Inviolable and Tender Deference to the Kings Person; this great Prince did honour him with his Benevolence.

So many Advantages that distinguished him in the first Court of the World, could not exempt him from the common Law; he is dead. But he hath left in *France* a Son, a worthy Heir of his great Soul and Vertues, who from his tenderest Youth in the midst of Court and War, of Favour and Pleasures, hath Consecrated all his moral Vertues by a Christian, singular, universally acknowledged and respected Piety.

To you it belongs, *Sirs*, to mark by immortal Tracts, the Actions of this Great Man, whose loss will be for a long time sensible unto you. You will do it: His Memory will for ever live in your Works: All that parts from your hands partakes of the Genius of your Founder.

If it hath been said in times past, that as *Cesar* by his Conquests had augmented the Empire of *Rome*; *Cicero* by his Eloquence had extended the Wit of the *Romans*: Can we not say, that *Cardinal Richlieu* only hath done in *France*, what *Cesar* and *Cicero* had done at *Rome*, and that if by the Spring of our admirable Policy he hath extended our Frontiers; he hath Raised us, Polited, and if I may say it, Amplified our Wit by the Establishment of the *Academy*.

But *Sirs*, if he hath done so much for the State, in forming your Society, he hath still done more for himself. In vain for his Glory had he found the means to pull down the Haughtiness of this proud House, that dared to stand in Comparison with that of *France*; in vain by the taking of *Rochel* had he given the first blow to the Monster which even now hath expired before our Eyes: His name would still perish, and the most part of his Actions tho' marked with a singular Character of Grandeur, would have been unknown to the following Ages, if in founding the *Academy*, he had not founded at the same time the eternal Remembrance of his Glory.

At his death the *Academy* being at a loss found an *Asylum* in an Illustrious Chancellor whose Memory will be always dear unto you, and who in the space of 35 years, that he was the head of Justice always passed for the most Learned of Magistrates.

But when you had lost him, being fallen into new Allarms, uncertain of your Destinies, what a joy it is to you and what glory! A thing the greatest of Kings declareth himself your Protector; receiveth you

you into his Palace, and make you equal to the first Company of his Kingdom. By this, Gentlemen, by this I say, your Names becoming Immortal, will not be far behind his, and you may answer unto your selves for the Immortality which you know how to give to others. You surely know how to give it, and you will give it to *Lewis*: There is a Commerce of Glory made betwixt you and this Prince; and if his Protection does you so much honour, you may flatter your selves of not being unprofitable in his Glory. Yes Gentlemen, this Prince so necessary to all men, chiefly to his own Subjects, which he hath already rendred the most formidable People of the World, and which he is going to make the most happy to his Allies, to whom he grants every where a Protection so powerful; to his very Enemies, whose happiness he causeth inspite of themselves, in forcing them to a peace; this Prince, who after the example of God, whose Living Image he is, seems to stand in need of nothing but himself, stands in need of you for his Glory, and his Name how great soever it is, would scarcely pass to the last Posterity without your Works.

Gentlemen, You have already apply'd your selves to it, and shewn him to the Eyes of Men equally great in Peace and War. But what is the Valour of the greatest Heroes being compared to the piety of true Christians? It reigns in this Glorious King, and always mindful of the acknowledgment he oweth to him from whom he holdeth all, he continually thinks of making this God Reign in his Heart and in his Kingdom, who for so many years hath poured upon his Person such a continuation of Prosperities. Hath he not silenced those Wretches, who notwithstanding the natural Lights of the Soul, affect an impiety at which they cannot arrive? Hath he not repressed this furious Blasphemy which is so audacious as even to attack God in his very Throne? He doth more, He burns with Zeal for the House of God: He spares neither Cares nor Expences to augment the Kingdom of Jesus Christ; his Zeal goes over the Seas, and to the Extremities of the Earth he seeks out People buried in the darkness of Idolatry; the first difficulties do not deter him, he constantly followeth a design that Heaven hath inspired him with, and if our Vows are heard the Faith of the True God will be quickly Triumph ant under his Endeavours in the Kingdoms of the East.

What shall I further say? This Christian Heroe openly engageth this formidable party of Heresie, which had caused the Kings his Predecessors to tremble; he compleats in less than a year what they durst not undertake for almost two Ages; and the Infernal Monster at the last gasp, forever re-enters into the Pit, whence the malice of *Novators* and the corrupted Manners of our Fore-Fathers had caused it to come out. Happy *France*, thou shalt no

more see thy Children rend thy Entrails! The same Religion will make them take the same Interest; and it is to *Lewis* the Great, that thou owest so great a good: Let us speak more just, it is to God; and the same God, for to assure our Happiness, hath now preserved this Prince unto us, and given him to the Ardent Prayers of all *Europe*. For Gentlemen, The *French* are not the only People who do interest themselves in so dear a Health; and if some Princes jealous of the Kings Glory, have testified the same by vain projects of Leagues which they were willing to believe might profit the State, their very Subjects and all the People of *Europe* made sure Vows for him, knowing well that in his Person alone resides universal Tranquility.

But how far doth my Zeal carry me? Being but just placed amongst you, I undertake what would make the greatest Orators tremble, and without consulting my Forces, I dare speak of a King, of whom to speak these only are permitted. As you Gentlemen, and do it, after a manner worthy of him.

After that Mr. Abbot De Choisy had thus thanked the Academy, Mr. De Bergeret Secretary of the Cabinet, and first Commissary to Mr. De Croissy Minister and Secretary of State, finding himself then Director, began and Answered him in these Terms.

S I R,

THE Eloquence, the Wit and the Politeness of the Thanks you give the Academy, restores in you the loss of the Person of the Duke De St. Aignan: And I can tell you also, Sir, That it could not give you a more honourable Mark of the esteem it made of you, than in receiving you in the place of a Man of this Merit, whose Memory should always be honoured and cherished by it.

It's very just that the Dukes Letters acknowledge the Love he had for them, and that by Eternal Marks of their acknowledgment, they may shew that there is no Man, in any rank of Fortune whatever, to whom it is not an Honour to have loved them.

Monsieur the Duke of St. Aignan loved them with the same passion with which he loved Glory; and he had taken all necessary care to get what they adjudg'd to be most profitable and most agreeable. He was very far from the vain Error of those who imagine that all Desert consists in the chance of being born of an Ancient House; and he considered the Advantage of having so many Illustrious Grandfathers, but as an indispensable Obligation of augmenting the Luster of their Name by a personal Merit.

As soon as he could read our History he saw there with a Noble Emulation his Third Grand-Father, the Count of St. Aignan, Governour of Berry, and chief of the Counsel of the Duke De Alençon. He presently resolv'd either to Dye in the Career of Honour as the Count De St. Aignan his Father, or to advance farther in it than his third Grand-Father, as he has done in deserving the Esteem and Confidence of the King.

He judg'd that the best means of arriving at this height of Honour, was to joyn Letters with Arms, by an Alliance which is no less Natural than that of the Mind with the Heart; and seeing it self apply'd to the service of a Prince, whose Heroick Vertues give more employment to Letters, than have done all the Heroes of Antiquity, he still took more affection for them. He acquired to himself the manner of speaking and writing what was Noble, Easy, Eloquent, and made France, see, the Roman Urbanity, which was the Character of the Scipio's and most Illustrious Romans.

'Twas after the example of these Conquerors of Nations, who returning from their Campagnes loaden with the Spoils of their Enemies, he came to study with Terence, and know as well how to manage the Intreagues of a Scene, as the Stratagems of War: It was, I say, after their examples, that Monsieur the Duke De St. Aignan had so often manifested, that a Lieutenant General of Arms to the King, might be a Poet, an Orator, and an Historian; that whilst he himself undertook the Noblest Actions, he knew besides how to praise them in others; and that with this same Heart which seeks but to sacrifice it self to the service of the King, he every day produced Sentiments, expressed after the most delicate and most eloquent manner.

By these Qualities truly *Academical* he obtained in this Society the place that he hath so worthily discharged, and he also deserved to be Named Protector of an Illustrious Academy, which we have received into our Alliance; which is an immortal Honour to him, and so much the greater in that the King is willing to bear a like Title, and to add to those which his Vertues and Conquests have acquired him.

But Monsieur the Duke of St. Aignan was not only Protector of a famous Academy by a particular Title; but also it may be said, that he was so in general of all *Men of Letters*, by a Generosity which excepted no bodies Desert, whatever stranger he was, what part soever he came from, he was sure to find in him a Prop and Protection. He received with marks of Friendship all those that had some Talent of Mind, and he did let them feel his Rank and Dignity by the good Offices that he took Delight in heaping upon them. He also loved all our Exercises, and came to us much oftner than we dared

to hope from a Person who could not come to us without quitting all the pleasures of Court.

Methinks I yet see him in that fair Day, when assembled to testify our joy for the Establishment of the King. Then was Read a Magnificent Ode which he had made upon that Subject, where Wit and Zeal equally appeared, and shined throughout with the Fire of the most lively Briskness, which he hath always preserved by a privilege which Nature only grants to extraordinary Genius's.

Finally, After a long and happy Life, he dyed in all the Sentiments of Christian Piety, loaden with Honours and Rewards, which his Courage, his Zeal and Fidelity in the Kings Service had deserved; and he had in dying, the Consolation of leaving behind him a Son which will still augment this Succession of Glory and Vertue.

This Illustrious Son, in whom the Father lives, hath always distinguished himself with Honour, and without Affectation. A great deal of Courage hath always been seen in him, with a great deal of Sweetness and admirable Purity of Manners, a perfect uniformity of Conduct, penetration of Judgment, Application, Vigilance, constant Love for Truth and for Justice; chiefly a solid Piety, which makes him act secretly in the eyes God alone, as if he were seen of all Men.

So many Vertues have well deserved that in an Age so little advanced, he is made Chief of the Counsel of Finances; and justifies each day so good a choice, and shews that the King is a just Dispenser of his Favours, and has the Supream Gift of discerning Minds. Happy is he whose Memory we Honour, to have so worthy an Heir of his Name and Vertues.

And we should not be less happy to give him a Successor among us; tho' having chosen you Sir, to repair so great a loss we hope you will publicly allow our choice and perfectly answer our Expectation.

The Academy asketh nothing of you for it self, that you are not obliged to do for your self. You owe it to the Reputation you have acquired by your Works; you owe it to the Blood you derive from the Grand-Chancellor of the Hospital, your Third Grand-Father; more Illustrious still by his Excellent Writings, than the Eminence of the First Employment of the Kingdom; you owe it, in fine, to your Illustrious Mother which may be compared to the Cornelia's, who speaks her Tongue with so much Grace and Purity, and who having made you receive such Eloquence from her Breast, hath given us occasion to believe that you were born for the Academy, and that you were Educated for it, in the Arms and Lap of the *Muses* themselves.

But what Talent soever you may have for Eloquence, the New Obligation that you

you have to Consecrate your Studies to the Glory of *Lewis the Great*, our August Protector, will make you more and more feel how difficult it is to speak worthily of a Prince, whose Life is a continual Series of Prodigies.

Poets complain they have not Expressions enough to Represent the Marvelousness of his Exploits, and Historians on the contrary that they have not Simplicity enough to keep so many Marvels from being supposed so many Fictions. What Art, what Application, what Conduct must not one have to present a probability of the great things which he hath done?

I speak not of his Astonishing Valour, who hath taken as it were in running a Race, the strongest Cities of the World, and from before which the most numerous Armies have always fled for fear of a Fight. I think now only on this Glorious Peace which we enjoy, and which was made in a time, when there were on every side, nothing but Provocations by our Victories, nothing but the States declaring themselves Enemies to our Interest, nothing but Princes jealous of our Advantages, all with different and incompatible pretensions. How then appeared on a sudden this happy Peace? It is a Miracle of the Wisdom of *Lewis the Great*, that Policy cannot comprehend: And as he alone was able to give it to all Europe, he alone also is able to keep it.

How much of Action, of Insights, into matters of Provision is there in him to cause that so many free States, and whose Interests are so contrary, should submit to the terms that he hath prescribed unto them? We must equally see what is past and what is to come, as well as what is, to have a Genius of an extraordinary force and extent which no Affair burthens, that no Object deceiveth, which no Difficulty stoppeth; such in fine, as is the Genius of *Lewis the Great*, which is dispersed thro' all the parts of Europe, and which is included therein, acting both without and within, with an unconceivable power.

It is as far as the utmost Bounds of the Earth, that you have heard of so many holy Missions maintain'd by the continual Aid of his Power and Piety.

It is in Foreign Courts, where it conducts and enlightens their Ministers, that we only need to Read and Hear, what his Prudence hath Dictated.

It is in the Frontiers of the Kingdom where he Fortifies after such a manner, unravels our Enemies Designs, and makes them all despair.

It is at the Ports, where he builds those Prodigious Vessels which carry through all the World the Glory of the French Name.

It is in the Academy of War and Sea-Affairs, where Noble Education joyned with the Nobleness of Blood, produces Wit and Courage equally capable of Command and Execution in the greatest Enterprises.

It is, in fine, every where, and causeth that every thing is ruled as it should be: The Garisons always Crowded, the Magazines always full, the Arsenals always guarded, the Troops always in breath, and after the Travels of War are now busied in Magnificent Works which are the Fruits of Peace. Thus it is that this great Prince acting at the same time on all sides, and doing things which continually inspire Terror to his Enemies, Love to his Subjects, and Admiration to all the World, can in spite of Hatred, Jealousies and Mistrusts, preserve the Peace which he has made, because there is no State which seeth not how dangerous it would be to break it.

Some of the Princes of the Empire seemed to have some Thoughts, and begun to form new Leagues: But the King always equally Just and Wise, not willing to surprise nor be surpris'd, sent the Emperour word, that if in two days after the date of his Declaration, he received not positive Assurances from him of the Observation of the Truce, he would take the Measures which he thought necessary for the good of his State. His Troops at the same time Fly on the Borders of Germany, and the Emperour gives him all the Assurances which he could desire. Thus Europe oweth him a second time, the Rest and Tranquility which it enjoyeth.

Spain on the other hand had done an Injustice to our Merchants, and constrained them to pay a violent Tax under pretence they Negotiated in the Indies against the Ordinances. The King suddenly to stop these beginnings of Division, thought fit to send before Cadix a Fleet Capable of Subduing all the Indies. Immediately Spain Allarmed, promised to restore what it had taken away, and the King who was contented therewith, hath appeared still more great by his Moderation than his Power: For it is true, that there is nothing upon Earth is so taking as to see a Prince, who being able to do all that he pleases, will do nothing but what is Just.

But it is the Natural Character of *Lewis the Great*, It is the bottom of this Heroick Soul; where all Vertues are pure, sincere solid, true, and make up one, an admirable Union, which declares that he is not only the greatest of all Kings, but also the most Accomplish'd of all Men.

Those that shall Read these two Speeches may easily observe in them, all the pleasingness that Politeness and a great Study could give. Some after having compared them, have made a Judgment equal to that which *Belzac* did in Times past of the Famous Sonnet of *Urania*. He blamed not the Eight first Verses thereof, but he found that all the Nobility and the Grandeur was behind them; and he added, that they made him laugh in calling into his Memory the Pageants of Italy, where Servants Precede their Masters. We should value the Speech of Mr. Abbot de Choisy at

too

too low a rate, if we judged with so little favour on't. It not only hath the Precedence by Right of Age, but also may dispute a Preheminence amongst his other celebrated Works. What Mr. Bergeret hath said of the King, that *so many holy Missions are maintained by the continual Succours of his Power and Piety*: It's doubted whether the Consequence drawn from thence can be admitted; it is certain (say they) that there is a great difference betwixt the ancient and new Christianity. The ancient one maintained it self by it self, and the sole force of Truth served for a Prop and Recommendation to the first Christians: But at this day things have changed Face, and Catholick Truths are not so easie to be perswaded as when a great Monarch makes use of his whole Authority, without which, this great number of Missions made within and without the Kingdom, would have little or no effect.

An Extract of a Letter, written from Versailles to the Author of the Republick of Letters, concerning some Manuscripts of China.

TIS about 18 Months ago (the Embassadors of China being then here) that the Duke of Meniz took an occasion to tell the King that those People had the Chronicles of their Country from about 3000 Years past, that they were the first who had Arts and Sciences, and that as yet there has been no particular Account given of it; and that it belonged to none but such a Prince as the King to send for some of their Books from China, and to provide People that might translate them. His Majesty presently gave his order for this Project: I am assured that some days past there were brought to Paris 300 Volumes of these Books of China; some being of the Civil, and some the Natural History of that Country, others of Mathematicks, and divers curious Treatises: That besides there are two Translators come, one a Jesuit, who has been 30 Years in China; the other a Chinois, who belonged to the last Embassage, and understands French, Latin, Italian, and Portuguese, &c. That these will translate these Books out of hand, beginning with the most curious, and will publish them as soon as they are fit for the Press. Since it is known that the King of China takes delight in the Jesuits, there are Eight young Jesuits sent thither, who receive a Pension from their King, and are to learn that Country Language, and to instruct the Chinois in the French and Latin, that they may be brought into France, to go on with the Translation. We shall have others also come to teach us their Mechanick Arts.

Another Letter gives us an Account that Father Couplet is returned from Rome,

where he has made his young Chinois a Jesuit like himself, and it is hoped, they will Translate all Confutius's works.

A Clergy Mans Letter to the Nuns, who have the care of the Education of young Women, exhorting them to second the Popes Intentions about Nakedness.

I Received a Memoire not long since, from an unknown hand, containing that the Censurer of the Books of the Arch-Bishop of Malines being of Liege, and a Jansenist had approved a Letter directed to the Nuns, wherein the Heresie of M. Arnaud concerning the Two heads of the Church, and the Pelagian Errors, condemning all kind of Ornaments, are renewed. As I do not love to speak of a Book before I see it, especially if any ones Reputation is concerned, so I have deferred speaking of this Letter before I had seen it. I do not repent this delay, for having at last examined this little Writing, I have seen nothing in it of Mr. Arnaud's pretended Heresie, nor any thing but what agreed with the Doctrin of St. Peter and Paul, concerning Womens Dresses; so that if it be an Opinion of Pelagius's, I see no harm that would come of setting it on foot again; it surprises me more, that any should send such false Advices.

I shall say somewhat of this little Book; and first observe that the Pope not being able by all the means he used to oblige the Women to cover their Breasts and Arms; and understanding that the fear that all Italy was in when the Turks besieged Vienna, did not hinder this disorder, he had recourse to his last shift, his Excommunication, which he published by a Decree the 30th. of November, 83. commanding all Women and Girls to cover their Shoulders and Breasts to the Neck, and their Arms to their Hands, and this with no Transparent, but thick Cloth, under pain, if they did not exactly obey it within six days, to be excommunicated *Ipso facto*, that in no other case but at the Point of Death, none but the Pope himself should absolve them: For it was declared, That the Confessors that durst presume to absolve from this Excommunication, should incur it themselves, and should become subject to what Temporal and Spiritual punishments the Pope would be pleas'd to lay on them, to which Temporal punishments, also the Fathers, Husbands, Masters, or other heads of Families should be subject, that continued at, or permitted their Wives, Daughters or Maids, to disobey this Ordinance. This is all there at length, with two Letters which relate to it; one was writ through the Pope's Order, by the Procurer general of the Capuchins, to all the Provincials of his Order, to oblige their Preachers and Confessors, to endeavour more than ordinarily against the corruption of Manners, and chiefly in relation to Women, to strive to bring them off their Dresses that are too Luxurious, and immodest. The other Letter is that of Mr.

Stravins

Stravins, Administrator of the Nunciature of the Low-Countries, which he writ to the Bishops the 31th of March, 35. by order from *Urban* the VIII. to put them in mind of proceeding against worldly Women, who uncovered their Breasts and Shoulders, and cover'd their Faces with Patches; And to proceed against them to the very shutting them out of the Church, if it could be done. This shews that for a long time they have taken pains to remedy these Nakednesses, and that they are obstinately resisted therein. This in all likelihood will be an employment that will never be wanting to the Preachers of Reformation. All these pieces which I have quoted, come after the Letter to the Nuns; the Clergy-man that writes it to them, directs it only to the *Reverend Mothers*. He represents to them to the Life, the extent of that disorder, which *Innocent* the XI. punished with so much severity. He adds, that its their business chiefly to endeavour this Reformation, as well because the Publick trusts them with the Education of their young Daughters, as that it is easie for them to instruct 'em in all that is modest in such a tender age, wherein they have all the Bashfulness and Tractableness of their Sex. He tells them, that in the best govern'd Monasteries, *It happens but too often that for want of applying themselves sufficiently to express the first motions of Youthful Vanities, and forward of giving them an aversion to ill Books, and immodest sights, for too tender friendships, and the too great love of their Bodies, and for the Inclination of shewing such parts as Modesty and Decency require to be covered with the greatest care and exactness: These young Scholars have their Hearts full of the World and its desires, and with a great impatience of having the full satisfaction of all the pleasures and liberties that they think their Cloysters kept them from, or the vigilance of their Mistresses.* Experience is a very strong Proof of this, and all the World acknowledge it; whether it really proceeds from what he pretends here, that the first Progress of corruption is not repressed with vigilance and care enough, or whether it be that Nature is more prevailing than all the dexterous endeavours of Art. Nature is an inward Master, whose Precepts lead a young Disciple very far, without the assistance of any one, though his Precepts be exposed by contrary ones; Then what cannot this Nature do, when it is assisted by the Dictates of an outward Master, who passionately Caresses, and cajoles a young Pensioner but lately come from a Convent? 'Tis said, he does more in an hour, than the *Reverend Mothers* in a 1000; and in 2 or 3 times head to head; he blots out all their Repetitions. Here is what one may do that works upon Matter naturally well prepared. This does not hinder Peoples getting their Children brought up at Convents, for it is thought the evil would be the more universal, if

they were not armed with this defence before they embarked in the World. And moreover, it is thought Family Examples should not be suffered to their knowledge.

This Author shews a great Zeal for the Education of Young Women; he would have them to be made to comprehend well, that it is but in vain, that they flatter themselves with having a Chaste Heart, or a love for Purity, either in the Cloyster, or in the World, if they do not love these things in others, as well as in themselves; and to convince themselves of this Love they ought to keep from all that may lessen it, in their own Hearts, or in their Neighbours, and always forbid themselves the use of these ill Fashions, which by Violence, and open force made passage for desires, and designs opposite to Chastity into the best disposed Hearts. He proceeds, and says, that it is not sufficient to cover what might give scandal to our Neighbour, and hurt Chastity, but they are to cover it modestly, and they must be learned; that very often these worldly Ornaments, and these cheating Vails that cover without hiding, serve only to irritate and multiply in a Thousand different ways, the desires and motions of a corrupted Heart; and it is for this, that the Pope's Edict has in express terms enjoyn'd them, *They shall cover themselves with a thick, and not with a transparent Cloath*: This takes away all Equivocation which might be made use of to cheat the Governours Vigilance. For though according to remark

of a certain * *Ancient*, *A Man* * *Sen. de*
cannot well take an Oath, if he *Ben. l. 7.*
is not quite naked; for when Men *c. 9. & ep.*
are clad with any prejudices, 90.

&c. there are abundance that would not stick to swear any thing: So the Pope did very well, to mark expressly *Cloth not transparent*. Afterwards the Author shews, that the Scripture condemns all Equipage, and vanity in Cloathing, and that for greater reason it condemns these Nakednesses, which shew so much self love, and inclination to be the occasion of sin to our Neighbour. He does not quote the Fathers, which he might many on the same occasions: He supposes, that those he speaks to, have no need of proofs for what he says. It must be allowed, that the principles of this Morality are agreeable to Christianity; nevertheless, there are many Casuists who have pardoned Nakedness on many accounts, which the famous *Votins* reproaches them with in the 4th. Volume of his *Disputes*, p. 461. where he takes notice, that he knew but one Divine of this Communion, which was *Alfredius*, who has said, that a Woman might go naked, or covered with slight Gause, in the Countreys where it is the custom to go so. This Clause serves to excuse the Casuists, because it is certain that Nakedness loses the greatest part of its Allurement by custom.

Schookius the constant defender of dissolute Morality against *Preciseness*; for it is so he called the *Scrupulous* and *Austere* Morals of *Voetius*, cites upon this Subject

* *Ex eritat* * among other things which
fac p. m. the Minister *John Leri* re-
 439. marks upon the occasion of
 the Womens going quite naked in *Brasil*, which is, that Dressing works a greater effect than the most natural simplicity.

As for the rest, This Stranger that gave me the account of the publishing this Book for the *Nuns*, was the occasion that I made an Article of it in my Novels, he also was the cause of my speaking of the *Factum* of the *Jansenists*: For it was thro him that I understood it was published. Both these advices came to me at the same time, from the same place, and with Glosses that have not been found true; perhaps People may be willing enough that I should add at the end of this Article, the present condition of the *Jansenists* Process.

I say then, that they published a Second *Factum*, wherein they declared, that having the advice of some godly Persons they were willing to end the debate some milder way than by a rigorous Judgment; that for this end they Declared to Mr. *Internance*, presenting him a Form of Retracting to be sent to Father *Hazard*, That they were ready to desist from all Pursuits. If that Father and Mr. *Hoeslaegh* Signed this Model and Published it afterwards, its at length here accompanied with the 19th. Decree of the 12 General Congregation of *Jesuits*, because it might engage Father *Hazards* Superiours to bring him more Effectually, to which he could not refuse without renouncing his hopes of safety. This Decree speaks in most express Terms how the Superiours of the *Jesuits* are obliged to impose rigorous Penance on those of their Society who offend their Neighbour through the indiscretion of their Pen, and must make them presently lawful satisfaction; Mr. *Internance* has promised to send the Model to Father *Hazard*, and has Named Judges, which makes some believe that there is nothing to be hoped for from the expedient, that the Plantiffs have offered. This is the more manifest by two Letters, that this *Jesuit* has writ to a person of Quality, that he is not inclin'd to do what is propos'd to him.

The first of these Letters contains a very sharp Invective against the *Jansenists*, and a promise to answer in writing the complaints of the Plantiffs.

The Second shews, that Father *Hazard* will make no answer at all, both because the Judgment of many Lawyers and Divines determined it beneath him, and because he sees his Adversaries abhorred by the *Catholicks*, and even refuted by the *Hereticks*; to prove which he alledges what we said of the First *Factum*, and makes Observations thereon, which are not so just as those that are made here of his two Letters; the two Articles of our

Nouvelles, which concern the First *Factum*, are inserted in these *Factums*, and may be well enough understood by the Reader, without our Commentary.

If Father *Hazard* imitated M. *Arnaud*, he would fairly have shewn the model of Retracting, which was propos'd to him; for Mr. *Arnaud*, understanding that Mr. *Southwell*, an English Protestant, had complained how unjustly he had been dealt with in the Apology of the *Catholicks*, upon the account of *Coleman's* Tryal, presently offered him any fitting satisfaction; and as soon as he had seen the proofs of Mr. *Southwell's* Innocency, he writ to him in the most honest and obliging way in the World, for the reparation of his Honour; and that the matter might become publick, he desired one of his Friends to print all that passed in clearing this matter. It was done according to his Wishes; since a second addition has been Printed, for the first part of the Apology of the *Catholicks*, in which addition are the Letters about M. *Arnaud* writ upon this Subject, those which M. *Southwell* has answered, and what justifies the innocence of this last. This will not be the least glorious action in the Life of M. *Arnaud*, when the History is finished.

The Life of Gaius Cliniius Mecenas,
 Written by the Illustrious James Maria Ceuni. At Rome, Printed by Francis de Lazari, 1684.

THose that honour Men of Letters with their Protection, and marks of their Liberality, receive thereby so many praises, that it makes many Authors to be suspected of Partiality; for People imagine that it is not so much the acknowledgment which makes them to be Panegyrist, as the design of obtaining the sweet Dew of Gifts, and to induce others to the same liberality by the hopes of a fine Elogium. Howbeit *Meibomius* was very reasonable to wonder, that before him none had taken pains about the Life of *Mecenas*. Every one knoweth, that this Favourite of *Augustus* protected fine Wits after an honourable manner, that his Name is become that of all the Patrons of the Muses, and yet during many Ages, his History hath been forgotten. *Meibomius* had already put the last hand to the Life of this Favourite, when they shewed him that which *Martin Rizo* had done in the Spanish Language, but this Reading would not let him believe that he had not been preceded by any Author. Indeed the Spanish Work hath more the looks of a Romance, than of a true History, and it is but a weaving of *Anachronisms*, and imaginary Suppositions, even to relate the passionate Compliments which the Gallant of *Terentia*, Wife to *Mecenas*

Mecenas, us'd on the Festival Day. The Book of *Cæsar Caperali*, and that of the Doctor *Ceuni*, are quite of another nature. The last is divided into two parts, whereof the one reacheth from the Life of *Mecenas*, until after the Battle of *Actium*, and the other unto his Death. The Observations put in this Work render it curious and diverting. Many things concerning Gardens, and the Houses of *Mecenas* are mention'd, fine Wits which he honoured with his Friendship, and the reasons which hindered *Ovid* to make mention of him in his Verses. There is also seen the Answer to the Invectives of *Seneca*, the Catalogue of the Works of *Mecenas*, the Fragments that remain with us, and some Notes that expound the most difficult Places.

Tractatus duo singulares de Examine Sagarum, &c. Two Singular Treatises of the Tryal of Witches cast upon cold Water, in which, the Beginning of this Tryal, its nature and truth is curiously sought into, and divers Questions out of the Writings of Divines, Physicians, and Philosophers, are most Learnedly and Pleasantly resolved. At Francfort and Lipsia, at the Costs of Henry Greutzius, 1686, in 4to.

THE first of the two Treatises that is given us here, was made by one of the Magistrates of *Bonn* in the Country of *Cologne*, to justify the Practice of some Judges of *Germany*, who for a long time make use of the proof of Water, when they have a mind to try if a Woman is a Witch. All her Cloaths are taken off, her right Hand is tied to her left Foot, and the left Hand with the right Foot; then she is cast into Water, and if she doth not sink under water she is believed guilty, and is burned. Great Wits which examine but by halves what they deny, are not incumbered with this Objection, they say, that they are all *Chimeras*, and that there must be no belief given to such Stories: but those that penetrate into things with an extream exactness before they affirm or deny them, are incomparably more irresolute upon a fact so strange as this; on the one hand they have difficulty to comprehend why this proof availeth not but in certain places, and why if it be certain, all the Tribunals of the World do not make use of it when they have occasion. Besides, their knowing that the proof of a hot Iron, that of boyling Water, and some others made use of in times past in divers places to discover where the injustice or justice of an accusation subsists, and that they have been condemned by the Church, because without doubt they perceived there

was illusion in all this, and that Knaveries were intermixed, which often times did oppress Innocence, and justified Criminals. However it is, our Author pretends that this Tryal of Witches is lawful. His name is *Rickius*, and speaks very bad Latine. Perhaps he was a better Citizen than a Wit.

He at first proposeth to himself a great number of Objections which usually are made against the practice he maintaineth, and which are for the most part weakness it self. The best of all is, that God must not be tempted, and that this is to tempt him, to commit the decision of a Process to a most Signal Miracle of his Providence. But this Objection would not be considerable, if we were assured that the proof whereof we speak hath never fail'd; for we should have reason to believe in that case, God hath established the immersion of People Confederate with the Devil, as an occasional cause of the discovery of this Plot, in engaging himself to hinder the natural effect of heaviness. An Experience constantly reiterated would be a revelation significative enough of this Institution of God, so that without tempting him we might have recourse to it when it would be necessary. There are an hundred examples in Scripture which shew that God hath not disapproved that Signs should be required of him and Prodigies, to be well assured of a matter, and we must hold as undoubtful, that the Church would never have condemned the proofs of *Hot Iron*, if they had not strong Reasons of doubting that they were a good Warrant of Justice or Unjustice. The Objection that is founded upon the Supposition that it is the Devil who holds Witches Suspended upon the Surface of the Water, is miserable, for it is against all the light of a good Reason, that the Devil should employ his Forces to betray Creatures which are the most devoted unto him, and to make Judges Triumph over his Subjects who have a Design to send them into the fire. It is, say they, because God forceth these Proud Spirits to Act against their proper interest: But besides that, they say this without forming a distinct Idea of the manner wherewith these Spirits may be forced to produce certain Actions; Who seeth but a constraint of this nature ought not to hinder Magistrates to verifie by the Experience of Water if a Woman be a Witch, seeing that whether God Acteth therein by his immediate Vertue, or forces the Devils to work this Prodigie, it is still his wise and admirable Providence which would make use of this means to teach Judges what they know not? These Two Objections, which are the best of all, being ruined, it seems that the only means to refute this practice is to make the foundation of these Proofs suspicious of fallhood; but as the Author strives only against those that agree with him in the fact, there is nothing to be feared on that side.

We must do him this justice that he is not of those who have precipitately recourse to the Essay of Immersion; he will have men recourse to it but upon very probable *Indices* of Sorcerie; and he gives thereupon very good Counsels to the Judges, chiefly exhorting them to take heed that the Hangman acquit himself faithfully of his duty, for without it there would happen great abuses in this matter, because the persons which are cast into the water being sometimes very innocent, do not swim, and then the Hangman ought to be active to draw them out, for fear they should be drowned. But if he is too hasty he may save the guilty, because there are Witches which being immediately descended a little under water, would soon come up again of themselves, and would manifest thereby their crime, whilst they pass for innocent if the Hangman doth not give them time to come up again. It may also be that a Woman which weigheth not much, may have motions which swell up some Muscles to form a perfect *Equilibrium* betwixt her weight and that of the water. The Emotion and Tonick movement of the Muscles would perhaps soon cease, and then this Woman would sink and would justifie herself. But if she be judged according to the effect of the *Equilibrium* where she is in at the first Moment, she is lost with all her Innocence. There are then many things to be observed, and apparently it is one of the best difficulties that may be made against this proof. The Author hath heard say, that there are certain Countries where the Women who are suspected of Witchcraft, are weighed in a Ballance, and saith, they have experienced that Witches of the greatest and thickest Stature weigh no more than about 15 pounds.

He brings several proofs of his sentiment which are good enough, considering the quality of the matter. This is not the less convincing that the Judges must not be refused this Essay of the Immersion, seeing it is so difficult to assure themselves of the truth by the Testimony of the Accomplices; for saith he, a Witch that accuseth another, Grounds very often but upon that She imagineth to have seen her at the Caterwauling or meeting of Witches. And what assurance can one take upon such imagination which might have been deluded by the evil Spirit, as the Author shews in the fourth Chapter: Besides, it being known by the Deposition of several of these Wretches, that Witches of quality walk nor dance at that Affignation but in a mask, whence it followeth, that they are known but by their Mien, and Stature; and other signs very suspicious. A strange thing is that in the Books of *Pagans* where so much is spoken of Witchcrafts, no Women are found which are thought to go to the Affignation. Is not it because the Devil changes customs and manners according to the diversity of times and places? The Author answers very

largely to the objections of his Adversaries, but sometimes he saith things which have not the least solidity, as when he supposes that the Water of all the Elements is subject to the Devils power, and where uncertain facts may be best discovered, because of the Exorcisms and Consecrations whereof Water is commonly the Subject in the Administration of Baptism. He finisheth his Book with a very devout Oration which he believes the Judges ought to make to God before they make use of the Proof.

The Author of the Treatise is called *Herman Newwalds*; he refutes a Letter which is seen here, and which was written at *Langow* in the County of *Lippa* the 4th. October 1583, by *Adolphus Scribanus*, who assures, that a few days before he had seen Women accused of Witchcraft cast three times into the Water in presence of a multitude of People, which sunk no more than a bit of Wood. He cites divers Authors which have spoken of this proof, and after having expounded this *Phenomenon*, in supposing that as soon as a person makes agreement with the Devil, he is so possessed with him, that he contracts a great lightness by the habitation of a Being so light and volatil, as he concludes he is, that the use of this proof is very lawful.

The Treatise which refutes this Letter is curious enough: many things are related there touching the Origin, Practice and Abrogation of the proofs by a hot Iron, by cold Water, hot Water, &c. In it also are related several Traditions of the Common People which regard the mark of Wizards, the Feast of * *Loup-Garous* of *Livonia*, and divers superstitious means or Magick to discover Wizards, and to Divine; The pretended lightness communicated to Witches by the Volatility of the Spirit which possesseth their body: And tho' it's maintained against the Physician *Wier*, that these Women are worthy the utmost punishment, yet the Tryal of Immersion is not approved of any other besides him.

It were to be desired that now there are great Philosophers in the World, some one would give a good Treatise upon Witchcrafts. It's supposed as a constant Principle that as soon as Wizards and Magicians have been seized by the Authority of Justice, the Devil cannot do the least thing for their deliverance, and yet in other occasions he makes a hundred Actions more difficult than the breaking open a door. They are constrained to admit of a hundred other silly qualities. Men should profoundly reason upon all this: And seeing this Age is the true time of *Systems*, something should be found out touching the Commerce which may be betwixt the Devil and Man. There is no Philosophy more proper for that than that of Mr. *Descartes*, chiefly because men have so well disputed on the occasional causes. It seemeth

* Where
Witches are
turned into
Wolves.

erh that hitherto the question of Witchcrafts hath only been treated by Judgments either too incredulous or too credulous. Both of 'em are very unfit to succeed in this, since they are commonly guilty of the same defect, which is, to determine or deny, or to believe without searching into things. There never were People more bold to deny Extraordinary Facts than the wretched *Spinozists*. Yet they are very ill grounded, seeing there is scarcely any thing whereof their Hypotheses do not engage them to hold the Possibility. I do nevertheless grant that the Discovery which is made from time to time of several sorts of Knaveries, is for them as well as for others a Reason of uncertainty. There hath of late hapned an Accident at *Campen*, in the *Over-Issels*, which will not be unacceptable to give an Account of here.

It is that in the Month of *December* 1685, a Boy of 13 Years shewed by great contortions of Body and Sinews that he was furiously Tormented. They even would say, that he emitted Nails, Needles and Pins by Urine, and all that was shewn in a Glas wherein he had Piss'd in presence of those which kept him. He accused a Woman which had given him a Root to have bewitched him: Several believed it, and being moved for him, with a great Compassion Recommended him to God by Ardent Prayers. Others not believing that in this there was reason enough to accuse the Woman of Witchcraft, imagined notwithstanding that the Devil did put these strange Bodies into the Glas where the Boy pissed. Notwithstanding the People were so moved that if the prudence of the Magistrates had not interven'd this Woman had been in great danger. In fine, they ceased to say that this Boy emitted Pins, at any other time but only towards the end of the Month of *January*; he bethought himself of another thing, which was to cast Stools and vomit Hairs, bits of Scales, and other things of this kind. The Wifely, who were far from thinking that there was any Magick in it, concluded it to be a pure Artifice, and the Magistrate applied himself so well to find it out, sometimes in Threatning this Boy, sometimes in making him promises; at last he declared that his Father and Mother in Law had made him learn all this Play of a Vagabond Woman who asked but 100 pence for such a secret: He gave the Magistrates the Spectacle of his Vomits, of his Convulsions, and of the Activity with which he would make Pins, &c. fall in the Glas which he was to piss in. His Father and Mother in Law, which had a Reputation of Piety, were brought before the Judges; but because there was not found where-withal to convince 'em that they were Partners in the fraud, and that the Boy had declared he had unjustly accused them, they were absolved, and the Son was condemned to be whipt by his Father.

This Accident puts me in mind of one which is related in the *Journal of the Learned*; of the 11th September 1682. They were some young Women that were of the Neighbourhood of *Toulouse* which vomited Pins and Ribbands, and that suffered other Accidents so singular that they were taken to be possessed, and they were endeavour'd to be cured by Exorcisms: But the able Physicians which the Parliament enjoined to observe well the matter, declared these Phenomens might be expounded by Principles purely Natural; and they were not a little confirmed in this opinion, when they observed that feigned Exorcisms produced upon these Persons the effects as the true ones. The difference that is betwixt them and the little Boy at *Campen*, is, that the latter did thro' Malice what the first did by a Hypochondriack Malady.

He that Inform'd us of the Affair of the little Boy is an Advocate of *Zeeol*, Named Mr. Nuis, who hath published in *Dutch* a very considerable Treatise of Geometry. He Entitleth it, *Gehuyk Aan Het Rektangulum Catholicum Geometrico-Astronomicum*, &c. *De Zwolle*, by Gerard Tide-man 1686, in 4to. in *Amsterdam* at *Waesbergs*. He hath divided it into Three Parts: He shews in the First the Geometrical use of this new Instrument, and briefly touches what hath been said by others on the use of the Compass, and of the Rule of proportion. He also speaks of *Trigonometry* of Draughts, and of the use of this Instrument to measure the Visual Angles, Height, Draughts and Distances. In the Second he Treats of Solar Dyals, and gives a new general Method to Trace the Hourly Circles, the Azimuths, the Almucantaraths, the Signs of the Zodiack, upon all sorts of Surfaces, and that in Three manners, one by Rule and Compass, and the Two others by this new Instrument. Besides its probableness, here is shewn how to find the Declination, Inclination and the Reclination of Draughts. All this is maintained by Mathematical Demonstrations. The Third speaks of Spherick Trigonometry, and of the Astronomical Problems which are thereby resolved, and of the Construction of an Universal Clock comprehended in this Instrument, and fit to find the Hours and Azimuths by the Sun and Principal Stars in all places of the World where the Elevation of the Pole passeth not the 65 Degree. The Appendix contains the Resolving several Problems of Astronomy by Rule and Compass on the Principles of Dyalling. The same Author hath published a small Work in 4to where he Geometrically sheweth why the Current of Water makes the Beds of Rivers, or where they run sometimes higher and sometimes lower; and why the means employed hitherto for the *Rhine on Issel* have not been successful. He Composed this Book upon occasion of the Works, that were prepared for the use the Fort of

Scenck, and Entituled it, *Redenen Mid-
delen Aan Aerdieping en Aertzanding
de Rivieren en Havens op een Meet-
bundinghe Maniere betoogt en aan ge-
wesen.*

*A Treatise of Law by Anthony Matthews
in the Famous University of Leyden,
wherein he Treats of Nobility of Prin-
ces, Dukes, Counts, Knights, Esquires;
in a word, it's a Treatise of all the
kinds of Gentry. Amsterdam, Sold
by Janff. Waesberge and Felix Lope,
1686.*

THis Work in 4to is very useful to those that would thoroughly know the History of the Middle Times in Regard to those Countries, which are generally neglected, and Men apply themselves to the Study of the First and Last Ages, and despise the Middle, by Reason of the horrible Barbarity which is in all their Writings, which must be consulted. Mr. *Matthews* was not discouraged at these displeasing Obstacles, he has turned over with a deal of Patience, the old *Pancreas* and *Archives*, and has drawn from thence a great many Memoirs and curious Pieces, which have not been as yet Published, and which serve as a light to several dark Places of History. He endeavours most to clear what concerns the Town of *Utrecht*, his own Country. He Explains the Form of its Government, its Rights, the Authority of its Bishops, and Vicissitudes of all that past in them. He likewise applies himself very particularly to the History of the Province of *Holland*, and shews the *Epoch* of these Courts which is generally given. He clears by the by several things concerning the History of other Nations, that of the *Low Countries*, and in particular that of the *Franches*, and makes many learned Observations upon all the Dignities mentioned in his Title, so that its a very useful Work. The Church was always so embodied in the World, the Disorders of which he sheweth, that the Author cannot get forward without falling foul on all sides, so that the Reader may expect in this great Volume a long account of what concerns the Clergy. He finds there Fryars and Canons of all Sects and Kinds, Convents where the Religious and Religiouses lived together; I do not say in the same Cell; but under the same Roof and in the same Apartment. The World Naturally detracting the Chastity of Cloisters, hath given occasion to think very oddly thereon, and it was to take away that Scandal that the Civil and Canon Laws have forbidden both Sexes to live in the same Convent. Nevertheless Mr. *Matthews* Reports that *St. Briget* founded several of this Nature, and that *Gilbert of Semplingham* founded a great many by Advice of *St. Bernard*. A-

mongst other Authors he quotes the Chronicle of *Montferain*, which saith, that in the Year 1223, because they would send abroad many of the Convent Sisters, many glossed thereupon, that the time of their Lying In drew near. *Consuetudo Laicis more loquentes dicebant Moniales illas a Monachis stupratas esse quibus jam pariendi tempus instaret.* He quotes a Poet named *Nigellus*, who said that the Mother *Abbes* very well deserved that name by her Marvelous Fertility.

*Quæ pastoralis baculi dotatur honore
Illa quidem melius fertilisq; parit.*

As he is a Satyrical Poet it would be very ill done to believe this upon his bare saying. It is generally believed that *St. Willibrord* was the first Preacher of the Gospel amongst the *Frizons*. But Mr. *Matthews* shews that *St. Eloy* Bishop of *Nayon* had Instructed these *Barbarians*. It is true, that the greatest part of these Conversions was reserved for those that came after them; for *St. Wilfride*, *St. Willibrord*, *St. Vulfran*, &c. had a great hand in them and so had *Pepins* Troops, and them of *Charles Martel* his Son: For Mr. *Cordunoy* acknowledgeth in his History of *France*, that tho' the *Frizons* suffered *Wilbrord* to speak to them of the Christian Religion, *Pepin* could not trust to that, because most of them left off the worship of their Gods only by force. A little after he saith, they Revolted, and *Charles Martel* having Vanquished them, beat down their Idols and Temples, and cut down the Forests which they thought Sacred, and caused all them to be killed which would not submit. It was a good time in those Countries for those which converted. Mr. *Matthews* quotes *William Malmesbury*, who saith, that the *Saxons* and the *Frizons* were Converted by the pressing care of *Martel*, who threatned one, and promised a recompense to the other. If it were *Charles Magne*, *St. Willibrord* would not have received any profit, for he did not live so long; but under *Charles Martel* *St. Willibrord* and *St. Boniface* might have passed for Famous Converters, at the Expence of the manner of doing, and of their Masters Purse.

*The Art of Preaching the Word of God,
containing the Rules of Christian Elo-
quence. 12s. At Paris, 1687. page
524.*

THe Judgment of men is so different, and the circumstances, which produce perswasion, are sometimes so contrary to one another, that it is hard to prescribe unto Orators such Rules as are a little particular and of some use. Yet as there are defects which all Men blame, and such methods as please almost all People in the same Age, Masters of Arts have thought

it requisite to remark them. Indeed these general reflections are not unprofitable, provided we do not exceed those bounds. For as soon as we come to particulars, we may chanceto give for Maxims, contested things, and so force, or spoil the Genius of a young Man, instead of perfecting him. This is what those who shall read the Books, which we are going to speak of, may easily observe, and which we shall endeavour to make here as plain as we can.

The Author of the work, whose Title we have set down, is a *Roman Catholick* Preacher, who has thought convenient to remain Nameless, apparently for the same Reason, which hath hindred him a long while from Publishing these Reflections upon the *Art of Preaching*; the reason was because he saw every day so much Jealousie

amongst Persons of the same
* P. 2, 3. employ: * Every Orator has particular turns and methods, which seem good to him only. That leaves always some suspicion that he blames unjustly in others what agreeth not with his particular Genius. He hath divided his work into Four Books, which are as so many Conversations, wherein he Treats after a particular manner, (and which have no Taste of the Style of Schools) of the principal qualities necessary for a Preacher.

The first Book concerns the Studies which a Christian Orator ought to prosecute. Herein is maintained, that he ought to read the Precepts of the Heathens, and that they are necessary to attain Christian Eloquence.

2. That *Logick* is not less necessary, provided thereby is understood the Art of Reasoning well, to discern what is true from what is false, the certain from the doubtful, and that which is evident from what is probable; because this

* P. 1. 29. * necessary use of true *Logick* cannot be sufficiently learned, by the reading of *Aristotles Rhetorick*, nor even by the frequent Commerce, which we ought to have with good Authors, as *F. Rapin* pretends, who is cited here without being named.

3. In regard to *Physick*, he thinks that that Part only which regards Man, is absolutely necessary to be known, because he ought to be acquainted with all the natural Dispositions of the Mind, and all the general and particular Truths, which make him more able and ready to say, this is true.

* P. 36. 84. 4. Touching *Scholastick Divinity*, * he introduces an *Abbot* who testifies a high contempt for those who maintain that the *Scholastick Doctors* teach often nothing less than the Doctrin of the Church; and that when even they do teach it, they cannot dispose their minds to Preach it well. But he answers him, that true *Scholastick Divinity* is nothing else than the Doctrin of the Church, Examined and Established according to the solid

Rules of true *Logick*, which teach how to define, divide, and reason exactly. The *Abbot* having replied, that if so, Men have no other obligation to the Master of Sentences, nor to his Commentators, than for having made the Science of the Church *Scholastick*; or filling it with an infinite deal of unprofitable and Chymical Questions, and of having given it a very Barbarous Style: the Author replies, That we must distinguish what this method hath in it Essential in it self, from the defect which the misfortune of Times, and imprudence of several Professors have suffered to slip into it. 2. That the only Design of these Authors was to include, in one body of Doctrin, all the vast Science of the Church, which was confusedly disposed in Scripture and in the Ancient Fathers, without any natural Order, and to Reduce all the Truths, which God hath Revealed to us, to certain principal Heads, which comprise them all, and give them an Order, founded upon the nature of things, or upon the Subject. 3. That before this Reduction, this Study did extremely displease the Mind, not only by its length, but also by the confusion of matters. That according to the opinion of the *Roman Church*, Men put themselves into great danger of falling into Error, and of casting others therein, when they immediately apply themselves to the Study of *Holy Writ*, and *Ancient Fathers*; without having before studied in Methodical Divinity, necessary Precautions. 4. That the *Roman Church* approves not that Men should indifferently read Scripture. 5. That there are a great many Errors in the Works of the *Ancient Fathers*, which they advanced with a good intention; but that they have been since condemned. That they have made very Orthodox Propositions upon the Mysteries of their time, and in the sense they gave them, which ought no more to be mentioned, without some Mollifying. That they have made use of several Hyperbolical Expressions, which seem contrary to the Sentiments of other Fathers, and what they themselves have elsewhere spoke with less heat. 6. *Scholastick Divinity* Teacheth, according to the Author, how to distinguish always what is of Faith with that which is not. This exact distinction, pursueth he, is very important in our Sermons, tho' never so much neglected by a thousand People, * who apply themselves much more to the opinions of * P. 32. Doctors, than to the true Faith, and who affirm doubtful opinions, with the same firmness as undoubted Truths.

Notwithstanding he dissembles not the Defects of the *Catholicks*; but their obscure and barbarous Style he attributes to the Ignorance and ill Judgment of the Ages wherein they lived. The evil is, that when Men begun again to know and tast the Clearness and Elegance of the Style, there hath been found too great a number of Professors, who would maintain the Barbarity, as Essential to their Method. Nevertheless,

vertheless, by little and little this unsupportable *Fargon* is left off; but there is another defect, which is not easily forsaken, and that is an hundred unprofitable Questions, wherewith the Imprudence of Ancient Professors have filled the Divinity of the Schools, and that the weakness, or negligence of their Successors still obstinately maintain: They stop so long at these Questions which only perplex, and that disputations have rendered Famous, that they are forced entirely to omit the greatest part of such truths as are necessary for our Faith, for Christian Morality, which should make the principal Subject of each Treatise. So that Scholars found themselves at the end of their Study, altogether ignorant of true Divinity. The reason of this conduct, and that which has never yet been observed, is, of that to settle to the Study Divinity only, Men must Read,

* P. 74. Think, Digest*and Range an infinite number of positive things which they have never heard of: In fine, these Famous Questions are more proper to cause a glittering show and make the Subtlety of the Wit be admired, whereas if they were slightly passed over, they think it might be Attributed to some defect of Reason, or Apprehension. It must be confessed also that the Air of Schools is contrary to Eloquence.

This Book ends with the Examination of this Question, * Whether
* P. 85. 122. a Minister ought always to Preach us the most severe Morality? The Author, who is not of this Sentiment, alledges, in favour of the Casuists, a great number of Doctors which are for them, and the esteem that the

Roman Church makes thereof; upon which the *Abbot* answers him, * *That a man alone who founds his Decision upon the Gospel, or upon a Writing that cites the Canon Law, or some holy Father, ought always to be believed, even against the common opinion of Recent Doctors, what number soever they may be, because their opinion is founded but upon human Reasons.*

The strongest Reply to this is, That their Maxim is dangerous, and makes room for the *Calvinists*. Its in fine
* P. 18. concluded, * that a Minister ought never to take part in the particular opinions of Divines, and that he ought never to Preach them, being sent to Teach the pure Word of God, which contains only the truths of Faith, and moral Reflections, which are clear consequences of 'em.

II. The Second Book treats on the manner how to gain the attention and good will of the Auditors to a Christian Orator; and it is affirmed that the principal means is to give them an advantageous Idea of his good manners and probity, not in praising, or abasing himself by a Foolish and Proud Humility, or in making Compliments to them; but in taking of every thing, the Sentiments, Expressions and Manners,

which ought to be expected from a grave Man, full of Honour and Integrity: Every thing which may Augment or Diminish this Ideal is carefully remarked. Amongst what serves to encrease the first, place an inviolable Application to the most exact Truths, which banish all those extravagant thoughts, that are called *Concetti*; and even to shun excessive Hyperboles. 2. An extreme horror to Vice, and a sincere desire of inspiring it into his Auditors: Which engage him to be very grave in all his discourse; to avoid all sort of Railleries, even the most honest ones; never to paint Vice so as to may make the Hearers laugh, and not to speak Comedies, or Satyrs, instead of Sermons; to avoid all Tones of the voice and all such Gestures, which render a man contemptible or ridiculous. 3. He must appear extremely Modest, and be so far from all manner of boastings, as to be satisfied to make others sensible of the beauty, solidity, and force of his thoughts, without seeming to take notice thereof himself, and without making use of his Wit, Knowledge, Memory, or any other Artifice in Discourse to gain applause; he ought to shew a Moderation void of all regret, and every interested passion, never to speak of any thing, which the People know, they have any Personal Interest in. All that may be said or done, against a Minister, he cannot mention in his Sermons, without its producing a very ill effect. The best Apology is to appear as if one did not so much as think one had been affronted. 5. To give to these Expressions a Noble and Affectionate turn. 6. To make a frequent and judicious use of Sentences, or often to make use of general Expressions conceived in few words, which express that which is done, or is not done; what we ought, and what we ought not to do, in relation to the general conduct of Men. 7. To advance nothing but what is certain and undoubted: Which obligeth never to relate * in the * P. 205. Pulpit such facts, as are known 209. only to particular Relations, or common Report, which may be false; nor even such things as we know to be certain, when the certainty doth not appear so clearly to all men, that many cannot doubt thereof. We often see Persons cryed down in many things, wherein they are really very innocent. If it be said in a Pulpit, that such or such a thing is done in the City, immediately People cast their Eyes upon the Persons, which are the most suspected thereof; and there is no more doubt but Suspicions are true, since they are spoken of in a place where only Truth is expected. This Rule requires no examples to be cited, which are not in Scripture, or that can be called in Question. The more these examples do appear extraordinary, or miraculous, the more they annoy the Authority of the Preacher, by reason of the great inclination, which the generality of the People have to doubt of all

all things appear prodigious, 8. It is pretended upon the same Principle that we ought never to take a party in Questions, wherein the *Catholick Doctors* are lawfully divided; but to be satisfied simply to relate their Opinions, when that is requisite; because absolutely to assert a thing, is to give an Opinion which may be false, for the Word of God. 9. Finally, its

* P. 316, maintained and proved much
228. at large * against the multitude of Preachers of the *Roman Church*, that passages in Latin ought not to be cited, neither of Scripture nor the Fathers; because these Citations discourage their Auditors, by giving them so many Reproaches of their ignorance, and causing unavoidable distractions. The answer to the Objection, which is drawn from Custom, is, that if it was as inviolable as its pretended, the whole Sermon should be made in Latin, as was done some few Ages ago in *France*; or to preach as much or more *Latin* and *Greek* than *French*, as was also done at the beginning of this Age. We judge now, pursueth the Author, that our Fathers have done very wisely to change these Customs that the People might the better understand the Word of God. Those who shall come after us, will give us thanks, if we perfectly banish from our Christian Discourses all the Languages, which the greatest part of Christians understand not. Afterwards we are taught how to make use of the passages of Scripture and the Fathers, after a manner which is not tedious.

III. All the Studies of a Preacher, and the care he ought to take to acquire himself Authority over those who hear him, tends only to persuade them, and to create a value upon the strength of the proofs which he brings. This then is the principal, and it is that for which particular precepts are given in the Third Book. It is nevertheless, what is most neglected; because good and solid proofs are always truths which appear common, and that we apply our selves much more to what may render the Orator Admirable, than what may efficaciously persuade the Auditors. We do not perceive that this desire of appearing Famous hinders us from saying almost any thing Essential to the purpose, and makes us fall into a thousand extravagancies. If we should retrench, saith the Author, from a hundred Sermons that are heard every day, all that we should dare to say, to any honest man, for fear of making our selves ridiculous in his opinion, what would remain would be a very small matter, and often nothing at all.

To remedy this abuse it is proposed as an uncontestable Maxim, that an Orator ought to prove every thing, and to advance nothing, which has not some reason in it, or which may not serve to establish it, or to give it more force or clearness. The very Exordiums, which serve not for this, are not only unprofitable, but also contrary to the end of Eloquence;

and so much the more contrary, as they appear adorned and polished with more Artifice. Similitudes, which prove nothing, and which are of pure Ornament, may in some manner be suffered, provided they are not frequent, and that they are expressed in so few words, that they give not leisure to the Auditors to take notice that they are Similitudes: but not in vile false Lustres, against which the Author declaims in many places; and with much reason.

He Treats afterwards of the choice of the Matter, and asserts that Experience hath made *Roman Catholick* Preachers a long time since to judge that it is more useful to choose one important Subject only, which should be treated thoroughly on in a Sermon, than only to make Paraphrases upon the Gospels, or on any other Book of the Scripture. But in making this choice, we too often fall into a considerable defect, which consists in fixing on such Texts as we may say are extraordinary and curious things. * I see no * P. 261. other reason but this, pursues the Author, which hath obliged one of our most excellent Preachers of this Age to make a Sermon upon the Kingdom of Devils: Such a Subject is very fit to make one say many particular things, known but of few. Tho' it never appeared proper to me to produce any other effect than what it one day did which was to oblige a Prince of the Blood, at the end of so extraordinary Sermon, to go and tell the Preacher that he had Preached in a Devil and a half. Apparently our Author would not approve what is related of a Famous *Protestant* Preacher, who having taken his Text upon *Matt. 10. If thou art the Son of God, bid these Stones to become bread*, began his Sermon much after this manner. "My Brethren, it hath been usual to Preach to you in this Pulpit the Word of God: but I go about to Preach to you this day the word of the Devil.

The principal subject of a Sermon ought commonly to be somewhat general, according to the Author, the Auditory being composed of all sorts of Persons. But he judgeth it not convenient it should be drawn from the *Existence of God*, from the *immortality of the Soul*, or from *Predestination* *. He maintains * P. 264. there is almost always more & Seq. harm than good done, by undertaking thoroughly to expound these great Truths, to uphold them with all their proofs, and to answer all their Objections. As to *Predestination*, how able, saith he, and prudent soever a Preacher is, he cannot treat of all that is Essential to it, without producing in the minds of the Hearers such perplexity as he cannot so well dissipate, but that there will always some doubts remain. As to the Two others, the People is never capable of those reasons which establish them, and each man is always more persuaded of himself, than he can be by all the reasons which may be alledged. Understanding Persons have these truths

so well Eftablished in their Minds, that they doubt when they think on them without a design of examining them, or proving them. Ill proofs, which are sometimes given thereof, are fitter to make them suspected than any thing else. As to the Impious, it's certain they never are more obstinate against Divine Truths, than when they are threatened to have them demonstrated, making them then to deny several Propositions, which at another time they would have granted. These Truths being the foundation of all Morality, we ought never to speak of them but as undoubted Principles. If we have any sensible and popular Reasons, it may be added in a few words, without making a shew of proving them; these sorts of Proofs convincing better than long Arguments. The same Precepts are given, in respect to the other Mysteries of the Christian Religion, as the Trinity and Incarnation; and it's affirmed that there is no better manner of Preaching them, than in making People observe what glory they owe to God and Jesus Christ, and to enlarge yet more upon the good and useful Sentiments which these Mysteries ought to inspire into us. This method is very profitable, chiefly for *Roman Catholick* Preachers, whose Religion is not very demonstrable, and who are to deal with a People who have accustomed themselves to believe rather by Prejudice, than be persuaded by Reason.

After that he speaks of Division; and as it's to be taken for granted that Christian Orators are always Masters of their Subject, and of the Propositions, which they would form thereon: So they will do wisely to propose to themselves only two or three Truths to establish in so many different parts. Several Reasons, and divers Important Precepts are given on this matter: As that all Propositions must be Moral and Practicable; except those which are formed upon matters of Faith, which import the necessity of Sanctification, and that they give an occasion to come to some particulars of the ordinary actions of life. After that he marks the qualities that the proofs ought to consist on, by which these Propositions are maintained. 1. Their Sense must be different from that of the Proposition: 2. The truth must appear more plain in 'em. 3. They must be conclusive. To make sure of the force of an Argument we need only, according to the Author, to consult our selves, before we make use thereof, and to examine if this reason would content our mind,

* P. 323. when another should coldly propose it. * As to Novelty he proves here that it consists not in making digressions, and in seeking for subtil reasons; but in expounding things after so natural a turn, that no other form but that of truth is given them: In following this method it may happen, by the ill Judgment of the generality of Preachers, who

reject every thing which does not appear extraordinary, that the most common things will seem the newest to the People, being such Truths which never were Preached unto them.

We should be too long if we related all the fine things the Author speaks upon the Method of understanding a solid Argument, without coming into tedious Repetitions, by applying it to the pretence of Preachers, and particular cases.

IV. The Fourth Book treats of what may preserve in the Auditors a favourable disposition to the Speakers, and it's believed that the whole Artifices is to render them attentive, by proposing things to them after an easie and acceptable manner: For Attention cannot be easie; 1. Without clearness in the expressions and in the Matter it self; which obliges us to banish all words that are too old, or too new, as well as the Terms of Art, and of the Schools, and all Methaphysical Speculations. 2. Briefness in Periods, without which the Discourse becomes Unintelligible, and in the Sermon it self, which ought never to last longer than an hour. The attention is rendered agreeable by variety in Subjects and Phrases, by diversity of the Style, by Figures and Ornaments, which however spoil all when they are excessive, or far sought: And in short, by sweet and affectionate Motives through the whole Sermon. Upon all this, are remarked the Defects, which we ought to take heed of, and we are taught how to avoid, being lifeless and insipid. He finishes the whole work by giving rules for Panegyrics.

Historia Animalium, &c. Or a short and Accurate History of Animals, mentioned in Holy Writ, in which the Names of every one are drawn from their Originals; and their Nature, Profits and Uses are Explained. A work in which many Writers both Sacred and Profane are Illustrated, and chiefly Great Bochart in all the Chapters is Augmented and Amended, by the Labour and Study of Henry May. Francfort and Spire, 1686. in Octavo, at Amsterdam: Sold by Waesberge and Boom

THE Work is in Two Parts, Writ by Mr. May, Professor of the Eastern Tongues at Durlac, upon Animals, and chiefly upon those which the Scripture speaks of. He undertakes to make the History of Four footed Beasts, Fowls, Creeping things, and of Aquatick, or Amphibious Animals. He designs Four things in this piece. 1. To Search after the Etymology of their Names, chiefly in Hebrew, because this Disquisition may serve for the understanding of several Passages of Sacred and Profane Writers. 2. To make an exact Description of Exterieur forms of Animals, of their Nature, and of their Qualities. 3. To re-

mark

mark the usefulness which may be drawn from them in the various occasions of life.

4. To speak of the Superstitious use that *Pagans* have made of them, in the Sacrifices and Ceremonies of their Religion. Amongst the Authors that have written upon this Subject there are few who perfectly knew the *Eastern Tongues*. *Bochart* is perhaps the only Man who was so well read in this point as to undertake without Temerity to write upon so difficult a Subject. But *Bochart* himself confesses, that he has yet left a great many things to be discovered. Besides that, his Book is very large of the Animals spoken of in Scripture, and of full Citations, which few are capable of understanding. Therefore Mr. *May* thought it would not be unprofitable to examine this matter, according to the Ideas of this great Man, whose faults he endeavours to make known and augment his Discoveries. The First Book treats of the Four kinds of Animals, and the Second of divers Four Footed Beasts in particular. This Second Book is divided into Two Sections, the one for Domestick and the other for wild Animals. This is sufficient for the method of your Author; we shall make no longer stop before we enter upon the Principal Matters which he treats on; only observe what is most singular, and in what he differs from *Bochart*.

In the 11. Ch. of the first Book, he remarks after *Bochart*, *Ludolf* and *Golini*, that the Name *Behema* which the *Hebrews* give four footed Beasts, comes from the *Ethiopic*, *Bahama* which signifies, to be dumb, or to form only inarticulate sounds. In the same Chapter, he searches for the Origin or Division of Animals into clean and unclean, which is so Ancient that it was in use, even before the Flood. G. 7. 2. He hath an inclination for the opinions of *Heideggerus*, who believes the Sacred Author calls such Animals clean as nature hath no aversion to, and those unclean which are only fed upon thro' necessity, such as are Crocodiles, Serpents, Crows and the like. But he decides nothing in this place. He afterwards examines this famous Question, Whether it was permitted to eat of the flesh of Beasts before the Flood; He maintains the affirmative, and endeavours to prove it, in translating the 30 vers. of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, quite contrary to the common way of Interpreters. He pretends that *Lamed* of the *Hebrews* is not always the sign of the Dative, that it often signifies, also, with, together, and that in repeating the Verb and case of the preceding Verse, the Translation may be made thus, I have given you also every beast of the Field, and every fowl of the Firmament, every creeping thing, in which there is a living Soul, and every herb of the Field to feed upon. To this question Mr. *Majus* adds another, which is not less curious, viz. if the prohibiting of eating Blood yet subsists. He is for the negative, and strives to shew the abolishment of it in spite of powerful Adversaries, whom

he opposes, as *Grotius*, *Salmatius*, *De Courcelles*, *Gerard Vossius*, *Blondel*, &c. In the 6. Ch. of the same Book is the discussion of some Questions of this Nature, concerning the Animals which God brought before Adam, and the names he gave them. It is asked, if there were of all sorts there, and how much time was requisite for Elephants and all the Animals formed in another Continent, to come from the remotest parts of *America* or *Indies*, to do homage to our first Father? It is answered that tho' an Author expresseth himself after a very general manner, it is still a natural equity not to press his expressions beyond the limits in which the circumstances of the Discourse restrains them: That the terms cannot be understood of all the Animals of the Earth, and all the Fowls of the Firmament, but of those of *Mesopotamia*, which were about the places where Adam had been Created: That there is no contradiction; that God, who produced Frogs and Lice of *Egypt*, made Bears come forth against the Children who jeered the Prophet, and sent Lyons against the Samaritans, should bring so many Animals to Adam. The Knowledge and Judgment of the first Man is much insisted upon, and its pretended that he gave all Animals Names which express very well their Natures, because this supposition is the Foundation of all the Etymologies which are sought for in the rest.

The First Book begins with Elephants, and the word *שנהב* *Schenhabbim*, King. 10. 22. gives an occasion to our Author to enter into the matter. This word is commonly translated by those of Ivory or Elephants Teeth. Indeed the term of *Schen* signifies Teeth. *Bochart* pretends that the Ancient *Hebrews* called Elephants *החבב* *Kababim*, because they are of a brown colour, and that *Schenhabim* was made by a Syncope of *Schenkababim*. Mr. *Majus* saith to this. 1. That this retrenchment seems very hard. 2. That there are Elephants quit black and even white. 3. That there is a *Daguesch* in *ב* which Sheweth that *b* must be redoubled and that we must say *Schenhabbim* and not *Schenhabim*. Therefore he proposes another Etymology, which seems more likely to be true; he believes that it was spoken in the Singular *חבב* *Hab* an Elephant taken from *חבב* *Hababb* to make a noise with teeth, to gnash them, which is yet used amongst the *Arabians*. Even as the *Latins* have called this Animal *Barrus* from *Barrire*.

* We know that it is the *Indians*, * p. 146 who first undertook to Tame Elephants, and *Pliny* gives us the manner: But our Modern Travellers relate it a little different. Elephants newly taken must have Four Months Apprenticeship, before they will know how to bend their Knees, and before they are in a way of serving in Military expeditions; they are lead to drink twice a day, two tamed Elephants are the Conductors of the Flock; they do before those which are not tamed, all the actions which

which their Masters have taught them; and when the wild ones will not obey, the Tamed ones punish them for it with great blows of Teeth.

* As Oxen are of the most robust
* 2. c. Animals that are, the Hebrews call them אַבִּירִים *Abbirim* from אַבִּיר *Abbir*, or *Abbir*, Strong and Powerfull. This Name is likewise given to GOD and the Celestial Spirits; and therefore it's commonly Translated Ps. 78. 25. אַבִּירִים לֶחֶם *Lechem Abbirim*. The Bread of Angels. But as *Abbirim* is also said of Persons who surpass in Force and Power, the Author believes that it may well be Translated the Bread of the Powerful, or great Lords, as it should be said in High Dutch *Herren Brod*, white and delicate Bread, upon which Persons of Quality commonly do Feed. The labour of Oxen is one of the Principal Causes of the Fertility of the Land, that is, according to Mr. *Majus*, which hath given place to the Fable of the Horn of Abundance of *Amalthea*, which he derives from the Hebrew עֹמֵל *Amal*, to work; where as *Bochart* brings *Amalthea* from the Phenician *Amalthea*, a Nause. If

* P. 239. what is related on the credit of *John Albert of Mandello* is true, we must confess that the Climat may cause great changes in the Constitution of Animals, This Traveller affirms that the Oxen of the *Indies* are as light as ours are heavy, that being coupled to a Chariot, they are lead where one will, in putting a Rope betwixt their Nostrils, and that they draw it with so much force that he himself made Six Leagues in *Germany*, with such carriage in four hours. Besides,

* P. 282. * Oxen are not every where so miserable as in *Europe*. There are Countries, as the Kingdom of *Bengal*, in the State of the Great *Mogul*, where Divine Honours are rendered unto them, where it is prohibited to kill them, and where they are Entered with more Pomp and Magnificence than Men. At

* P. 283. *Calicut*, there is a Holy Water made of the Ashes of a burned Cow: The Women sprinkle it upon their Moveables and Houses, and the King and Priests do wash therein their whole Bodies, before they enter into the Temple, and take their Meals. The Sacrifice of the Heifers is well expounded in this Chapter, and Burnt Offerings of Beeves, of the Proverbs and Laws of the Scripture which have been made upon the occasion of these Animals.

* P. 2. * *Bochart* brings the Name of Camel, *Camelus*, from the Hebrew כַּמֶּל *Gamel*, which signifies to wean and to render, because, saith he, this Animal remembers a long time the evil which hath been done him, and faileth not to render it. The Author is of the same opinion with *Bochart*, in regard of the Origin of the Word, but he cannot approve the reason which this Learned Man giveth.

* What likelihood is there that A-

* P. 309.

dam should omit all the fine Qualities of the Camel, and should impose thereupon a name, which gives an Idea but of a Vice, he who knew the bottom, the nature of all Animals? He therefore believes that it is better to remark that the *Gamel* of the Hebrews hath a signification as extensive as the *Mereri* of Latins, which is taken in good and bad sense, and that it signifies to do good and evil; it hath been applyed to the Camel in the first sense, because of the Profit which Men receive from them. Here is expounded the passage of *Matt.* 19. 24. It is easier for a Camel to pass thro' the Eye of a Needle, &c. It is pretended that the Term of the Original Καμήλα always signifies a Camel, and cannot be taken in this place for a Cable. The explication of the Proverb of *Mat.* 23. 24. is found here.

* Those who only look upon * P. 361. Beasts but as *Automatas* and *Machine*s, without Knowledge, shall find in *Chap.* 4. some little Ancient and Modern Histories, which they may expound at their leisure, if they do not love Contradiction. * *Aristotle* assures that a * *Hist.* King of the *Scythians* had a *Anim.* 9. Mare which brought the finest c. 48.

Foals in the World, that they would have her Leapt by one of her own Colts; that for to surmount the Horror this Animal had for Incest, they were obliged to disguise his Dam; but after Copulation, having found the Fraud imposed upon him, full of sadness and despair, he went and precipitated himself from the height of a Rock. If we believe *Justus Lypsus* in his time, another like thing happened in *Spain* to a Horse, which was cheated in the same Act; he no sooner found it out, than he tore the Instrument of his Crime with his Teeth. In giving the Description of Horses, the following passages are expounded at large, *Zach.* 1. 8. 6. 2. *Job* 39. 23, 28. He corrects the Latin of the New Ethiopick Testament of *Nisselius* and *Petræus*, upon *Ja.* 4. 7. p. 382, according to *Bochart*. There the Superstitions of Pagans in regard to Horses and Chariot of the Sun, which *St. Chrysostom* believes to be taken from the Chariot of *Elia*, by reason of the Proximity of the Name of the Prophet *Helias*, and of *Helios*, which is that of the Sun in Greek. There is the Fable of *Vishnon* which some *Indians* adore, as the Director of the World: And which they say hath been changed into a white and winged Horse, which is in Heaven, standing upon three Feet, holding the right Foot up, because that as soon as he shall lay it down, this Universe will come to an end, and will make place for a new World. To see more of this, examine *Philip Baldæus* upon the Idolatry of the *Indians*, *Chap.* 10.

* The name of As was for a very * c. 5. long time an affront; but it hath not always been so generally odious. Thus sometimes Robust Persons were called, who were very laborious, as *Jeffrey*, who was surnamed

firmamed *Afinus*, *propter Vires, non propter Pigrum*, according to the Relation of *Aumoni* in the III Book of the Miracles of *St. Benedict*. Therefore the Religious of the Holy Trinity, or *St. Mathurin*, are not affronted that their Order should be named *Ordo Afinorum*. *Chamor* one of the Hebrew names of an Ass, was that of the Father of *Sichem*, even as amongst the *Latins*, there were some called *Afella*, and *Afinus*. As to the Origin of *Chamor*, our Author is not of the opinion of *Bochart*, which brings it from one of the significations of *חמר* *Chamer*, used amongst the *Arabians*, viz. to be red, whereas *Mr. Majus* derives *Chamor* from *Chamar*, to be hard, heavy and difficult, a sense frequent amongst the *Chaldeans* and the *Talmudists*, and which agrees very well with this Animal, destined to carry great loads. Amongst the good qualities of an Ass, one of the principal is, as it is said, that it's Hearing is very acute, to which the length of his Ears contributes not a little. Thence People will have the Fable of *Midas* to come, to whom Poets have given Asses Ears, because nothing passed in his Kingdom but what he knew. The passage of *St. Mat. 21. 5.* is Expounded *P. 425.*

* *Bochart* hath uncontestedly *P. 510.* proved that they were not Mules which *Ana* found in the Desert, in feeding the Asses of his Father. *Gen. 36. 24.* But our Author does not also believe so, that it must not be *Emean*, Gyants who are understood by *ימין* *Femim* in this passage. He has more inclination for the opinion of *Wagenfeilius* and *Aben Ezra*, who will have *Femim* to be the Name of an Herb, which is now no more known; but which was very much known in the time of *Moses*. The Author Expounds the Hebrew Phrase by this. It was *Nicot* who found out Tobacco, which is very like that of *Genesis 30. 14.* *Ruben* found the *Dudaim*, which *Ludolf* believes to be the Fig tree of the Indies. To all this *Mr. Majus* adds that *ימין* *Femim* is the name of an Herb in *Arabic* which *Goli* interprets *Blitum*, *Blite*, which is an insipid Plant and without salt, whereof much grows in the Deserts, and which Asses do feed upon.

* The Author agrees neither *c. 7.* with *Bochart* upon the extent of *אשחרות* *Ashtaroth* one of the names of the Sheep; for whereas *Bochart* will have it to pass for great and small Cattel, *Mr. Majus* pretends that it only belongs to Lambs, or Flocks of Sheep. Here the Ancient Sacrifices are very amply spoken of, the unprofitableness of them, and the necessity of that of the *Messia* are shewn; and to convince the Jews, a passage is produced out of a Book Entitled *Zohar*, * very Ancient, and much respected by the Jews. It is *R. Jochai* who speaks. If the *Messia* had not engaged himself to suffer all the

pains which the *Israelites* had deserved in sinning against the Law, nobody would be able to sustain them. Therefore *Isaiah* saith, Truly he hath borne our Griefs, &c. For the troubles that come unto the world, since the Law was published, and to which man is subject, are infinite. It's true, whilst the *Israelites* were yet in the holy Land, the Ceremonies and Sacrifices which they offered might take away sickness and pains in this world. But now the *Messia* takes them from men, until he quits this World, in loading himself with the pains which they were to suffer, *P. 510.*

In *Chap. 8.* *Mr. Majus* still engages the Sentiment of *Bochart* upon the Etymology of *חשיף* *Chasiph*, and of *עז* *Ez*, which both signify Goat: But in recompence he maintains the opinion of this Author concerning the Buck *Azazel*, against him who hath given us in *Latin* the *Moses* and *Aaron* of *Goodwin*, with Notes of his own. In speaking of the Worship which Pagans paid to these Animals, he refutes what * *St. Jerome* advances in *P. 569.* in the life of *St. Paul* the

Hermit concerning the Fauns and Satyrs, which this Father saith kept with *St. Anthony*, and prayed him to obtain Mercy from God for them, whom they knew to be come for the Salvation of the World.

* The Hebrews call a Dog *כלב* *c. 10.* *Chelebb*. And because *St. Jerome* expounded the Word *כלב* *Chelubb*, *Amos 8. 1, 2.* by that of *Uncinus*, *Bochart* thought that a Dog was called *Chelebb*; because it's Teeth are like so many Hooks, which do not let go their hold. *Mr. Majus* saith to that, that there are other Animals who have as good Teeth as Dogs, and that *כלב* *Chelubb* also signifies a Cage or a Basket wherein Birds or Fruit are kept; and *Chelebb* and *Chelubb* may both come very well from one Root, which is lost, viz. *כלב* *Chelebb*, which should signify to keep, if one had not rather derive it from *Chelabb*, as he adds, and which comes from the *Arabic* *Chalaba*, to be mad, or rage. Being to treat of wild beasts in the Second Section of this Book, he begins with Lyons. He refutes, after *Bochart*, the Opinion of them who pretend that the six or seven Hebrew names of Lyon, do mark as many different Ages of this Animal: but they do not yield to this Learned Man that *ארי* *Ari*, or *אריה* *Arieth*, comes from *ראב* *Raab* to See. It's believed that the common Opinion which derives *Arieth* from *Arab*, *ארי* is the best, because it's pretended that this word doth not simply signify to gather Fruits, but also to cut or break with violence, or to tear off; and they endeavour to prove it by *Pf. 80. 13.* and the Explication of *R. D. Kimchi* upon *Pf. 22. 17.* which is refuted in the Chapter of the Panther in Explaining a passage of *Hosea 13. 7.* and there is mention made of the opinion of *Mr. Meibom* upon the word *אשר*, which he Interprets

pretends *Erectus*, as the Panther which stands Erect in the way to throw himself upon Passengers. And his Wit is much commended, his Judgment, and 3 Essays of the New Explication of the Old Testament which he hath published; tho' some are not of his opinion in Relation to Transposition, which he finds in the Book of *Job*, Ch. 31. Our Author pretends that the Leopard is a different Beast from the Panther, which oweth his birth to the She Lyon and Male Panther; and that tho' the name of Leopard was not invented till three Ages after Christ, them that have lived before have notwithstanding spoken of such Animals, under the name of *Parde*, as Pliny and Philostratus. Claudian describes 'em so in these Verses under the same Name.

*Obrua fulminei properant ad vulnera Pardi
Semine permixto geniti, cum forte Leona.
Nobiliorem uterum viridis corrumpit Adulter,
Hi maculis patrem referunt & robore matrem.*

The 4th Chapter treats of the Came- Leopard or Giraffe, the 5th. of the Tyger, the 6th. of the Lynx. These are Beasts which are not mentioned in Holy Writ, but are mentioned by Translators who understood it not well. Here is a mention of the Shape and Qualities of these Animals: And several Histories and Stories are drawn from Baldus, Belon, Kirchar, Ronzius, from Johnston, and chiefly from Dapper. As the description of Africk will soon appear in France by the Flemish Geographer, and as we have hopes of having all the other Volumes of this Author, we will pass over several Histories which Mr. Majus doth mention. Here is one taken out of Johnston, which is like those which are alledged in the Second Extract of Grotius P. 152, 153. An Ethiopian dreaming at Sea, that a Tyger was ready to devour him, went next night to hide himself in the Prow, but this Precaution did not avail him; for the Vessel being then at Anchor not far from the Coast, a Tyger entred and chose out this unfortunate Negro, and tore him in pieces, not touching any of the Europeans. The Wolf, the Hyena and the Thoes, take up the three following Chapters. Bochart deriveth the Hebrew word זעבב Zeebb, from זאב Zaab, of Gold; but Mr. Majus derives it from the Arabick word Zaaba or Daaba, to frighten, whence is formed the word דב Dib a Wolf, and perhaps the German Dieb, a Thief. The Hyena has not Legs so long as those of a Wolf, but its Body is as big and its Hair rougher and the Body spotted with divers colours. It's said that there are a kind of Beasts in Spain, which are called Ginetts, which resemble the Hyena. Thaesis a Greek word, which is the name of several little Beasts less than Wolves, of a yellow colour, the Hebrew call them צימ Tsim. See Bochart. They go in great Troops and do no harm to Men, only they enter Houses at night, and eat all they like. They are thought to

be very cunning Beasts; but it seems this craft is meerly Machinal, since it fails 'em when they have most need of it; for being at night in a House, if any of the Company be left at the Door, which begins to howl, all the rest do the same, and so they awake the Master and Family, which treat them like night Thieves.

Most of the Eastern Languages call a Bear דוב Dobb or Dubb. Bochart derives this word from the Arabick Dabiba, to be furr'd, and our Author likewise believes that it may be taken from another signification of the same word, which is to walk slowly.

Bochart has shewn that in *Isaiah* 34. 14. צימ Tsim, Signifies Wild Cats, Mr. Majus confirms that Explication, and addsto the remarks of this Learned Man, some Modern Histories; but he is not of this opinion touching זמר Zemar, Deut. 14. 5. Luther and Munster have explained it of the Elau. Gesner of the Giraffe, Bochart of the Camel, upon which our Author decides nothing: He saith, that the word אצו Acco, which is in the same passage would belong better to the Elau. Upon the word עופר Opher, a Fawn, in Arabick Algophro or Algaphro, from Gaphoron, the first hair of the Face, &c. The Wool of Cotton Cloath according to Bochart. Mr. Majus saith, that tho' this Conjecture is very witty, nevertheless he had rather derive עופר Opher from עפר Apher, Dust, because of the lightness of Deers, which run almost as quick as the Dust which the Wind carrieth.

That we may more commodiously use this work, there are three Indexes joined to it, one of the passages of Scripture, another of the Author quoted in this Book, and the third of the Subjects treated of. *Bib. un. Tom. 16. P. 138.*

A Discourse Concerning Liturgies by Mr. David Clerkson, at London, in Octavo P. 198. To which is Annexed an Answer to it by Dr. Comber.

THE Authors design is to Examine the Antiquity of the * P. 2. Liturgies, * or of Forms of Prayer which we are obliged to make use of at Church, without making any change therein. He denies not but that in the Primitive Church, there might have been private Persons who had composed certain Prayers that were commonly made use of in publick; even that there have been some men, who have made use of Prayers made by others. There is mention made of this last kind in the 23d. Canon of the 3d. Council of Carthage, held towards the end of the Fourth Age. This is the most ancient Liturgy, which the Author found, unless this name be given to the Lords Prayer. Mr.

David

* P. 2. David Clarkson * maintains it was repeated only in blessing the Signs of the Eucharist, and cites divers passages of the Ancients and Moderns, by which it appears that several Great Men lookt upon the Lords Prayer, rather as a Model, than as a Form whose terms must necessarily be kept. Which his Antagonist has sufficiently confuted.

II. The Author confesses that divers Churches had such an Order, * P. 4. & for Publick Worship, and for Seq. the Celebration of the Sacraments; but he believes that the resemblance consisted not in the same words, but in asking of God the same thing on such occasions. As to Regular Forms, which are only read, he pretends that during some Ages, the Custom was not in Practice. He brings divers general and particular Reasons thereof, which shall be here related in few words. The proofs he gives, to shew that there was no Form for the Celebration of the Sacraments in general, are these.

1st. We do not find in the Authors of the First Ages, when they speak of what happned in their Assemblies, any of these manners of speaking *ἀναγιγνώσκοντες εὐχάς*, *Preces legere*, to read Prayers, *de scripto recitare*, tho' they often speak of *Lectures*, of reading of *Psalms*, *Martyrologies*, and of *Epistles*, &c.

2^d. To Read and Pray, are things represented as very different by *Justin Martyr*, *St. Athanasius*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Sozomen*.

3^d. He that Prayed could not Read, if he had his Eyes raised towards Heaven. And this the Author endeavours to prove by *Tertullian*, *Clement Alexandrin*, *St. Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Denys of Alexandria*, and *Eusebius*, &c. Saint *Chrysostom* saith, that in Praying, as it was usual to do, to bless the Eucharist, there was more assurance required, for liberty of Expression (*παρρησία*) than *Moses* and *Elias* had; which is not necessary simply to Read a Liturgy. "The passages which the Author cites here, seem to have a respect to Prayers in general. To which we answer him, That what is said of

"Prayers, which we make our
* This was "selves, ought not to extend
not in the "all manner of Prayers;
Extract, "and that now Liturgies are
"to be excepted which are read. As for
"the word *παρρησία*, as it often simply signifies Assurance; So we may say, that those who read the Liturgy ought to do it with confidence, that the Prayer which they make shall be accomplished: We observe this in short, that it may be perceived, that the Citations of Authors will not go for concluding Arguments in the minds of many Readers. As these Citations cannot be related, this remark was necessary.

4. The Ancients never make mention of any Book of Prayers, in such places

where they would have spoken of them, if they had any such Books. We have Catalogues of Vessels, Utensils and Books of Churches, as Bibles, Gospels, &c. The Fathers speak of the good and bad use that hath been made of them; but there is no mention made of a Book of Publick Prayers. One of the First Books of this kind is the *Libellus Officialis*, which is spoken of in the 25 Canon of the IV Council of Toledo, held in D CXXXIII. But it was only a short instruction of the manner whereby Prayers ought to be formed. If there had been then any Liturgy, the 2, 5, 6, and 8, Canons, even to the 17, would be useless. Traditors of Liturgies have never been heard of, viz. People that in time of Persecution, gave up these Books to Heathens. And this would have appeared, because it was not so much the opinions of the Christians, that they were persecuted for by the Pagans, as their Worship, which consisted, as 'tis believed, in the Reading of Liturgies. The Romans were much more against new Liturgies, than new Gods; as appears by a passage of *Titus Livius* * who * L. 25, C. 1. relates that the Senate Prohibited a new manner of Worship, which was introduced into Rome, and caused the Books to be Seized, which those who were of this new Profession made use of. *Edixit ut quicumque libros latinos, precativæve, aut artem sacrificandi conscriptam haberet, eos libros omnes literasque ad se, ante Calendas Aprilis, deferret.*

5. We do not see that in the First Ages Liturgies were cited, to refute Errors or decide Controversies; as they would have been, if they'd had any, and particularly in the Arian and Pelagian Controversies.

6. How came it to pass that nothing was said of the Changes, that probably might have been made in them, or of the occasions which might have rendred these alterations necessary? *Paul of Samosatenus* prohibited the use of Hymns, which were Sung in Honour of Jesus Christ; the Arians oft enough changed the Doxology, the words prescribed by Jesus Christ in the Administration of Baptism, and the Confessions of Faith; yet we do not find that they have done so, in regard to Liturgies, wherein they would doubtless have had much stronger reasons for it. The addition of the Terms, *who was Crucified for us*, in the Trisagion, caused great troubles, but we see none that happened on the account of Liturgies.

7. The Ancient Christians, chiefly in the Fourth and Fifth Age, were extraordinary careful in keeping secret from the Catechumens and Heathens, the Symbols, Ceremonies and Prayers, which were used in the Celebration of the Eucharist. *St. Basil* saith, that even the words, which were used before, after and in the Consecration, were not written. It's in his Treatise of the Holy Ghost, C. 27 *Innocent* the

the First Bishop of Rome, in his Answer to Decentius of Gubio, sends him to no written Form; he will not even add in this Work the words which were used in giving the *Chrism*, for fear of publishing the Secrets of the Church. He testifies an equal reservedness in regard of the *Eucharist*, which shews they had no publick Form thereof.

II After having * made these
* P. 44. general Remarks, the Author comes to consider the *Eucharist* in particular:

He cites the 23 Canon of the Third Council of Carthage; *Ut nemo in precibus, vel Patrem pro filio, vel filium pro Patre nominet, & cum ad Altare assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio, &c. Et quasunque sibi preces aliquis describit, non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructioribus fratribus contulerit.* "That no man in his Prayers name the Father for the Son, nor the Son for the Father; and let him that is at the Altar always direct his Prayers to the Father. What Prayers soever any man makes for himself, let him not make use of them, before he hath communicated them to one of the better Instructed Brethren. The Author from thence draws divers Consequences, to prove that there was then no *Liturgy*. He chiefly founds his Argument upon this, that this Canon permitted those that Officiated, to make use of what Prayers they pleased, provided that they first communicated them to some wise Persons. Mr. Clarkson explains these words, by those of St. *Augustin* against the *Donatists* L. 6. c. 25. *Multi irruunt in preces non solum ab imperitis loquacibus, sed etiam ab Hæreticis compositas, & per ignorantie simplicitatem, non eas valentes discernere, utuntur iis, arbitantes quod bonæ sint.* "Many, saith he, throw themselves upon Prayers composed not only by ignorant Men and great Speakers, but also by Hereticks. Being too illiterate and too simple, to make a just distinction they make use of such as they think good.

2. The Author after that considers the 70. Canon of the Collection of the Council of *Africk*, which in effect is the same as the 12. of the Council of *Milan*, the Terms of which are these: *Placuit etiam hoc, ut preces, quæ probatæ fuerint ab omnibus celebrentur, nec aliæ omnino contra Fidem proferantur, sed quæcunque cum prudentioribus fuerint collatæ dicantur.* The Author observes from this, that the necessity of using certain Prayers was imposed upon those that could not distinguish the good from the bad; and besides, all they had to do was but to communicate them to some Person who was more capable of judging thereof than themselves. As for those who had more knowledge, they were permitted to make use of such Prayers, as they thought fit. Besides, here is only condemned the Prayers which are against Faith. And it was allowed that

those might be made use of, which were approved by a Synod, or by able Men; whence the Author concludes, there was no common Form, or at least that there was none, which Persons were necessarily obliged to follow. After that he answers to some Objections, which are made against the Exposition he gives upon this Canon.

3. In the 12. Canon of the Second Council of *Milan*, instead of *cum prudentioribus collatæ*, there is *prudentioribus tractatæ*. If they were Examined, to see if they might be approved of. This sense of the word *tractatæ* agrees, according to the Author, with the other Constitutions of the Church of *Africk*, and with their practice; such as St. *Augustin* represents it, in the passage which was cited. The Author also makes some reflections upon these words; which I shall omit to relate for fear of being too tedious.

4. As to the general Prayer, for all the Bishops, which was used in Celebrating the *Eucharist*, the Author endeavours to prove that it was not always conceived in the same terms by the Epistle of St. *Epiphanius* to John Bishop of *Jerusalem*. This Bishop had heard that St. *Epiphanius* was accustomed to insert these terms in his Prayers. *Domine præsta Joanni ut bene credat, Lord grant John may entertain a true Faith.* The Bishop of *Jerusalem* complained of this addition, which rendered his Belief suspicious: But such terms could not be added, if it had been prohibited to change any thing whatever, in the Prayer which was then used, and John wou'd not have had the occasion of complaining as he did. St. *Epiphanius* in answering to that, exclaimeth not as against a Calumny, which the practice of the Church should destroy, but saith only, *noli nos in tantum putare rusticos, ut hoc tam aperte dicere potuerimus:* He adds *Pro te quoque dicimus: Custodi illum qui prædicat veritatem. Vel certe, ita: Tu, præsta Domine, & custodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis, sicut occasio sermonis se tulerit, & habuerit oratio consequentiam:* We also say for thee: Keep him who preaches the Truth, or at least thus, do thou O Lord, keep him, and make him to preach the Truth, according as the occasion of the Discourse shall, and as the Sequel of the Prayer shall require. We see by these latter Words, that St. *Epiphanius* did not always express himself after the same manner.

5. Mr. Clarkson believes not also that the Prayer of the Consecration was conceived in such terms, as was constantly rehearsed. To prove it he cites *Justin Martyr* who saith, that the * *Apol. President made Prayers and Thanks-* 2. P. *givings as far as his Capacity ad* 129. *mitted thereof, ὡς ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ,* as those who maintain the Antiquity of *Liturgies* have omitted nothing to give this

this passage, a sense conformable to their opinions; So the Author doth what he can to shew that in the First Ages, no regulate words were written, which ought to be made use of in this occasion. He likewise endeavours to shew that there was no conformity amongst the Churches, in the expressions which were used on this occasion, or in giving the Symbols to those who communicated; from whence it follows that there was no Liturgy generally received as at this day.

III. Neither was there according to Mr. Clarkson, * an entire uniformity, in respect to Baptism; and that they kept not themselves scrupulously to the Terms, which Jesus Christ made use of the Institution of this Sacrament. Some thought they were not obliged to Baptize expressly in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and the Holy Ghost; but were satisfied to do it, in the Name of Jesus Christ. St. Irenæus, St. Basil and Theophilact declare, that they did not disapprove of this Practice, and sufficiently shew'd that they did not think Men ought to apply themselves too much to the words: The Ancients were so far from contraining one another to it, that according to the Author, there was not so much as uniformity in the Terms of their Confessions of Faith. He Remarks by the by, that he who first Introduced the Custom to Rehearse the Creed in Publick Service, was Peter of Foulon; and shews in what time the same Custom was Introduced, in the Churches of the West.

2. As to the manner how they Renounced the Devil and all his Poms, the Author Remarks in the Fathers Twenty Expressions upon this Subject, whereof there not Two but their Terms are different: Tho' they are found in the Writings of the same Country, and Church. This Renouncing is also seen diversly expressed in the writings of the same Author. St. Basil in his Treatise of the Holy Ghost, Ch. 27. affirms positively that the Prayers were not written, which were used in Baptism. He who made the Constitutions, which were attributed to Clement, puts in

* L. 7. c. 45. deed a Form, which he pretends to be of the Apostles; notwithstanding he obliges none to make use of these very Terms, he would only have Men to ask the same things of God.

St. Augustin in his Work of * L. 6. c. 25. * Baptism against Donatists, speaking of the words which they made use of in Baptizing, saith, *Si non sanctificatur aqua, cum aliqua erroris verba per imperitiam Precator effundit, multi non solum mali, sed etiam boni fratres in Ecclesia non sanctificant aquam.* If the Water is not Sanctified whilest he that Prayeth is mistaken thro' ignorance, in some expressions, there are not only several evil Persons, but even good Chri-

tians, who can't Sanctifie the Water in the Church.

IV. Mr. Clarkson after having brought diverse proofs, by which he pretends to shew that there was no Form, in the First Ages, for the Administration of the Sacraments, cites * di- * P. 155. & vers places of the Fathers, *Seq.* which seem against Forms in general. 1. For example, he Expounds at length the passage of *Justin Martyr*, which is already related: He adds thereunto what *Tertullian* saith, (*Apol. ch. 30.*) of the manner how Christians Prayed: *sine monitore, quia de pectore, precantes sumus, &c.* "We pray without being adverted of the terms, which we ought to make use of, because we pray from the bottom of our heart. In this place *Tertullian* opposes the Christians to the Heathens who rehearse their Prayers after a Person that Read them, *Qui præibat de scripto.* Some thought that *Tertullian* meant that the Christians rehearsed their Prayers by heart; but then instead of saying *de pectore*, he should have said, *de memoria*; and it would be no small labour to learn by heart all the Prayers, that the Christians then made. In their meeting together, which lasted 9 hours, and sometimes 12. and which were done twice or thrice a week, all the time was almost employed in Prayers; not mentioning the quantity of others that were done on Vigils, Feasts, Sundays, in the Administration of Baptism, in the Ordinations, in the Reconciliations of Penitents, &c.

2. Besides that the Generality of the Christians being obliged to no Form in respect to the Hymns they Sung, as appears by * *Tertul- * Apol. c. lian*; there is no likelihood 39. that the Pastours were more confined in their Prayers. Indeed in the time of *Origen* they Prayed according to their Capacity, as is evident by some passages of this Father, which may be read in the Author, who makes use of divers other Reasons, which we cannot stay to relate.

3. We find these Terms, in this Book of St. Augustin, *de Catechiz. rudibus, ch. 9.* where after having said that those who had some Learning and entred into the Church, must be taught, that God hath much more respect to the Heart than Words, he adds, *Ita enim non iridebunt, si aliquos Antistites & Ministros Ecclesie forte animadverterint, vel cum Barbarismis & solecismis Deum invocare.* "For thus, saith he, When it shall happen that they will hear both Bishops and Priests commit Solecisms, and Barbarisms in their Prayers to God, they will not laugh thereat. * *Socrates* * L. 5. c. 21 who lived in the middle of the Fifth Age, says, that Two Prayers could not be found, which in every thing agreed with one another. The * Churches of Spain had no * P. 134 Liturgie in D CXXXIII, and

in France it was but in Charles Majus time that they were established there. In the Diocess of Cologne there were divers sorts of 'em, until the middle of the Tenth Age; and the same was observed in Ireland, with which the English and Scotch agreed, until the Twelfth Age.

V. The last thing that the Author does in this * Work, is to Refute * P. 135. the Reasons, which are brought to prove the Antiquity of Liturgies.

1. To that purpose is cited a passage * of Clement Alexandrius, who * Strom 7. says, That the Assembly of those who Pray'd had but one Voice in common, and but one thought: And the Author replies that that signifies nothing else, but that the Pastour speaks in the name of the whole Assembly.

2. As for the passages of Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and St. Basil, where they say, that the Christians asked certain things of God; Mr. Clarkson maintains that hence can no other Consequence be drawn, but that the matter of their Prayer was the same, tho' the Terms might be different.

3. Divers places of Origen are cited, where he speaks of the Prayers of the Christians, of which he relates some Words; but if we believe the Author, Origen by the word *ευχαλ* meant in some places, nothing else but the Psalms of David, where these words are found; and it appears not by other passages of this Father, that they were obliged constantly to make use of the same expressions, but only that sometimes those which he relates were made use of.

4. Some Learned Men have believed that the words of *Dominica Solennia* in Tertullian (c. 9. de Anima) signifie the Liturgie, which was read on Sunday. Mr. Clarkson believes on the contrary, that these Terms mark nothing else than the reading of Scripture, the singing of Psalms, Prayers and Homilies, and that this is visible by the Sequel of Tertullians discourse, which may be read in the Original, or in the Author. *Solennia* is also taken for the same thing in St. Cyprian; and in the time of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, the care of remarking what was to be read was left to the Pastours. After the Examination of these passages drawn from the Authors of the First Age, Mr. Clarkson comes to later Testimonies; amongst which the Liturgie of St. James ought to be read, which is manifestly Supposititious, and which according to the Author, was unknown before the Seventh and Eighth Age.

5. The 18. Canon is cited of the Council of Laodicea, where it is said, That the Liturgy (*λειτουργια*) of Prayers ought every where to be the same at Evening and Morning. To that the Author answers, amongst other things, that the word Liturgie signifies Originally a publick Functi-

on, and is taken in the most ordinary signification, for the Exercise of this Change, and not for the manner of doing on't. Thus in * Hist. L. Theodoret * The Liturgy of Hymns. 2. C. 24. not for a Form of Canticles, but for the very Action of Singing them. In Justinian the Liturgy of the Scripture which was read, is the very reading of Holy Writ, and not a Rubrick, which notes in what place it ought to be Read. The same Emperour condemns to death those who shou'd undertake to trouble the Divine Liturgies; to wit, the Publick Service, and not the Forms of Writings.

6. The Author after that treats, in a few words, of the Liturgies Attributed to St. Basil and St. Chrysostom. He believes that these two Bishops have been supposed as well as St. Ambrose, Authors of new Liturgies, because they introduced a new manner of Singing, in their Churches. Flavianus and Diodorus established at * Antioch, the Singing of the Antiphones, when the * Hist. L. Arians had forc'd them to 2. C. 24. meet together in a particular Assembly, after having taken from them the Publick Churches. They were followed in that by Saint Basil, whom Saint Ambrose imitated, as he himself served in that as a Model to other Churches. St. Chrysostom was the first amongst the Orthodox, who put them in use at Constantinople, fearing lest the Arians, who made use thereof, should draw the People to them by this means. It ought to be observed that this manner of Singing, is called Liturgy, by St. Chrysostom, Theodoret and Justinian, as this Author says Afterwards the same word being since taken to signifie a Form; those who read in the Writings of the Preceding Ages, that these Fathers had introduced new Liturgies, thought without Reason that they had made new Forms.

This Conjecture is maintained by these Two Remarks; First, a Liturgy has indeed been Attributed to St. James, Brother of our Lord, because Hegesippus, in Eusebius, call him *λειτουργος* Liturgus, or, Publick Minister. Secondly, amongst the Latins in the time wherein these Liturgies were supposed to be extant, the most part of these Forms were called Cantus, Singing, without excepting even the Prayers as the Author shews by several Examples. So those who had introduced new ways of Singing, might pass for Authors of new Liturgies, when Cantare and *λειτουργειν* came to signifie the same thing. The Author believes it is a like expression, which made some say that St. Jerome made a Liturgy, tho' he did nothing else, but introduce a new manner of Singing, in the Church of Rome.

7. Mr. Clarkson examines after that the 15 Canon of Vannes, held towards the end of the Fifth Age, where there is *Sacrum ordo, & psallendi una sit consuetudo.*

The

The word *ordo*, according to the Author, signifies only the disposition of the Responses, Prayers, Hymns and Psalms, in the order they ought to be, which he proves by the 21st. Canon of a Synod of *Agatho*, held some years after, in the same Country. Besides this, if by *ordo*, a Liturgy is understood, or a regulate Form, that which is in question must be attributed to Six Bishops only in a Province of *France*, and that upon the end of the Fifth Age. These are, according to the Author, the principal citations of the first Five Ages, which are alledged in Favour of Liturgies. He speaks afterwards in few words, of the *Benedicite*, the *Te Deum*, and Song of the *Three Children*; which he maintains to be of the Sixth or Seventh Age.

8. In short, the Author examining the Reasons, why Liturgies were introduced into the Church, attributes this use to the Ignorance and Corruption of the Times, which became excessive since the Fourth Age. Those who Govern'd the Church did it with an unsupportable Tyranny, not only at *Rome*, but elsewhere; they were Negligent, Lasse, and Ignorant, after a scandalous manner, as appears by the complaints which *St. Ambrose*, *St. Gregory of Nazianze*, *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Basil*, &c. made of them in their time. Several Bishops knew not even how to write their Names, so that they were forced in the Councils to make others Subscribe for them; which by-like was very common, seeing they made no difficulty to confess a thing, which should have covered them with shame. The Author relates several Examples thereof drawn from the Councils of *Calcedon* and *Ephesus*, where Subscriptions are found after this manner: *I such a Man have Subscribed by the hand of such a Man, because I cannot Write: Such a Bishop knew not how to write, I underwritten have subscribed for him.*

After that if these Assemblies judged well of Controversies, it must have been a great Chance or Miracle. The Misfortune still is, that if we are now a little more expert, there are yet so many who know not how to pray to God, that Liturgies are little less necessary than at that time. But the Author advances nothing that he endeavours not to prove by passages of the Ancients, which he cites in the Original Languages. Those who would thoroughly Examine these matters, will not do amiss to read this work, and compare them with the Originals.

A Scholastical History of the Primitive and General Use of Liturgies in the Christian Church, together with an Answer to Mr. David Clarksons Late Discourse Concerning Liturgies. By Thom. Comber D. D. Precentor of York. London, Printed for Robt. Clavel 1690.

Dr. Comber in his Introduction shews that Mr. Clarkson was to blame in his Work.

1. In repeating his Testimonies many times over to appear Numerous.

a Disc. Liturg.
48. & 113.
p. 5. & 142.
p. 65. & 121.
p. 6. 29. 138.

2. In Stuffing the Margin full of what no Body Denies.

b Ib. p. 28,
29, 34, 35.
36, 42, 51, 52

3. In placing the latter Fathers before the former and mixing the First, Last, and Middle Ages together.

4. In false Translating, and false Citing several passages.

d Ib. p. 44,
49, 76, 60.
77, 93.

5. And lastly, In saying, he hath Answered all the Places of the Ancients, which either others had alledged, or he in his diligent search of Antiquity had met with, which seem to make for Liturgies. When it will appear by some Hundreds of Proofs the Dr. produces, that this is a prejudic'd Error. For a fuller Citation and Evidencing these Five Heads, those that have the Curiosity may Consult the Author.

Our Author begins with the Old Testament, as Forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving, used by *Moses* and *David*, and shews from Dr. *Hammond* that the Jews had Forms in the same Method with our Communion-Prayer and that they had 8 stated Forms, and set down the Order, both of their Hymns and Supplications, and Demonstrates that these continued so till our Saviours time and long after.

f View of di-
rect. p. 136.
Orf.

g Lightfoot
Vol. 2. p.
1139.

h Ib. Vol. 1.
p. 922, 942.
& 946.

CHAP. I.

Our Author in Speaking of the Liturgies of the First Century proves that

Philo and *Josephus* speaking of the *Esseans* whom *Eusebius* and the Learned of these Ages, believe to have been Christians, says, of 'em * That their manner was to rise before the arising of the Sun and to Worship God, with certain Prayers received from their fore-Fathers. *Philo* also relates, that they had a Choir of two Sides Singing Alternately

Anno 60.
Philo Judaeus
Philo de vit.
Contem plat
Jos. Bel. Jud.
lib. 2. cap. 7.

ternately, so that when one had begun to Sing, the rest answered him by repeating the ends of the Verses, in imitation of those at the Red-Sea.

Eusebius * speaks of these Hymns Sung in this manner, calling them, the Hymns used among us Christians.

Anno Dom. 1690 Clemens Romanus † in his Epistle to the Corinthians, intimates they had a Liturgy — We ought to do all those things in order which our Lord hath commanded us to perform, viz. to Celebrate our Oblations and Liturgies at certain days.

Pliny Junior says, * the Christians used to meet and Sing an Hymn to Christ as God. Carmen dicere, according to Vossius his Comment upon Pliny, says, it signifies to Repeat a Prayer in a set Form of words.

There's only one other Testimony of Ignatius, in the First Century, who makes mention of one Prayer and Supplication. Epist. ad. Magnes. p. 34.

In the Second Century Testimonies are more Plentiful.

Anno 140. Justin Martyr speaks of Common Prayer, Apol. 2. p. 97. Κωνσταντίνος ὁ μακάριος. St. Nazianzen (whom Mr. Clarkson had wrested) Exhorts Christians, as well as they were able to sing that Triumphant Hymn (upon Julians being cut off) which Israel Sang when the Egyptians were drowned in the Red-Sea, Naz. Orat. 3. p. 54. Iræneus, when some Hereticks made an Argument, from the Conclusion of the Form of a Doxology, says, they alledge also that we in our thanksgiving do say, **World without End.** Iren. adv. Heres. lib. 1. c. 1. This Form is mentioned in Tertullian, de Spect. p. 83. And the Gloria Patri was a Form both in the Gallican and African Church. Tertul. speaking de Basil. c. 13. says, Christ had not only imposed the Law of Baptism, but prescribed the Form of it. The same Father, Apol. c. 39. says, after having washed their hands, and brought in lights, they called for some to sing Psalms, or somewhat of their own Composing.

In the Third Century.

Anno 220. Hippolytus the Martyr de Consum. Mundi, Tom. 2. p. 357. speaking in his discourse of the end of the World, and the coming of Christ, says expressly, That Liturgies shall be extinguished, singing of Psalms shall cease, and reading of Scripture shall not be heard.

Origen in Anno 230. is so full in his Homily on Jeremy, that the Centu-

riators were convinced, that Set Forms of Prayer were used in his time. It is (say they) without Question that they had some Set Forms of Prayer in that Age, &c. The same Father adds on this Subject, (in Cels. lib. p. 382.) They who serve God thro' Jesus in a Christian way, and live according to the Gospel use frequently as becomes them, night and day the Enjoined Prayer; which is as full as can be to the purpose. St. Cyprian de Orat. Sect. 5. p. 310. says, That Christians had a publick and Common Prayer wherein all agreed. Anno 253. Gregory Thaumaturgus Bishop of Neocesarea was contemporary with St. Cyprian. St. Basil, an unquestionable Witness, says concerning him, that he appointed a Form of Prayer for that Church of Neocesarea, from which they would not vary in one Ceremony, or in a Word, nor would they add any one Mystical Form in the Church to those which he had left them, &c. Paulus Samosatenus was offended at some Hymns and Composed others. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 24.

In the Fourth Century.

Anno 303. Arnobius lib. 2. p. 65. says,

To venerate this Supreme King, is the end and design of these Divine Offices. Constantin's Form of Prayer is well known. Euseb. vit. Constant. lib. 4.

Athanasius in his Apol. ad Constant. p. 156, 157. says, The People Mourned and Groaned to God in the Church, all of 'em crying to the Lord, and saying, Spare thy People good Lord, spare them, give not their Heritage for a reproach to thine Enemies: Which is an Original piece of Litaney, and a known Form prescribed in Scripture. Athanasius de interp. Psalmi p. 303. Orders the People to sing the Psalms in the very words wherein they were written. Flavianus was intreated to come back to the Church, and perform the same Liturgy there, Theodor. lib. 2. c. 24.

St. Cyril says to his Auditors in the Eucharistical Office, Lift up your hearts. Answer, We lift 'em up unto the Lord. P. Let us give thanks unto the Lord. A. As it is meet and just. Cyril. Catechis. Mystag. 5. Julian the Apostate devised to make a Form of Prayer in parts, for the Heathen Worship to be set up in Schools, &c. which things faith Nazianzen (in Jul. Orat. 3. p. 102) are clearly agreeable to our Good Order. And Sozomen (Hist. lib. 5. cap. 15.) speaking of the same thing, says, that Julian designed to adorn his Gentile Temples with the Order of Christian Worship, appointing prescribed Prayers upon set days and hours. The Ingenious Apostat in one of his Epistles, (Julian Fragment. Epist. in Oper. p. 552.) yet extant, advises his Pagan Priests, to pray thrice a day, if possible, or however Morning and Evening, both in private and publick, and to learn the Hymns of the Gods, which were made in Old and Latter Times. Adding that there was a Liturgy for these Priests

Priests and a Law directing 'em what to do in their Temples, from which they might not vary.

The Council of Laodicea, Anno 363. which is one of the Earliest Synods, and has been always received by the Church, says, Canon 18. *Rev. Tom. 1. p. 461.* Τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν, &c. *That the very same Liturgy of Prayers which the Fathers had appointed for Three in the Afternoon, &c.* — In the Council of Sardica, Anno 347. A Bishop coming to a strange City, is Ordered to *Assemble and Perform his Liturgy there.* (Can. 12.) There are other Testimonies in this Century of Gregory Nazianzen, St. Basil, Dionysius Areopagita, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, Chrysostom, the Third Canon. Carth. the 70 African Canon. And here we come to the time that Mr. Clarkson confesses the uses of the Liturgies. So that we need go no further: We might run down the 5th. 6th. 7th. 8th. &c. Centuries if there was occasion for it; but what we have brought does sufficiently answer Dr. Combers end, viz. To shew the palpable Errors of Mr. Clarkson about the Innovation of Liturgies. Dr. Comber has Written a Second Part, wherein he has followed his Antagonist down thro' these latter Ages, and does not only shew from the beginning of Christianity till of late, that *Liturgies and Set Forms of Prayer* were used publickly, but that *Extempore public Prayer* was never suffered in the Christian Church, whatever it might be in Private Families. The use of the whole Discourse can't miss this Effect amongst all considering, and unprejudic'd Presbyterians; that it will either convince 'em, that our practice is more agreeable to that of the Primitive Christians than theirs, or at least that ours was used as well as theirs. Besides, it will take off the common Objection again^t us, viz. *That our Practices have taken their Original from the Papists*, since here are the most clear and convincing Evidences in the World, that the Papal Authority was not settled, for many Hundreds of Years, after some very considerable Instances which are here brought against *Liturgies and Set Forms of Prayers, Hymns, &c.* I had almost forgot to do the Author this Justice, that he has not only brought his Authorities for the Practices of the Church of England, but has also fully answered Mr. Clarkson's Arguments against it, with that Mildness, Perspicuity, Judgment, and Learning, as have not given him a little Repute amongst the Learned. Such as wou'd be better acquainted with the Knowledge and Worth of the Author, or are any way dissatisfied with this Subject, if they please to consult the Author himself, they can't fail to meet with an ample Satisfaction.

A New Bibliotheque of Ecclesiastick Authors, Containing the History of their Lives, the Catalogue of their Writings, and the Chronology of their Works, the Sum of what they Contain, a Judgment on their Stile, and Doctrin, with an Enumeration of the Different Editions of their Works. Tom. the First, of the Authors of the Three First Ages, with a Preliminary Discourse upon the Authors of the Bible. At Paris 1686.

Altho' the Title of this Work is so well known, that the Design of it is easily perceived, yet since the Matter is new, and the manner it is promised to be treated on, is difficult, Mr. Du Pin thought it very necessary to Instruct the Publick more particularly in a Preface, of the assistance that he had, and the Method he follow'd to accomplish this work: He divided it into Two Parts, and begins the First with Justifying the Title of *Bibliotheque*, shewing for example, that 'tis a Name that ought to begin * to P. 1. *the collection of many Authors, and to Books that treat of their Works.* He afterwards shews that the Custom of writing *Bibliotheques* is very Ancient, and that it was introduced amongst the Christians, in the First Ages of the Church; * The *Stromates* of * P. 3d. *Clement of Alexandria*, being a kind of *Bibliotheque* of the Opinions and Thoughts of an Infinite Number of Writers; and the History of *Eusebius* may be call'd a *Bibliotheque* of Ecclesiastical Authors, since he hath done almost nothing else in this Work, than Writ their Life, give a Catalogue of their Writings, and relate many Passages out of them. After having spoken of those who have taken like pains, and above all * of *Photius*, Mr. Du Pin adds that Authors never took so much pains, especially Ecclesiasticks, as in the Last Ages, in which Learning was renew'd, and Criticks carry'd to such a point as they never were before; Both Catholics and Hereticks, have endeavour'd to out-vy one another in making *Bibliotheques*. *Erasmus* (pursues he) in Printing the Fathers, hath put Prefaces and Notes before their Works, which contain must Judicious Criticks; and that altho' he is sometimes too confident in rejecting some Pieces; It must be confessed nevertheless that he has broke the Ice for those that have followed him. He speaks with the same freedom of other Authors of the *Roman Church*, and in respect to the Protestants, altho' he accuses them of Passion and of being very Erroneous; * he P. 7. confesses nevertheless, as to what regards Criticks, they were sometimes sharper

sharper and more quicksighted than the Catholics, and that the Protestants have discovered many things therein, that they were obliged to acknowledge and approve of. The Author afterwards tells the Motives that engaged him to undertake this Work, which were, that no body before him had done any thing Compleat upon it. He shews the design of his Book, by a Comparison between a number of Books well ranged, which is properly call'd a *Bibliothèque*; and the Order that he has observed in this Work, to which he gives the same name. There is only this difference between these two *Bibliothèques*, it is that in the first, if we content our selves only to read the Titles, no advantage to Learning is to be received from it; and to run through all the Authors which compose it, much time and pains is required: Whereas in this we may instruct our selves in many important things with great Facility; since there is not only the Titles of the Books, but also the Abridgment and Sum of what they contain, with a Remark upon the particular Sentiments in them.

In the Second Part of the Preface, Mr. Du Pin shews the necessity there was to make use of such a Method as followed; to write the Life of the Authors, to make a Catalogue and Remark of the Chronology of their Works; the Circumstances of the Time, Place, Age, and Condition of him that wrote, and of the Persons he was concern'd with, changing the manner of his Discourse according to the nature of the Subject. An Author that engages against a Heresy of his own time, that is the Head of a Party, and who hath Personal Contestations with those that Attack him, expresses himself very differently from him that writes against a Heresy that is extinguish'd, who takes no part in the Quarrel, and has no other Motive in writing than de-

* P. 18. sending the Truth. * St. Cyprian speaks of the Reconciliation of Penitents, following the different Circumstances of the Times; St. Augustin writing against the Pelagians, speaks otherwise of Grace and Free-Will, than he had done before: And from the time that his head was possess'd with these Hereticks, and the

* P. 18. Donatists, * he speaks continually in all his writings (even in his Homilies) of the Church and of Grace.

He afterwards tells the Reason why many Works are attributed to some Celebrated Authors which is none of theirs; viz. the Malice of Hereticks, the little Piety of some of the Orthodox, the Levity of some Men, Ignorance, or Avarice of the Copyists, of the Printers, and the oversight of those that have taken for Authors of certain Dialogues, such Persons as are made to speak in those Dialogues. So 'tis that Vigilius of Tapse has made Five Books under the name of Saint Athanasius; and it may be that also under the

same name he made the Creed that is attributed to this Father. In short the Ambiguity of Titles, and the Resemblance of Names have often caused Pieces to be attributed to such Persons as they belonged not to. After that he establishes Rules for true Criticks, remarking that the Proofs or Conjectures that we can make of any Work, are *Internal* or *External*. Time is one of the most certain *Internal* Marks, and nothing is more capable of convincing an Author of Imposture, than when the date of his Work is false, or that he speaks of Persons that have lived a long time after him, whose Name is affixed to the Work. 2^{ly}. The matter that is contained in a Book discovers whether it be Supposititious or no. 1. When we find Opinions in it, that were not maintained till a long time after that Age. 2. Expressions concerning those Opinions, Ceremonies and Customs that were not then in use. 3. Errors that are of a latter date, or such matters as were not treated on in that time that the Author lived, whose name is affixed to the Work. 4. Opinions contrary to such as are seen in their writings. 5. Or Histories manifestly Fabulous. 3^{ly}. The turn of the Discourse, the manner of Writing, the Elocution, the Figures, and the Method being a thing most difficult things to Counterfeit, are of very great use to discover whether a Work be supposititious or not. Tho' we must not always reject a Book for a small alteration in the Style without any other proof, because Persons may write differently according to their Age, Places, and the Subject of the Discourse; nor should we receive a piece as true only for the Resemblance of Style; for an Ingenious Man often imitates the Phrases and Genius of an Author very well in a Discourse that is not long.

The *External* proofs whether a Work is supposititious or no are taken. 1. From Ancient Manuscripts, in which we find not the Name of the Author, or find that of an others. 2. The Testimony of Ancient Authors that reject this work, or that say nothing at all of it.

* Mr. Du pin begins to apply his Rules for Criticism, Preliminary to the Books of the Bible, dissertation. and proves by them that Mo-

ses was really the Author of the *Pentateuch*, since 'tis Established by Holy Scripture, by the Authority of Jesus Christ, by the consent of all Nations, and by the Authentick Testimonies of the most Ancient Authors. It is necessary to observe that this Dissertation upon the Bible, and all the rest of the Book is disposed in such order; that each Article contains a following Discourse, where he only proposes his opinion, and maintains it by some Reasons which all the World agrees to. After that is the Notes that include the Proofs and Authorities of what has been advanced in the precedent Article:

Following

Following this Method, the Author to prove that *Moses* writ the Books that bear his Name, Cites in the Notes many passages of the Old and New Testament. He says, that the *Samaritan Pentateuch* being writ in ancient Hebrew Characters, must necessarily be composed before the Captivity of *Babylon*, where the use of these Characters were lost. He relates the Testimonies of *Manethon*, *Philochorus*, *Athenaeus*, and other ancient Authors, that *Josephus* and the Primitive Christians have preserved some passages of; to which he adds other Authors of a latter date, and whose Works still remain amongst us, as *St. Strabo*, the Abridgment of *Trogue-Pompeus*, *Juvenal*, *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, *Longinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Julian*, &c. And from this universal Consent, he draws an invincible Argument to prove that *Moses* writ the Law, and that he was the Law-giver of the *Jews*.

* In the Notes he Answers, * 27. 32. Eleven Objections, which seem to be drawn from the *Critical History*, upon the Old Testament, and the Sentiments of some Dutch Divines upon this Book, which contains the Reasons of those who pretend that the *Pentateuch* is a Collection made upon the ancient *Memoirs* and Writings of *Moses*; but compiled by some other. In short he maintains that when they would suppose that the reasons that are alledged against the Antiquity of the *Pentateuch*, are all unanswerable, they should prove only that there is some Names of Towns or Countries changed, some little words inserted to clear Difficulties, and in fine, that the Narration of the Death of *Moses*, was necessary to be added to finish the History of the *Pentateuch*. We have not the same certainty, according to *M. Du Pin*, in respect to the rest of the Historical Books, since we are absolutely ignorant of

* P. 12. the Authors of 'em. * The Judgment that he gives of the Book of *Job* is, that the Foundation of Narration is true: But that the manner how this History is related, the Style that it is writ in the Discourses that were held between *Job* and his Friends, and what is said of his mean condition, must be confessed to have been much amplified and adorned with many feigned Circumstances, to render the Narration more agreeable and useful. For the Book of *Wisdom* which is commonly attributed to *Solomon*, he

thinks it to be composed by a Grecian * that was a Jew, who to imitate the Books of *Solomon*, had taken many thoughts from thence.

* "In respect to the Book of * P. 51. "*Ecclesiasticus*, some have imagined that *Josephus* acknowledged it to be Canonical, because he cites a passage out of it in his Second Book against *Appion*. But according to the observation of *Mr. Pitbon*, this allegation which is not in the ancient

"Version of *Ruffinus*, was added to the "Text of *Josephus*.

* The Book of *Esther*, was according to some, in the *Jews* Canon, but others deny its ever being there. *Meliton* rejects it, and the Six last Chapters of this Book are not in the Hebrew. *Origen* believed they were formerly, and that they have since been lost: But it is evident they are taken from many places, says our Author, and that they contain such things as were apparently Collated by some *Greeks* that were *Jews*. *St. Jerom* formally rejects the Book of *Baruck* and denies its being Canonical, in his Preface upon *Jeremiah*. The Story of *Tobias* also is not in any ancient Catalogue placed in the Rank of Canonical Books, no more than that of *Judith*. * In a word * P. 51. the ancient Christians followed the Canon of the *Jews*, for the Books of the Old Testament; there is none else cited in the New, and a great part of these are very often mentioned. The first Catalogues of Canonical Books, made by the Greek and Latin Ecclesiastick Authors, comprehended none but these. * In the Chroni- * P. 59.

cle of *Eusebius*, the Books of the *Maccabees* are opposed to those of *Holy Writ*, and placed with *Josephus* and *Africanus*. The Book of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, are in the ancient Catalogues placed in the number of such Books as are most useful, Except Canonical. Nothing can be concluded in favour of their Divinity from any passages of the Fathers; since *Origen*, *St. Jerom*, and *St. Hillary*, place them in the number of *Apocryphal Books*. * Even from * P. 60.

the time of *St. Gregory* the Great, these Books were not in the Canon of the Holy Scripture, since this Pope speaks in those terms, * *Greg. I. We do nothing unreasonable in 12. Moral bringing the Testimony of such Books as are not Canonical, since they were published for the Edification of the Church*. Many Ecclesiastical Authors both Greek and Latin agree only upon 22 Canonical Books, joining the History of *Ruth* to the *Judges*, and the *Lamentation* of *Jeremiah* to his Prophecies, altho' they lived after the Third Council of *Carthage*, and *Innocent* the First, who placed the *Maccabees* and other *Apocryphal Books*, in the Canon of *Holy Writ*. Which shews, adds the Author, that these Definitions were not approved by all Authors, nor followed by all Churches, until it was intirely determined by the Council of *Trent*: This Ecclesiastical Assembly has this common with others, That the last Decrees do still abolish the preceeding ones: Besides, it is just that the Church of *Rome* who hath power to make new Articles of Faith, should also have power to make those Books Canonical, whence they take these new Articles.

III. In the Third Article of this Disfertation,

sertation, where there is the History of the Hebrew Text, the Version of the 70 and other Greek Translators; the History of *Aristeus* is refuted almost by the reasons that are mentioned in the Extract of Mr. *Hodi*. Nevertheless he believes not that it can be absolutely denied that there had been a Greek Version of the Bible made in the times of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, because there's no likelyhood that the Authors of Books attributed to *Aristeus* and *Aristobulus*, have wholly invented this matter. But he rejects as a conjecture without any Ground, the Opinion of Father *Simon*, viz. That this Version was called the Version of the Seventy, because it was approved by the *Sanhedrin*. He also maintains against the common receiv'd opinion of the Learned, that the *Caldaick* Language was not the only Language spoke by all the *Jews* at their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, but that many amongst them did then speak Hebrew, and all of 'em understood it, but that the *Syriack* Tongue did insensibly mix with the Hebrew Dialect, and became common to the *Jews*, and hath since been called the *Hebraick* Language.

IV. He Examins in the Fourth Article, the Works of many Authors, who make mention of the *Old Testament*, as those of *Philon*, *Josephus*, *Justus*, &c. in speaking of the Writers of the *New Testament*, he Remarks (after *St. Jerom*) that the last Chapter of the Gospel of *St. Mark* is but in a very few Copies, and that we may reject it almost with all the Greeks, because it seems to mention several things contrary to those which are spoken of by the other Evangelists: Besides, he assures us upon the Credit of this Father, that that which obliges *St. John* to write his Gospel after all the rest, was that having read the rest, he remarked that they had only confined themselves to write the History of one Year of the Life of *Jesus Christ*, viz. from the Imprisonment of *St. John the Baptist*, to the death of our Saviour, and thereupon he resolv'd to give the Church an account of what happned in the preceeding Years. He does not precisely find in the Acts of the Apostles, the time when *St. Paul* changed his Name from *Saul*. Mr. *Du Pin* conjectures that it was after the Conversion of *Sergius Paulus*, because (he says) it was the custom of the *Romans*, to give their own Names in Testimony of Friendship. It might also be said, (as *Budeus* proves in his *Pandects*) that it was to honour their Patrons and Benefactors; for these they had obliged to take their Names.

* He ends this Dissertation with * VI. the Books of the *New Testament*, which were at first doubted, but that were soon after placed in the Canon of *Holy Writ*, by the consent of all Churches; to wit, the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, the Epistle of *St. James*, the Second Epistle of *St. Peter*, the Second and

Third of *Saint John*, that of *Saint Jude*, and the *Apocalypse*.

* The *Bibliothèque* it self, he * *First Age* begins with Criticisms upon the Letters of *Agbar* to *Jesus Christ*, and *Jesus* to *Agbar*, which he shews to be Supposititious, as well as the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*. The Gospel according to the *Hebrews* and many other pieces, that some wou'd have to pass under the name of the Apostles. There were Persons in *St. Jerom's* time that pretended the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* was originally that of *St. Matthew*, because it was written in *Syriack* and *Chaldaick* Characters. Mr. *Du Pin* proves here that they were different, not only by the passages of this Gospel, according to the *Hebrews*, which has nothing in it like the History of the *Adulterous Woman* in *Saint Matthew*: But also because

* *Eusebius*, and after him *St. Euf. l. 3.* *Jerom* absolutely distinguisheth them; that this last had translated the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, whereas the Author of the Version of *St. Matthew* is wholly unknown; and that in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, the Scripture is cited there after the *Hebrew*; and *St. Matthew*, in his, follow'd the Translation of the *Septuagint*. Yet there is room to doubt of this last Argument since the same *St. Jerom* which distinguishes these Two Gospels here, confounds them in another place, according to the relation of our Author, in the 39. pag. of his Dissertation. And it is not only Contradiction of that Father, which he has observ'd. Always, saith Mr. *Du Pin*, when *St. Jerom* Treats expressly of Canonical Books, he rejects as Apocryphal all those that are not in the *Jews* Canon; but when he speaks without making any reflection, he often cites these same books as *Holy Scripture*, Ib. p. 72. speaking diversly by *Economie* and according to the Persons with whom he had to do.

The Epistle of *St. Barnabas*, which we have also an entire *Latin Translation* of, and great part of the *Greek Original*, is certainly his, since we see in it the same passages, that *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerom*, cite out of it. But says he, if this Letter was really *St. Barnabas's*, it ought not to be added to the other Books of the *New Testament*.

" That follows not (according to our Author) for if 'tis true that a Book is Canonical, when we are certain 'twas writ by an Author who had the Authority of making it Canonical: Who " is it that hath said *St. Barnabas* must be " of this Number rather than *St. Clement* " or *Hermas*? 'Tis the business of the " Church to declare it, and it's sufficient " that it has not done it; therefore his " Letter is look'd upon as Apocryphal al- " tho' 'twas certainly his own. He adds, that this Letter is unbecoming this Saint, being full of all Stories and Allegories.

ries. * But we must know a little
 * P. 17. the Genius of the Jews and the
 first Christians, who were nourish'd
 and brought up in the Synagogue, to believe
 that these kind of Opinions could not come
 from 'em: On the contrary this was their Cha-
 racter, they Learned from the Jews to turn
 all the Scripture into Allegories and to make
 Remarks upon the Properties of Animals which
 the Law had forbidden 'em to eat of: We
 must not be surpris'd then, if St. Barnabas
 who was Originally a Jew, writing to the
 Jews, has Allegorically explain'd many passages,
 since every body knows that the Books of the
 first Christians were full of these sorts of Fa-
 bles and Allegories.

He rejects the Liturgies attributed to
 the Apostles, Because he could not but
 make a little Reflection upon what is
 read in the Celebration of the Eucharist,
 in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and
 upon what St. Justin and the first Fa-
 thers of the Church have said to persuade
 us that the Apostles and those which suc-
 ceeded them, have celebrated the Sacrifice
 of the Mass, with great simplicity. He only
 relates a small Number of Orisons, but by
 little and little he adds some Prayers and
 a few External Ceremonies to Render
 the Sacrifice more venerable to the Peo-
 ple. In fine, the Churches have regulated
 all abuses in the Sacrament and wrote
 down the way of celebrating it, as may be
 found in the Liturgy.

* The Apostles Creed, the
 * P. 21. Canons and Apostolick Con-
 stitutions are none of theirs. Ruf-
 finus was the first and only Author of the
 Fifth Age, who wrote that the Apostles
 compos'd the Creed; and he only ad-
 vanced it as a popular Tradition. Mr.
 du Pin to confirm his Opinion and prove
 that the Creed was not the Apostles, as
 to the Words and Form, gives us a Table
 of the Four ancient Creeds, the *Vulgar*,
 the *Aquilean*, the *Eastern*, and *Roman*,
 where one might compare them toge-
 ther and observe considerable Differences
 between them, for Instance the Terms
Catholick, *Communion of Saints*, and *Life ever-
 lasting*, which are in the *Vulgar* or *Common*
Creed, are wanting in the other Three.

As for * the Canons which
 * P. 35. are attributed to the Apostles, he
 defends the opinion of Aube-
 pinus and Beoregius, who believ'd 'em
 very ancient, and who pretend that they
 were properly a Collection of many
 Councils held before that of Nice; the
 Author of the Apostolick Constitutions is
 the first who attributed them to the A-
 postles, before which time they were only
 call'd *Ancient Canons* or *Ecclesiastick Ca-
 nons*. 'Tis he who hath inserted many
 words there to persuade us that the A-
 postles were the Authors of 'em, and in
 his *Constitutions* which he would father
 upon *Clement Romanus*, he attributes ma-
 ny things to 'em, which don't agree with
 the Apostles, such are those which con-

cern Temples, Catechumens, Energu-
 mens, Feast-Days, &c. There were
 even some things absurd and wicked, such
 as that, which orders Women to be
 Shav'd, and not Men, lib. 1. and that
 other which permits Women-Slaves to
 suffer themselves to be corrupted by their
 Masters, lib. 8. *Constit. cap. 32.*

* Altho' Baronius, Bellarmine, * P. 47.
 and some other Catholick Cri-
 ticks, receiv'd the Acts of the Passion of
 St. Andrew, Mr. du Pin rejects 'em with
 his ordinary liberty, as a Book doubtful,
 and whereof we can make no use to
 prove an Article of Faith and which was
 not cited as we have it now, till the
 Seventh or Eighth Age.

In the speaking of the Sybils, the Au-
 thor says, many things agreeable to what
 Mr. Petit does, and shews in his Notes
 that there is nothing more uncertain than
 the Name and Number of these Pro-
 phetesses. The most particular thought
 is his refutation of Mr. Vossius, who main-
 tained that in the Verses of the Sybils
 (which Otacilius Crassus brought from
 Greece, after the Conflagration of the
 Capital) was slip't in some Jewish Pro-
 phesies, that however pass for the Sybils,
 which are those that the Fathers have cit-
 ed. To Answer to this M. du Pin shews that
 this System, altho well enough invented,
 suffers many difficulties, and that the Do-
 ctarin of the Sybils Books is rather that of a
 Christian, than that of a Jew; Jesus
 Christ being therein more plainly fore-
 told than in the Prophets; and the Re-
 surrection, Judgment, Reign of a Thou-
 sand Years, with Antichrist, being there
 remark'd in formal Terms.

* Two'd be a groundless i- * P. 71.
 magination, to say, with Jerom,
 that the Sybils had received the gift of
 Propheying in Recompence for their
 Virginity. Its very well known they
 apply'd themselves entirely to things of
 greater Consequence, and that it was
 often their Fate to be mistaken in profane
 Histories, and cite Supposititious Books
 such as *Hystaspis*, and *Mercurius Tris-
 megistus*, &c. It is not easie to determine
 either when, or by whom these false Ora-
 cles of the Sybils were made: But as they
 made no noise till since the time of An-
 toninus the Pious, he Conjectures that these
 Verses were towards the begin-
 ning of the Second Age †.

† P. 73.
 * 'Twas, says our Author, col. 1.
 by a Pious Fraud much like * P. 67.
 this, by which a passage con-
 cerning Jesus Christ, got into the Fourth
 Chapter of the 18th. Book of the Anti-
 quities of the Jews: But the perplex-
 ed turn and sequel of the Discourse,
 shews that it enter'd in by force. This
 he proves by Origen Theodoret, and Photius,
 to which Mr. Huet answers that these
 ancient Authors had Manuscripts of Jo-
 sephus, from whence the Jews had taken
 away this passage.

* The Book that bears *Hermas's* Name, who was a Disciple to the Apostles is certainly his. It was received as Canonical in many Churches, and St. *Ireneus* and *Origen* cited it as such, altho it is fill'd with a great Number of Visions, Allegories and Similitudes, which make it very tedious.

Amongst the Works that are attributed to St. *Clement*, he admits as true, only the two Epistles to the *Corinthians*. The first of which, according to our Author, after Holy Scripture, is one of the finest Monuments of Antiquity: But the Second is not so certainly his. The Apostolick Constitutions is a work of the Third or Fourth Age, which from time to time was reformed, changed and augmented, according to the different Customs of times and places.

* False *Dionysius the Areopagite* P. 89. was an Author of the Fifth or Sixth Age, whose Books were first cited in 532 by the Hereticks that were call'd *Serezians*. The Author speaks there of the Trinity and Incarnation in such Terms as have been used only since the Fourth Age of the Church. He proves in his Notes that the true *Dionysius the Areopagite* never was in France, that *Photinus* Preached Christianity the first in that Kingdom, and that from the time of *Ireneus* his Successor, the Faith was only establish'd in Two Provinces of the *Gauls*, since there were Martyrs no where else in the Kingdom.

* Here rejects the Vulgar Edition of the Letters of St. *Ignatius*, but receives the Seven that the Learned *Isaac Vossius* published from a Greek Manuscript of the Florence Library, which is perfectly conformable to the Version that *Usher* has published. He refutes two opposite Opinions, whereof one is that of *Belarmin*, *Baronius*, and *Possevinus*, who received all that were in Greek, or who admitted the Three Latin ones, as Father *Haloix* did, who altho in a clearer time, were not however the best Critics. The other is that of some Protestants, as *Salmasius*, *Blondel*, *Aubertinus*, and *Dailleus*, who to the utmost of their power endeavour'd to destroy the Credit of *Usher* and *Vossius's* Editions.

All the World now agrees that the Letter of *Polycarp* to the *Philippians* is truly his, and that the other Works that are attributed to him are supposititious. The Martyrdom of this Saint is described after a very Circumstantial manner in a Letter from the Church of *Smyrna* to the Churches of *Pontus*; and our Author relates a passage from thence that Merits a particular Notice. The Heathens having hindred the Christians from carrying away the Body of *Polycarp*, which continued untrouched in the middle of the Flames, said it was for fear they shou'd adore it instead of *Jesus Christ*: The Church of *Smyrna* makes this reflection upon it.

* Senseless as they were, to be ignorant that the Christians adored Jesus Christ only, because he was the Son of God, and that they loved the Martyrs only who are his Disciples and Imitators, because of the Love they Testified to have for their King and Master. Afterwards the Centurian having burnt the body of this Martyr, the Christians carried away his bones more precious than the rarest Stones, and more pure than Gold, which they buried in a place where they assembled together to celebrate with joy and cheerfulness the day of his Martyrdom. Thus Honouring the Memory of those that Gloriously fought for Religion, that they might Confirm and Instruct others by their Examples. This is, adds Mr. du Pin, the Opinion of the ancient Church concerning the respect due to Martyrs and their Relicks, explained after a very curious way, equally distant from the Contempt that the Hereticks of our time have for 'em, and the Superstition of some Catholics.

Speaking of *Papias*, who though a Disciple of St. *John* the Evangelist, pass'd in the Judgment of *Eusebius* for a very Credulous Man, and of a most indifferent Wit, who pleased himself with the hearing and relating Stories and Miracles; (a) He says, That (a) p. 145. he made Errors and Falsities pass for the Opinions of the Apostles, and makes this Reflexion upon it, taken from St. *Augustin*. "It is evident, that nothing is of so dangerous a Consequence in Matters of Religion, as slightly to give credit to every one, and eagerly to embrace whatsoever bears the appearance of Piety, without considering whether it be really so or no. *Non sit Religio nostra in Phantasmatibus nostris: Melius est enim quaecunque verum, quam omne quicquid pro arbitrio fingi potest; melior est vera stipula, quam lux inani cogitatione pro suspicantis voluntate formata.* De ver. Rel. c. 55.

* There remains nothing of *Quadratus*, *Aristides*, *Agrippa*, nor of *Hegesippus*, but some Fragments that *Eusebius*, and St. *Jerom* relates. For 'tis a false *Hegesippus*, an Author of the Fourth Age, that made the History of the Jewish Wars, and of the taking of *Jerusalem*, divided into five Books, which has been often published, and is no more than an Abridgment of *Josephus*.

(b) He acknowledges for the Works of St. *Justin* (b) p. 153. 167. only his two Apologies, and his Dialogue with *Tryphon*. There are also two Discourses to the Gentiles, which are at the beginning of his Works, and that may be attributed to him, without injuring him, as well as the Epistle to *Diognetus*. (c) He (c) p. 167. c. 2. observes also, the particular Opinions of this Father, and that of his not despairing of the Salvation of the Gentils

Gentils: For in his 2d. Apology, p. 83. he says, That those who lived conformably to Reason like to *Socrates, Heraclitus, &c.* may be call'd Christians; and he seems to suppose they might be saved in following the Law of Nature. Mr. *Du Pin* explains many Passages of *Justin, Tatian, and Theophilus* of *Antioch* concerning the Generation of the Word, and its visibility, which appears not agreeable to the

(d) p. 179. Common Opinion. (d) He remarks, that this *Theophilus*

was the first that used the word Trinity, to note the three Divine Persons, and that he calls the third the Wisdom: That *Athenagoras* said, that the Devils lost themselves by the love they bare to Women; that he admits Free-will in its utmost extent, praises Virginity, and condemns second Weddings, calling them an honest Adultery. But *Denis* of *Corinth*, in a Fragment that *Eusebius* has preserved of him, l. 4. c. 23. advertises *Pinyrus* Bishop of the *Gnostians* not to

(e) p. 184. * charge the Christians with the heavy burden of an Obligation to Virginity, but to have respect to the weakness which the generality of Mankind lay under.

(f) p. 186. (f) This same Author complains, that they had falsified some of his Letters, and says, That we need not wonder that some Men dare to corrupt the Sacred Books, since they do it in Books of much less Authority.

(g) p. 197. *St. Irenaeus* as well as *St. Justin*, seems to have believed, that Souls are immortal only by Grace, and that those of the wicked, shall cease to be after having suffer'd torment for a long

(b) p. 198. time. (b) He has also some peculiar Opinions; for example, that *Jesus Christ* lived above 50 Years upon the Earth: That the Saints shall in the other Life learn by degrees whatsoever they are ignorant of, &c. *We must pardon the Antients*, adds the Author, these sort of Opinions, it being not singular to any one, for many had the like.

Eusebius hath preserv'd us * p. 210. a Fragment of an Author nam'd *Rodon*, who mentions, that in a dispute he had with one *Apelles*, a Heretick, who having been convinc'd of many Frailties, said, That he was not to examine what he believed, and that all those who hoped in *Jesus Christ* Crucified, should be saved; That the Question about the Nature of God, was very obscure; that he believed there was but one Principle, but he was not certain; and that the Prophecies were contrary one to the other.

(i) p. 169. (d) Mr. *Du Pin* wonders that the Books of the Pedagogue of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, are not Translated into the Vulgar Tongue. But (says he) if any one would undertake this Translation, he must leave out some places

which ought not to be read by all the World, and others he must accommodate to the Customs and Manners of our time. We doubt very much whether this way of acting will denote a sufficient respect for Antiquity; and are apt to believe that our Author in making his Extracts has not followed the Counsel he gives to others.

(k) The same *St. Clement* (k) p. 220. has made other Celebrated

Books under the Name of *Stromates*, that he calls so, because they contain many thoughts collected from different places, and crowded together, which makes a variety something resembling what we see in Tapestries. Wherefore this Father himself compares his Work to a Meadow, or a Garden, where we find all sorts of Herbs, Flowers, and Fruits, and we may gather such as please our selves, but not to such Gardens where the Trees, and Plants are placed in order on purpose to divert the sight: But rather to a shady and thick Mountain, where the *Cyprus, Linden-tree, Laurel, Ivy, Apple-tree, Olive, Fig-tree*, and other Fruitful Trees are mingled with Barren ones.

In the * Third Book of the * P. 223.

Stromates, *Clement* affirms that *St. Peter* and *St. Philip* were Married, and that they had Children, that Saint *Philip* had Married his Daughters, and that *St. Paul* had also a Wife; In which he is deceived, says the Author. This Father has spoken something that seems to Favour *Arianism*, which is, That the Nature of the Son is most Excellent and most Perfect, and that it comes nearest to God Almighty. He excuses him, saying, that the Ancients had not an exact distinction between the Terms, Nature, and Person, but often took * P. 228. one for the other. * Yet confesses that he speaks after such a manner to perswade us, that he believ'd not; or at least made no reflections upon Original sin. How do we say, (says he) that a Child prevaricates as soon as he is born, or how can it (having done nothing) fall under Adams Curse?

* There's a Contestation * P. 245.

amongst the Learned upon the Marriage of *St. Tertullian*, whether he was Married before or after his Conversion, and when he was a Priest; for in the Books which he Dedicated to his Wife, one may find that he lived with her when he wrote them: The Author of the Life of *Tertullian*, and of *Origen*, was obliged to say, that he also compos'd 'em after his Conversion. But Mr. *Du Pin* affirms that 'tis more probable that he was Married after his Baptism, and that he writ his Books to his Wife when he was very Aged, and fell into

the Error of the *Montanists*. * P. 240.

* He Examines the Reasons of his change, and believes with *St. Jerom* that the Envy he bore to the Roman Clergy

Clergy, and the outrageous manner where-with they treated him, enraged him against the Church, and made him separate from it.

* He afterwards gives a Catalogue of *Tertullian's* Works, and with care distinguishes those he made whilst a *Catholic*, from those that he composed after he was engaged in the Heresy of *Montanus*, placing amongst these last his Book of *Prescriptions*.

Amongst the *Orthodox* Treatises of *Tertullian*, he gives the chiefest place to his *Apologeticks*, his two Books to the *Gentils*, and that which he Dedicated to *Scapula*, to perswade the Governour of *Africk* from Persecuting the Christians. He proves in this last that all Men ought to have the liberty to embrace what Religion seems the truest to them:

That 'tis no part of Religion to constrain men to embrace a Religion, which ought to be a voluntary choice. *Non est Religionis cogere Religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet non vi.*

* In the Sixth Book of Baptism, *Tertullian* disapproves of Baptizing Children without Necessity. "How is it necessary, says he, to expose God-fathers to the danger of answering for such who may prevent and hinder the performance by Death, or Apostatizing from the Christian Religion when they come of Age? Our Author assures us that this Opinion of *Tertullian* is his own particular one; and there's no other Father to be found who hath said as much. But *Tertullian* affirms other things as incredible; as for Instance, when he says, *Christians are absolutely forbidden to bear Arms*; and he calls the Crowns that Soldiers put upon their heads, *the Pomps of the Devil*. To read his Book of *Spectacles*, one wou'd hardly believe that he was the Author of that of *Prescriptions*, but only by his affected Style and Particular Transports, he endeavour'd to prove in his Book of *Spectacles*, that Virgins ought to have their Faces covered in the Church, contrary to the Custom of the Country, which only oblig'd Women to be Vail'd: He mightily exclaims against Custom and Tradition, and maintains that nothing can be prescribed contrary to Truth. 'Tis true, (adds Mr. Du Pin,) when not Dogmatically enjoyned, but 'tis when it is done as a Discipline of little Consequence.

* In mentioning the History of *Origen*, and how he was persecuted by *Demetrius* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, he relates an Article of the Discipline of that time, viz. when a Priest was once Excommunicated and depos'd by a Bishop with the consent of the Bishops of the Province, he cou'd no more be receiv'd into any Church; and it was never Examined after the Judgment was past, whether it

was just or unjust.

* He places among the Errors of *Origen*, the Exposition which he gave upon the words of Jesus Christ, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth*, &c. because he seems to retain the power of binding and loosing only to Bishops and Priests which follow the virtue of St. Peter, and he says that all Spiritual Men are this Stone upon which Jesus Christ hath founded his Church.

* St. Cyprian is one of the Fathers, whom Mr. Du Pin has been large upon, because the

Life and Letters of this Martyr make a considerable part of the *Ecclesiastick History* of his Age. We may see there in the troubles that were excited amongst the Christians, by the parties of *Novatian* and *Felicissimus*, on the account of those that were fallen by Persecution: The Moderation that St. Cyprian observed to avoid the Rigour of the first, and the extreme Remissness of the second; and the Weakness of *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, who suffering himself to be seduced by *Felicissimus*, writ to St. Cyprian after a disobliging manner. These Two Schisms were not extinguish'd before a third arose, upon the Question, whether Hereticks ought to be Re-Baptized, propos'd by *Januarius* and the Bishops of *Numidia*, who upon that Account came to consult a Council where St. Cyprian was. They that compos'd it, answered that this Question was already decided by the Bishops that were their Predecessors, who had declared in the Affirmative. The Year following another Synod was Assembled in *Africk*, which having confirmed this Decision, sent to *Stephen*, who was then Bishop of *Rome*, to perswade him to embrace this Discipline. But the Bishops was so far from complying with the Reasons of the *Africans*, that he was Transported with anger against St. Cyprian and his Collegues, and treated their Deputies very ill, calling them false Christians, false Apostles, and Seducers, even forbidding all those of his Church to entertain them, and so depriving them not only of *Ecclesiastick Communion*, but also refusing them the Laws of Hospitality; but St. Cyprian testified great Moderation, being unwilling that any Person shou'd Separate himself from the *Communion*, upon this Dispute. Mr. Du Pin afterwards endeavours to prove in his Notes, that St. Cyprian did not change his Opinion, and that the Churches of *Greece* were also a great while after his time divided about this Question: He directs the Reader to a Letter of St. Basil to *Amphilocus*, in which this Father relates the different Customs of the Church upon this Point.

Almost all the Letters of St. Cyprian run upon those Subjects that we have already spoken of, the extracts of 'em are given to our Author according to the order

order of time. He relates many fine passages from thence upon the necessity of examining the Disposition of such as are admitted to the Communion, the Excellency of a Martyr, which principally consists in keeping in every respect an Inviolable Holiness in his words, and not to destroy the precepts of Jesus Christ at the same time that he's a Martyr for him. This holy Bishop made it a Law to do nothing in the Affairs of his Church without the Council of his Clergy, and consent of the People. Wherefore in the Council of 37 Bishops, held at Carthage in 256. upon the Reiteration of Baptism, this holy Man gave this reason against Excommunicating those that were of a contrary opinion to him: "For

* P. 444. "no one amongst us, says he, ought to establish himself Bishop over the Bishops, or pretend to constrain his Collegues by a Tyrannical fear, because each Bishop has the same liberty and power, and he can no more be judg'd be another, than he can judge him; but we ought all to expect the Judgment of Jesus Christ, who only has power to propound to his Church and Judg of our

* P. 442. "actions." In this question the Two Parties pretended to have Tradition on their side: And St. Cyprian opposed to the Tradition that Pope Stephen brought, the Truth of the Gospel and the first Tradition of the Apostles.

Our Author says also, * that * P. 474. St. Cyprian was the first that spoke clearly of Original Sin, and the necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ. The best Edition of this Fathers Works is that which has been lately published by Two of our Bishops: But Persons have not much esteem for the observations of Dametius, because he endeavours more to confirm the Doctrin and Discipline of our time than to explain the difficulties of his Author.

* Mr. Du Pin rejects all the * P. 490. Letters that are attributed to Cornelius Bishop of Rome, except those that are in the Works of Saint Cyprian, because the rest and particularly the Epistle to Lupicinus Bishop of Vienna, and two other that are in the Decretals under the name of this Pope are not like the Style of those that are undoubtedly his.

* In the time of Dionysius * P. 513. of Alexandria, who lived about the middle of the Third Age, one Nepos Bishop of Egypt writing of a Book to maintain the Reign of a Thousand Years, where he proves his opinion by the Apocalypse, Dionysius undertook to refute him. "And to Answer to the Testimony of the Apocalypse, that his Adversary quoted, he says, "that some have slighted this Books, "thinking it the Heretick Cerinthus's, "who admitted no other Beatitude

than what consisted in Corporeal Enjoyments: But as for himself, he says, "he durst not entirely reject it, because "it was esteemed by many Christians; "yet that he was perswaded that it had a hidden sense which cou'd not be comprehended by any one: That it was the Book of some Author inspired by the Holy Ghost, tho' not St. John the Evangelist, but another that bore his Name, as he endeavours to prove by the difference of the Style and thoughts * Denis without doubt

went too far upon this * P. 514. matter, as well as in the Letter that he writ to the Bishops of Pentapolis, when to refute the Error of Sabellius, who confounded the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, this slip from him, That the Son is the work of the Father, and that he was to the Father as a Vineyard is to it's Vinekeeper, or a Ship to it's Ship-wright, and that he was not before he was made. That happen'd to Dionysius, adds our Author, that does almost to all those that dispute against an Error, viz. to speak after such a manner as favours the opposite Errors.

* Baronius thinks that a Letter * P. 516. that Turrian published under the Name of Dionysius, and which is inserted in the first Volume of the last Councils, P. 85c. is certainly his. But Mr. Du Pin believes it a Supposititious Work, because the Author of this Letter approves of the Word *Consubstantial*, and says, that the Fathers have thus call'd the Son of God. Whereas it is certain that Dionysius and the Synod of Antioch received not this term, and that in his time they cou'd not say, that the Fathers commonly made use of it. There remains nothing else of this Bishops but a Letter to Basilides printed in the first Book of the Councils.

Besides many Fragments of Methodius Bishop of Olympus, or Patarus in Lycia, that Father Combefix has taken from the Ancients, or Collections of divers Manuscripts, we have now his *Fest of the Virgins* compleat, which we owe to Possinus the Jesuit. 'Tis a Dialogue of many Virgins, each of which make a Discourse in praise of Virginitie, nevertheless, without blaming Matrimony; a Moderation very rare to the Ancients, says Mr. Du Pin: * This * P. 339.

Work is compos'd of Ten Discourses, full of Allegories, and places of Scripture, and treats on divers matters as occasion serves. In the Second, to prove that God is not the Author of Aulteries altho' he Forms the Children that are produced by so wicked an Act, he brings some natural instances.

In the Eighth Discourse this Father speaking against the *Fatum* of the Stoicks, proves that Men are free, and that they are not necessitated to do good or evil, by the Influences of the Stars. At the

end of this Dialogue the Author speaks very Orthodoxly of the Holy Trinity, if we may believe Mr. Du Pin. We have only some Scattered pieces of *Methodius's*, Treatise against *Origen*, taken from Saint *Epiphanius* and Father *Sirmond*. Our Author doubts whether the passage that *John Damascenus* relates in the Third Prayer to Images, are *Methodius's* or no. He affirms there, that the Christians made Images of Gold, to represent the Angels for the Glory of God. If this is our Bishops, says Mr. Du Pin, it must be that he meant something else than what *Damascenus* did, and that by the Word Angels, Principalities and Powers, he must understand the Kings of the Earth.

He adds to the Authors of the Three First Ages, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Commodianus*, and *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, altho they pass'd the greatest part of their lives in the Fourth Age, because they imitated the First Fathers in disputing more against the Heathans than Hereticks. He praises *Lactantius* very much, and confesses that in his Book of the Persecutions, he seems to Note, that St. *Peter* came not to *Rome* till the beginning of *Nero's* Empire.

Afterwards he gives an account of the Councils held in the Three First Ages of the Church, and affirms that there are none more ancient than those that were held in *Victors* time about the end of the Second Age, upon the Celebration of *Easter*; and that they held no Councils to condemn the First Hereticks, the Disciples of *Simon*, *Carpocrates*, the *Basilidians*, and *Gnosticks*, because the Christians abhor'd all their Errors.

He rejects all the Decretals attributed to the First Popes: And believes 'twas *Riculpus*, and *Benet* his Successor that counterfeited them in the Ninth Age. He ends this Volume with an abridgment of the Doctrin, Disciplin, and Morals of the Church in the Three First Ages. He Makes no Notes upon this Abridgment, because he takes it for granted, that he has proved all he says there, in the Body of his Work. Nevertheless we have not observ'd (says the Abridger) upon the reading of it, by what reasons Mr. Du Pin, in his Treatise maintains the following Propositions, which he advances in his short account. 1. That altho' all the Fathers agreed not that Children were born subject to sin and deserving damnation; yet the Church was of the contrary opinion. 2. That they Celebrated the *Sacrifice of the Mass* in memory of the Dead. 3. That they pray'd to Saints and Martyrs, and believed that they besought God for the Living. There are others also better maintain'd, and of great consequence in relation to the differences that now separate the Christians. 1. That the Ancients spoke of the *Virgin Mary* with much respect; that they went not so far upon the subject as they have

done since; that for the Generality they did not believe she continued a *Virgin* after our Blessed Saviour was born; that they spoke not of her Assumption, and that there's a passage of St. *Irenaeus* which is not favourable to her Immaculate Conception. 2. That the Scripture contains the chief Articles of our Faith, and that all Christians may read it. 3. That the Elements of the *Eucharist* were ordinary Bread and Wine mingled with Water. That they divided the consecrated Bread, into little bits; that the Deacons distributed it to those present, who received it in their hands, and that they also gave them consecrated Wine. That in some Churches this Distribution was reserved to the Priests, but in others each Person drew near to the Table and took his Portion of the *Eucharist*. 4. That in these Three First Ages, the Unction of the Sick, which St. *James* speaks of, was not mentioned. 5. That Priests were forbid to intermix their Civil and Spiritual Affairs. 6. That the Priests were permitted to retain their Wives that were Espoused before Ordination, but not to Marry afterwards; Tho' Deacons were not forbidden the last. 7. That there were few Disputes in the Church concerning Morality.

There are many Tables at the end, some Chronological ones, observing the times in which the Holy Writers, and Ecclesiastick Authors Flourished, with that of their Birth and Death, others that serve to distinguish the true Works from the Supposititious. There are also Alphabetical Indexes for Authors, and for the Subjects they treat on.

De Antiqua Ecclesiae Disciplina dissertationes Historicae, Autore Ludovico Ellies Du Pin Sacrae Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis Doctore. An Historical Dissertation upon the Ancient Discipline of the Church, by Mr. Du Pin, Doctor of Divinity. At Paris 1686 in 4to.

THE Author speaks very freely against the Ambition of the Court of *Rome*, and for the Liberty of the *French* Church. He vigorously maintains the Independence of Kings, Superiority of Councils, and other points which have a long time caus'd many Disputes between *France* and *Rome*, which altho' it does not run into an actual Schism, yet it does into a *Virtual* one; but it wou'd be something very humbling to the *Roman* Communion if its Divines had not wholly betaken themselves to the *Asylum* of Providence. For in fine, never to agree upon the Principle of infallibility, and to dispute eternally upon Pretensions of the greatest

greatest importance, and by a fundamental Rule which the two Parties agree upon, I mean Tradition, is not this *Eagle against Eagle, and Rome against Rome*? It not this to discover its Nakedness to all Passengers? And what will become of it, if this last Remedy is wanting, that God being willing to try our Faith permits this great diversity of Opinions about the Authority of his Vicar? Indeed we must confess this is a great Latitude for a mans Faith. But let us see: Examine what Mr. Du Pin says in his 7 Dissertations, which are in very good Latin.

He proposes in the I. to shew the Ancient Form of Church-Government, and to this end he shews the division that was made of great Bodies into *Metropolis's, Jurisdictions, ArchBishopricks, Exarchats, and Patriarchates*. He tells us the Names and Privileges of those that possess'd these different dignities, and as these things had not a beginning all at the same time, nor have continued in their original terms, he forgets not to observe their rise and different changes; the name of *Metropolitan* he believes was not used in the same sense we take it now, before the Council of Nice, and he says, that that of Arch-Bishop was not known before the Fourth Age, when they some times gave it the Pope, and some other Prelates of the greatest Towns, but that afterwards it was given to all *Metropolitans*. There were also Bishops amongst the *Greeks* which took upon 'em the Quality of Archbishops. Not because they did not see very well that to do things in order they ought to add a Title with the real thing signified; but it depended not upon themselves to extend their Jurisdictions over other Bishops; they must therefore accommodate themselves to an abuse that they desired to cure by joyning with the Word, the thing it signify'd. *Simplicibus Episcopis, says the Author, Speciosum Archiepiscopi Nomen sibi vindicare haud difficile fuit: At subjectas alijs Ecclesias sibi subere non ita facile*. There are also at this time in Italy Archbishops who have no Suffragans. What he says upon the word *Patriarch*, is a very learned account of the Variations and Fortune of this Word, and may be surprizing to those that imagine Ecclesiastick affairs have been always the same. Tho' they will be yet more astonished (says the Abridger) when they shall know that Mr. Du Pin proves by very good reasons, that the charge of *Metropolitan*, or *Patriarch*, was neither instituted by *Jesus Christ* nor his Apostles, but that it proceeded from the rank that was held in certain Cities, according to the division of the Provinces, by those who in the *Roman Empire* had such a place in the Civil Government. Its very Natural to suppose that those who were Pastors in Capital Towns had some Authority in the Province, because its very necessary that the People shew'd have recourse to

them if any difference happen'd amongst 'em, wherein they needed advice or determination. This introduced a Custom that displeased not these Pastors, and from whence they were very willing to deduce a Title and Right to *Possession*; Natural Order requires it, and when Nature wills a thing its very rare that she does not accomplish it. Thus from the First Ages, the Arch-episcopal degree of Hierarchy began to form it self; which afterwards passed by little and little into custom, and then the Canons confirm'd it, and thus the Ecclesiastical Government was divided according to the Form of Civil Government, so that when some Cities were the chief of many Provinces, their Prelates had also some Authority over the *Metropolitans*; for that Reason the Churches of *Rome, Antioch* and *Alexandria* became the Principal ones; the First in the West, the Second in the East, and the Third in South. *Constantinople* was rais'd to the same degree after it became the Seat of the Emperours. As for the Church of *Jerusalem* it was the same, but not for the greatness of the place, but because of its Primogeniture. *Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria* aquired Privileges beyond other Seats, either by time, Learning, or the Liberality of their Synods: Thus we may translate the words of Mr. Du Pin, *Vel sibi vindicarunt, vel a Synodis Concessa receperunt*.

He gives many proofs for what he advances concerning the rise of *Metropolis's*, after which he gives a particular account of the distribution of the Ecclesiastical Government, which was regulated after the form of the Civil Government; and when he comes to the division of the *Gauls*, he forgets not the difference between the Archbishops of *Arles* and *Vienne*, nor the Priviledg of Primate which some *French Metropolitans* enjoy. He is very large upon the Authority of the *Patriarchs*, and maintains that *Rome* had always the First Rank, but that its Jurisdiction extended no further than the * *Suburbicary* * He speaks of their extent. p. 87. mand the *Metropolitans*, which is one of the particular Prerogatives belonging to the *Patriarchs*. He confesses that the *Popes* have enlarged the limits of their *Patriarchate* more than they ought; and that they have since ruined the Priviledgs of all *Metropolitans*. He examines the Objections of the contrary Party, and many difficulties which are represented about the *Patriarchate* of *Constantinople*, the Sixth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, and some other Passages. One of these Two things cannot be deny'd when so many Innovations are Visible, either that for some time the *Popes* remitted a part of their Right, or that they have Usurped over other Prelates. The First is much more unlikely than the Second. But there is another Question which extremely

trearily perplex those that are not used to dispute, viz. how so great a number of Learned Men can be so confidently accused of Innovation upon this matter, for they cannot Testify this great Boldness without having some Matter of fact which favours them: From thence we must Judge that Tradition is intricate and uncertain, and condemn no body rashly. See what Father *Lupus* says, at the beginning of his Book of Appellations, *Adversus prophanas vocum novitates, adversus quosdam temporum Novatores*. Does he seem to level this against the Protestants? And who would believe that he refutes Mr. *De Marca*, and *Gerbais*, and Father *Quesnel* and *Garnier*? On the other side the Epithet *Innovator* is little less Prodigious.

Mr. *Du Pin* in the Second Part of this Treatise refutes F. *Lupus*. He First examines the Question of *Right*, and then comes to that of *Fact*; I mean that after having disputed to the utmost of his Power upon the sense of some Canons that seem to give to the Pope the Right of the last Appeal, he explains the method they observed in the Ecclesiastick Judgments, before and since the Ancient Councils. 'Tis a very Copious Subject, and from whence a great number of fine things may be collected: The misfortune is, that Objections often prevail as much as Solutions to them who have already taken the Popes party.

The Third Part of this Work treats of Excommunication. He pretends here that 'tis a dependence upon the Keys that *Jesus Christ* has given to his Church, and that altho' all the Faithful was the Primitive Subject of the Power of the Keys, 'tis only the Clergy that ought to deduce it to Act. He confesses however that in the First Ages Excommunications were made with the advice of the People, and that there are some Tracts of this Practice left in the Writings of St. *Cyprian*. But by degrees the Laicks were excluded from this Jurisdiction, but not the Second Order of Ecclesiasticks, for it was very rare formerly that the Bishops made a Judgment in such Affairs without their Clergy. When a Man was Excommunicated by one Bishop, others must not receive him into their Communion, but they might call a Provincial Synod upon it, and if the case was an Article of Faith, it was necessary to follow the resolution of this Synod. Excommunication in that time more employed the Church than it does now; for lest they should be mistaken, they received no strangers into their Communion, except they carryed a Letter of Recommendation which declared their Pastors were well satisfied with them.

The Author clears all these things with good proofs, and observes, that to shun all Surpriz without much trouble, we must suppose that all the *Western Churches* were in Communion with those of the

East, when the Patriarch of *Antioch* was united with the Pope; so also to shun the odious name of Schismatick or Heretick, and to have a good opinion of all Christians it was very necessary to agree with the Church of *Rome*, and the Church of *Antioch*, and that it was without doubt the reason why the first of these two Churches, says our Author, obtained the Elogy of the Center of Unity. Mr. *Du Pin* confesses very freely that there may be some occasion in which a Person may separate from the Communion of the Pope, and not lose the quality of a good Catholic; and when he examines upon whom, and for what cause Excommunication is allowable, he says, Kings come into the Number, but not after that manner that many Popes have extended their power. viz. not any way that does any injury to a temporal Right, or dispenses with their Subjects Breach of Fidelity contrary to their Oath to the Prince. He maintains it more advantageous to Christianity to abstain from these proceedings against Crown'd heads, than to make use of 'em, and that the Bishops of *France* are always against the Excommunication of their King. However he himself shews the contrary in respect to *Philip the 1st.* and *Philip the 2d.* He extremely blames the flinging about Prohibitions, upon Towns, or Kingdoms, but thinks there's no harm in Anathematizing the Dead. In respect to the effects of Excommunication he would not have it extend to the despoiling of a Man of his Natural Right, and the Right which others can confer upon him: Thus an Excommunicated Person should not be deprived of his Wife, his Children, his Friends, and those Offices which these Relations engage him in; but other men must not so much as eat with him without necessity, or keep him company. We should never speak of it, if we read not the Order which is given us of shutting our Door against an Heretick, and not to do so much as with him a good day. Mr. *Du Pin* Reasons Judiciously upon this, and thinks it no difficulty to believe that Excommunication hath any effect upon the Soul, and that a man who is otherwise disengag'd from the bonds of Sin, would remain perfectly just under the Anathemas of the Church. The Journalists of *Lipswick* have mentioned a Work which treats of Excommunications. It was Printed at *Dijon* in the Year 1683 in Twelves, at the charge of Mrs. P. H. B. T. C. who composed it. These Gentlemen give a very advantageous Idea of it in their Month of *January* 1684.

The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Dissertations of Mr. *Du Pin* are destined to prove that the Pope is the Primate of the Church, that his Judgment may be corrected, and that the Council is above him. We shall speak but little upon this great Controversie, it shall suffice to say, that

that he proves here the Primacy of Saint Peter only by the passages of Scripture that speak of him the first in the list of the Apostles. As for these Famous Words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Stone.---Feed my Sheep.---I will give thee the Keys.*---he shews that the Ancients have taken them in divers ways which cannot be adjusted to the Notions of the Court of Rome: He maintains that the power of the Apostles was equal, which nevertheless injured not the Primacy of St. Peter, since this Apostle was only in quality of the first. Do we not every day, says he, see Brethren which have all precisely as much right to the Possession of their Father, but who are all necessarily excluded except one, in the quality of the Eldest? (But this Argument wont be conclusive till our Author shews how the rest of the Apostles were excluded from either a Heavenly or an Earthly Patrimony, when St. Peter was not; for so the Parallel of the Argument intimates.) He examines also what some have said of the Primacy's being founded jointly upon St. Peter and St. Paul; he shews wherein consists the Prerogatives of the Pope according to his Flatterers, and what the French Divines say of it: He brings the Examples of those Popes that have committed Errors.

He answers in particular to Mr. Schelstrate concerning the Council of Constance, but says nothing to the difficulties that were published against Mr. Maimbourg's Book. He says, the Manuscripts upon which Mr. Schelstrate founds his Argument, are not of certain Antiquity, and that they come from suspected places, viz. the Roman Libraries, *in quorum MSS. certum est pleraque eorum quæ Curia Romanæ placitis adversabantur esse erasa aut omissa.* It is certain that almost every thing which was contrary to the Maxims of the Roman Court, was either taken away or omitted in the Manuscripts of their Libraries.

I shall speak more fully to the last Dissertation of Mr. Du Pin, where he pretends to prove that neither Pope nor Church have any power either direct or indirect over the Temporalities of Kings. 1. Because our Lord exercised no Temporal Jurisdiction. 2. That all the power that he gave to his Apostles was only to publish the Gospel, Baptize, to Bind and Unbind Sinners, to Celebrate the Eucharist, to separate the Wicked from the Church, and Establish a Discipline. 3. Because Christ and his Apostles forbid the Church to exercise any Temporal Authority. 4. That according to the opinions of the Ancient Popes and Holy Fathers, the power of the Church extended no farther than Spiritual Affairs. 5. Because the Primitive Church exercised over its Members, only the pain of Deposition and Excommunication; for when She desired to put an end to her Rebellions by Penalties and Exiles, She had recourse to a Secular power.

Mr. Du Pin adds that if in the following Ages the Church had the power of Condemning to Temporal punishments, it was by the Concession of Princes. To prove this, first he shews that Jesus Christ suffered not his Apostles to make use of the Sword, or to wish for fire from Heaven upon those that resisted them. Secondly, he relates a hundred fine passages of the Fathers who say very positively, that Religion ought to constrain no one. These are the same passages that the Refugees alledge to the French Converters, to shew them the great difference between the Maxims of the first Ages and these Dragooning Missioners who compell'd the Protestants to Sign another Confession of Faith. But what use would Mr. Du Pin make of this? Does not he see that M. Schelstrate will answer him, 'tis a mocking of the World to refer 'em to such Maxims as the Fathers themselves laughed at, when instead of suffering Persecution they were in a Condition of making others suffer? Does not he see that if these Maxims were good, the Clergy of France cou'd not justify the Approbation which he has given of the Conduct he maintains? In a word, these Maxims are perfect Burlesk, if the Church can have recourse to a Secular power forcibly to constrain Hereticks to enter into its Communion: Common sense plainly says, that if Jesus Christ forbid his Church to use Violence, he has also forbidden their desiring such Assistance from Kings; and if he had permitted them to compel Persons by the Intervening of Kings, he has not command them in case of Necessity, to make use of all the power they can furnish themselves with, I mean by the credit they may have with the Multitude. But all this is inconclusive. Thus Mr. Schelstrate ruins his Adversaries if we come to Arguments *ad hominem*. But its true, the proofs of Mr. Du Pin considered abstractedly, are very solid; I mean those which I have already spoken of, and those that he founds upon the Nature of the Royal Power; for he plainly shews by Scripture and the Fathers, that it depends upon God Almighty, that its only justifiable in him, and that the Church is only obliged to suffer with patience, where Princes abuse their Power. These Maxims were so evident to the Holy Fathers that St. Ambrose who durst not abandon them in retaining a Church contrary to the Orders of the Emperour; nevertheless he set a great value upon himself, because he practised no other Resistance than that of Sighs and Tears. See how Witty Men are mistaken; if they are not Orthodox in their Actions, they are at least so in their Words.

The Answering these Objections it seems Mr. Du Pin has found much difficulty in; for altho' he proves very evidently the opinion that he wou'd refute is New, yet he cannot Demonstrate it to

his Antagonists, because they may maintain that they are Truths that have continued a long time undiscovered, and now are made manifest to the Church. The Mystery of *Transubstantiation* is of this Number, since *M. Allix* has shewn us that before the Council of *Trent* it was strongly rejected. This is therefore indeed what was never revealed as an Article of Faith till the 16th Age. Why may not they also say, that the Power of the Church over the Temporalities of Kings, is another Truth that lay undiscovered till *Gregory the Seventh*? This is a little perplexing, but the Council of *Constance*, the Terrible Shield of the French Church is yet more difficult. I shall only speak a little to that of all the Learned Disputes of the Author against *Cardinal Bellarmine*, who to prove that the Temporalities of Monarchs ought to submit to the Tribunals of the Church, has Collected in one Piece all matter of Fact, that he has found in *Ecclesiastick History*, and the *Old Testament*, with all the Reasons that his great Wit and Learning cou'd furnish him with: From whence it appears that we may learn a thousand curious things in the answer of *Mr. Du Pin* to this Famous Cardinal.

We find many places in the Acts of the Council of *Constance*, where it attributes to the Church, the Right of Deposing Princes; but we shall content our selves with relating the words of the 14th Session, where 'tis Decreed that all those who observe not its determinations shall be eternally Infamous, and deprived of all Dignity, Estate, Honour, Charge, and Benefice Ecclesiastical and Civil, altho it should even be a King, an Emperor, a Cardinal or a Pope. The Council of *Basil* Decreed the same thing. *Mr. Du Pin* answers to that, 1. That 'tis a Menace without effect. 2. That we may understand it shou'd be done only with the consent of Princes, and by their Voluntary Submission. 3. That as it was done in a time when the general Opinion attributed to the Church any power over Kings, so these Decrees were rash. 4. That these Councils determined it not in Form, since they did not examin it, but spoke only according to the General Style of the Prelates of that time, so that this cannot be a Decision made *Conciliariter*.

It wou'd be needless to tell the Reader that these Answers neither taken together nor separately, can any way injure this Decree, from whence it follows either that the Church has a Right to depose Sovereigns, or that it has made a very false Decision. I say, Decision, for 'tis as impossible to make a Decree without defining the the Doctrin, which is the Insparable foundation of this Decree, as it is to declare this particular Proposition for an Article of Faith, *We ought to believe St. Peter, because he was inspired of God,*

without declaring this General Proposition as an Article of Faith *we must believe all those that speak by the inspiration of God.*

A Treatise upon Nature and Grace against the Two Hypotheses of Mr. Pajon and his Disciples, by Mr. Jurieu Doctor and Professor in Divinity. Rotterdam, Sold by Abraham Acher, 1687 in Twelves. Page 419.

THIS Treatise upon Nature and Grace, was made in answer to *Mr. Pajon's* Sentiments, but supposing they might with their Author *Mr. Jurieu*, be thought to have past it over in Silence, till he found that *Mr. Pajon* was not without *Profelytes* to his Opinions, and therefore thought fit to Root out such Doctrins as he had planted, before they were fixt too deep, *To the end* (says he) *that if God raises our Churches from the dead, they may come out of their Tombs purified from the Corruption which began to prey upon them*: Indeed *Mr. Papin* is disposing himself to defend the Quarrel of his Uncle; but if *Mr. Jurieu* shou'd turn his Arms towards him, he cou'd expect no other fate, than that of *Patroclus*, who having put on the Armour of *Achilles*, wou'd therefore contend with *Hector*, and was soon foil'd by that Hero; Our Author thinks him not worthy of a Refutation, and contents himself only to say in an Advertisement, *That it is a very rare thing to find one in an Age, that will go about to refute a Man who has not Commenc'd for some Years; and he was much deceived when he cou'd not prevail upon him to answer him, The publick, says Mr. Jurieu, must pardon me, it has more need of my leisure for something else. If he* (meaning *Mr. Papin*) *had proposed his Questions with Submission, he might have had some Lessons read to him; but since he Interrogates in quality of a Master, he is far from acknowledging his own Weakness and Ignorance.*

After this severe Reprimand, our Author passes on to the body of his Work, which is divided into Two Parts: In the First he treats of the Superintendence of Providence, and in the Second, of the Operations of Grace, for to comprehend well the difficulty of the Superintendence of Providence, it is necessary to explain the Followers of *Mr. Pajon*: They say, God before any thing had a being, did thro' his vast Intelligence Conceive the System of the World, the Concurrence of its divers Springs, and the manner whereby it was to be linkt together in all its parts: In fine, that he created the Universe upon the project which he had formed in his Mind, that is to say, after having Chained and Tyed all parts of the World together, he put the whole Machine in motion, after such a manner that

that the indissoluble Connexion which is betwixt 'em, produces all the Events we have known to happen, and which shall hereafter happen to the end of Time: In a word, this Connexion of Causes and Events, and the force of this first Impression which every part of Nature has received, suffices to give motion to all things without any new Action or Concurrence of G O D. Thus we see the World is like a Machine whose Springs turn regularly, and God after having created Second Causes, hath left themselves to Act according to their Nature and First Motion which he gave to the whole Universe; from whence it follows according to these Divines, That the Concurrences of God is nothing else but his Decrees, by which from all Eternity he wills that Second Causes should Act after a certain manner, and they pretend that they never interrupt the General Order which he hath established. So that 'tis but a necessary consequence to do which Men call a Miracle: In fine, he meddles not with the Will in particular Events. This System hath much relation to that of Father *Malebranch*.

Mr. *Furieu* maintains on the contrary, that God immediately concurs himself in all our Actions; and besides this first Impression and General Motion which he has given to Nature, he lends his immediate concurrence to all Events. Upon this foundation he vigorously attacks the System which we have spoken of: He pretends first, that without an immediate concurrence he destroys the Infinite dependance of Creatures in relation to their Creator, in giving 'em, says he, the power to Act for themselves without a new Action of God; this is to draw 'em after a certain manner out of their *Nothingness*, and to raise them up into the Quality of little *Divinities* which can dispose of Events. One may even assert, says he, that there is no Independence at all in the Creature, because God is alwas the first Mover by virtue of his first Impression which he has made upon every part of Matter; whereas that is always to weaken this Truth of *Nothingness* which is of so great importance in *Divinity*, that without it, 'tis impossible to get out of the incomprehensible Abysses which the mind of Man finds in the Conduct of Providence. On the contrary this is to extol the Majesty of God, when we ascribe all the Operations of the Creatures to a perpetual dependance upon his immediate Concurrence, which seems (if we may so say) to add something to the Sovereignty of God over the Creature. 'Tis impossible without his immediate Operation (continues Mr. *Furieu*) to explain how objects strike the Organs of the Body, how they affect the Soul, and how the Emotions of the Blood follows that of the Mind; for 'tis certain that the Soul which is Spiritual, cannot be struck

by sensible objects, nor excite the motions of the Body. Indeed if on one side the Mind cou'd be touched, it might be extended; and if on the other, the Spirit has no material parts it can't move the Body. Now all the difficulty is easily resolv'd by a continual Concurrence of Providence to maintain and form the Commerce which is betwixt the Body and the Mind, because (according to our Author) at the presentation of every object, God does by an immediate Operation, produce the Idea which Men conceive in their mind about such Objects.

The finest Objection against this System, and which appears to be most to the purpose, is, that in denying an immediate Concurrence, he ruins the use of Prayer. You demand of God, perhaps, that he wou'd bless such a Marriage with a happy fruitfulness; but if God intermeddles with nothing, and if there be a Chain of Causes whose effect is inevitable, then nothing is more useless than this Prayer; for things wou'd happen necessarily, as they must happen, if it be not so, then God intervenes and breaks this Chain to stay the course of the first Impression; and to punish Crimes or reward Vertue he inverts the General Order, and this is that which our Author calls doing a Miracle. Thus adds (Mr. *Furieu*) nothing can be more insipid than to tell a man that he must thank God, because, by virtue and in consequence of the first chaining together of Second Causes, there's a Temperament of Courage in himself, and that by the same means his Enemies are disposed to fearfulness; whereas by means of an immediate Operation, God, without inverting the Order of Nature gives Victory to his People, and deprives their Enemies of Courage, and by consequence hears the Prayers of the Faithful without doing Miracles, or Suspending the course of those Laws which he has established: God governs these Laws with a profound Wisdom: And as he keeps Second Causes in his hands that he may determine their Motions, so he produces Scarcity or Abundance according as he thinks fit, for the exercising of his Mercy and Justice.

In fine, the chief Difficulty which results from both Systems is, If Mr. *Furieu* reproaches the *Pasionists*, that they make God the Author of Sin, they may return the same Objection against him with greater force. Thus the Reader perceives his curiosity redoubled in this Work, whilst he sees an able Man a little overcome, and Mr. *Furieu* in a danger worthy of himself. He says, then, that according to these Gentlemen, *all the Events which happen in the world, and by consequence Criminal Actions are the Effects of his first Impression*. Now God having created the World Innocent, found an *Innocent Chain of Second Causes*, it must necessarily follow that he breaks this Innocent

nocent Chain of Events. For a Man can't break it without a Miracle which can't be attributed to him, and if God breaks it, he is evidently the Author of Sin. *On the contrary he maintains that by saying, God concurs with particular Events, he makes him more evidently the Author of Sin, for in supposing an immediate Concurrence in every Action, God who is the first Mover, is by Consequence Cause of the Crime, and much more, if this Concurrence imposes a kind of necessity upon Mans Will, which being not able to act of it self, is compelled to follow the Motion which is impressed upon it.*

Mr. Jurieu Answers, that when God moves and makes a man to Act, who commits a Sin, he determines him to the Action, but not to the wickedness of the Action. The Motion is from God, but the disorder which is observed in it comes from Man; for instance, when God determines my Arm to thrust a Sword into a Mans Breast, he is not a partaker of the Crime, because this Action of Moving my Arm, and Stabbing with a Sword, is not morally an ill Action, for it is innocent in a Battle, or in ones just Defence; but all the wickedness depends upon the malice of the Heart, and the intention of him that Smites, of which God is not the Author.

Nevertheless, say these Gentlemen, *God who knows the malice of the heart, does notwithstanding this knowledge lend his immediate Concurrence for the Execution of this Malice. Now if God refus'd his Concurrence, the ill Intention of the Man would not proceed to its Effect, but it seems by his immediate Concurrence he lends. (if we may so say) his Arm towards the Commission of a Crime. Thus, is there not less danger to say, that God having once given Motion to the whole Machine of the Universe, he leaves it to accomplish Second Causes according to his Eternal Decrees, and the General Order he hath Establish'd? Else, add they, God lends not his immediate Concurrence only for an Exterieur Action, by which a Man lifts his Arm, but also according to Mr. Jurieu, for the inward Action of the Will: Now as a Crime resides in the Will, which could not be determined without an immediate Operation of God, it follows that God is the Author of the Criminal motion of the Will; for Example, To hate God, its difficult to comprehend how God can Act as to the Substance of the Action, and lend his immediate Concurrence for the Motion by which Man lifts himself up against God, without partaking a great deal of the Evil which is inseparable from the Action.*

To remove this difficulty, Mr. Jurieu says, that in the hatred of God there are two things; one is the motion of the Hatred, the other is the determination of this motion on Gods Side: Now the motion of Hatred is not ill in it self, for one may very justly hate certain things and God may concur thereto very justly.

But the determination of this motion upon Gods part, is a Moral Evil, and a Moral Evil is not an Entity, but a Privation of being, with which God does not concur, because he does not concur to a Nonentity. God does well determine the Will to a Real and Positive Action, that is to say, to Good; but he determines it not to Nothingness, that is to say, Evil or Sin. It is true, that God by General Laws is obliged to make use of Nature in things themselves, which are contrary to his Will: Thus he moves a Person who is advanced in Sin according to the desires of a corrupted Mind, and he makes him sensible of debauched Pleasures in the abuse of Creatures, to follow the Laws of the Union of the Soul and Body, which he himself hath established, because the sensation of Pleasure is a Physical Good, and not ill in it self; and for God to will and do good as the occasional cause of this Pleasure would be a Criminal abuse of the Creature; but God wills not that which is Criminal in it, and is not the Cause of Moral Impurity. He Illustrates this by the example of a Stone, which being thrown towards Heaven, instead of following the Impression of the Motion which the Hand gave it, it stops its course and falls back again upon the Earth; Because 'tis carry'd on by its natural Heaviness. Thus God lifts up the Will, to make it produce an Act of Love. Doubtless if it followed the motion which was impress'd upon it, it would be carry'd towards its Good; but the Will corruptly determining this Love which is Imprinted upon it by the first Cause, causes it to fall upon a Criminal Object.

In the Second part Mr. Jurieu refutes the Opinion of Mr. Pajon, upon the manner how Grace works upon the Will. Mr. Pajon, after having laid down as a Principle, that God lends not his concurrence to particular Events, and that the Will is subject to the first Impression, which we have spoken of, conceived a certain meeting together, and a certain management of external Circumstances, which joyned with the Word, do according to him, make all the Efficacy of Grace. These principal Circumstances, are the Disposition of the Organs, the Temperament, Education, Age, which often repair what the Passions of Youth have spoild; Poverty which makes People sooner hearken to the Exhortations of Repentance; whereas Prosperity blinds 'em with Security and Pride, and Deliverances which confirm the Faith, whereas Adversity weakens our Affiance in God. Now Providence presides over all these Circumstances, so that being assembled together, they necessarily produce their Effects, the Conversion of Souls.

Mr. Jurieu reduces this Opinion to Ten Propositions, which he engages Successively: We shan't undertake to follow him throughout

throughout, we shall content our selves to examin three of 'em, which will suffice to give a thorow knowledg of Mr. Pajons System, and the manner how he is attackt in this Work: One is, *that ye will always follow the Understanding; wherefore to enlighten the Understanding, its sufficient to encline the Passions and the Will.* That is to say, before all things we must perswade the Understanding, because a Man can't will or consent where he is not convinc'd; whence it follows, that the Understanding inclines the Will; when it is perswaded, there must not be an immediate Action of the Mind upon the Will, because there must be only a Predication to enlighten and convince the Understanding by the Evidence of Truth. Mr. *Jurieu*, who hath studied much the heart of Man, and knew all its foldings, tells us quite contrary, *viz.* That 'tis the Passions, and not the Understanding which determines the Will. They prevent deliberation; the violent Motions which they cause, leave not the Understanding time to judge.

—*Video Meliora, Proboque.*
—*Deteriora sequor*—

This is the condition of all Men. They raise up an Eternal War in themselves, and after much struggling they are carry'd away to sensible Objects and Charms, in spite of the Light of the Understanding. Man believes a thousand things, only because he wou'd believe 'em, and his Passions plead for an Interest; even the Air of a Mans Face changes according to the Nature of the Passions, so much is Passion the Mistress of the Judgment. In fine, according to Mr. *Jurieu* the Understanding is so little Master of the Will, that we ought to look upon it as a Passive Faculty, which receives Ideas as they are imprest upon it; 'tis an Ice which receives Images and reflects 'em more or less distinctly; now as it acquiesces it determines not; the Will ceases not to revolt and follow the Motions of the Passions. If the Understanding resists, it is only in those things wherein it hath not acquir'd a habitude of Sinning without remorse, and which stay upon the brink of the Precipice, being at a loss how to free themselves. The Understanding is almost always subject to the Will, which disposes of all its Reasonings; whence we may conclude, that 'tis not necessary to pass through the Understanding in order to penetrate the Will; and as it is this which determines, so 'tis this by which the Holy Ghost also Acts immediately upon the Mind: Thus the Joy that the Souls of the Faithful possess, is not a Reason'd Motion, nor does it arise from reflection; 'tis inward Grace which gives it birth: In fine, it must be an immediate Action of the Holy Ghost upon the Will to overcome its inclination to Evil, and

draw it back from sensible things.

The other Proposition we have chosen, is this, *That the Word of God contains Moral Demonstrations, capable of themselves only to produce a full and intire certainty of the truth of it.* That is to say, the Scripture has such Evident Characters of the Divinity of its Author, that they are sufficient to form this certain perswasion, *viz.* The Scripture is Divine. I know not, (says Mr. *Jurieu*) that ever man yet durst advance what these Gentlemen have done, without having a design to lessen the Power and Light of these Holy Characters: I dare affirm that there's not one which can't be avoided by the profane, not one that will amount to a proof, or to which nothing can be objected.

But (say these Gentlemen) It is true, there's nothing which the Mind of Man can't turn into Darkness; nevertheless, if these Characters of Scripture are not sufficiently evident to produce this certainty, will it be a fault in the Wisdom of God to make use of means which are incapable of producing the Effect which he proposed? And will it be a lawful excuse for those who are chain'd in the Darkness of *Paganism*? God will only reprove the malice of their heart and the source of their incredulity; since he hath hid his Word under so great obscurity that the Characters of Divinity which it bears along with it cannot make one proof. They add, that if by the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, there are not found in Scripture sufficient proofs to produce a certainty which excludes the fear that the Contrary can't be true, as Mr. *Jurieu* says himself, then there will be an eternal restlessness: For a man can't be fully assur'd that the Scripture is Divine by the Scripture it self; doubtless Grace can form a confidence which excludes all doubts that the Scripture is Divine: But as Grace is not so prevalent that one can't sometimes be perswaded by the prejudices and darkness of Reason, instead of that of Grace: So that one shall be at a loss to be so much assured of the Divinity of the Scripture, that there won't rest some doubt, and some fear that the contrary will be true. In fine, can't the Scripture be said at least to produce a certain and humane Faith without the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, and can't we convince a Heathen that it is Divine by the Light of Reason only?

Mr. *Jurieu* confesses that there is nothing appears more contrary to Reason than that these Character of themselves shou'd be able to produce an intire certainty. For Man is full of Errors and prejudices, which blind his Understanding, and hinder him from discovering the Truth. Besides, the subtilty of Mysteries, and their disproportion with the powers of the Soul, distract the Reason and cause Insurrections in it. Thus he pretends we can have only that certainty

of the Divinity of the Scripture that he calls *Adhesion*, which is produced from the Importance and not Evidence of the thing. For Example, *I believe that such a one is my Father*, I have no demonstration of it, says he, but the importance of this Truth upon which the Obedience I owe him is founded, and the right to his Succession makes my Will adhere thereto. Thus as Sensible Advantages recur from this great Truth, *the Scripture is Divine*, so it is the visible interest of man to believe whatsoever that Commands, and that his Will shou'd be absolutely determined by it. In a Word, the Holy Spirit which acts in us, produces with these Characters a greater certainty than naturally could be produced, and creates an inward sense of the sweet Efficacy of the Word: Without the Operation of Grace the Scripture wou'd continue like an unfruitful Seed upon the heart; for it is that which strengthens and encourages the Mind against all its doubts and diffidence.

The last Proposition that we shall examine, is, that *the Word of God Preacht under Proper External Circumstances, managed by Providence, may cause an irresistible Grace, and overcome all the wickedness of Mans Heart.*

This is the Foundation of the Controversy in Question; Mr. *Jurieu* makes no scruple of saying that this is a *Pelagian* Opinion, and that it wou'd be to make use of the Hereticks Arms which have disturb'd the Church. God, said *Pelagius*, works in us the Will to do what is Holy and Good, by Inflaming us with the Prospect and Recompence of future Glory to draw us back from Earthly Concupiscence in which we are overwhelm'd. Now the Scripture is full of such passages as intimate that God by an Almighty hand and by an invisible and internal Efficaciousness, independent of External Circumstances, Acts in the Depths of our Souls, and that Grace penetrates even into the deepest and most secret Faculties. It wou'd follow from the System of these Gentlemen, that the Progress of the Gospel and that of Philosophy is the same; Philosophy persuades by a happy Concourse of Circumstances, that is to say, by its Eloquence, turn of Wit, Art of well managing its Dispositions according to the inclination of the Auditor, and its Address, which must give an Air of Evidence to all its Reasons. These are not the methods of the Holy Ghost; its very true that Circumstances are not without their use, but we ought not to give 'em any force which *Necessitates* or attribute to 'em an *irresistible Grace*. On the contrary, a new Action of the Holy Ghost is display'd upon the Will and makes it feel a certain secret Charm at the sight of an Evangelick Object, which begins to wean it from sensible things, and disposes the Understanding to a favourable Judgment of Truth

and Vertue: In fine, it causes preventing and over-ruling Grace upon the Will, and God Seconds our Endeavours and places us in necessary Circumstances which also Act immediately upon the Heart.

We shall conclude with a proof which Mr. *Jurieu* here makes use of, and which deserves our consideration. He maintains that if a Concourse and Order of Circumstances, is the only Source of Sanctification, and if Grace depends upon the first admittance of the knowledge of the Truth, then the greatest Wits ought to be the greatest Saints, altho', says he, Experience shews the contrary: God hath not made choice of the greatest Scholars to be partakers of his greatest Graces; the Church was first taken out of the Bosom of the Vulgar, and the great Wits which are distinguish'd in the World, have not embrac'd Christianity. *We may ordinarily observe that those whom God hath endued with the most Elevated Devotion and Fervent Zeal, are Common Persons.* However we find a few great Men who are as Exemplary for their Piety as Merits. Mr. *Jurieu* himself is an Example. Nevertheless it is true, this is a reproach which is always cast upon great Wits, they often resemble Persons whose gust is too fine to abide any thing but Meats well seasoned. Ignorance more surely finds Devotees. Now if according to these Gentlemen, the Understanding is the great Spring which Actuates all the Faculties of the Soul, one might conclude from thence, that those who have the most Light shou'd have more Zeal, and certainty in Religion than meaner Spirits. Wherefore, adds Mr. *Jurieu*, we can by no means doubt that the Faith and Piety of these Devout Souls, these who are *Poor in Spirit*, was not produc'd by an immediate Operation of the Holy Spirit, which hath imprinted the Efficacy of its Grace in their Souls.

A Relation of the Inquisition at Goa, At Leyden 1687. in 12s.

ALL the World knows in General what the *Inquisition* is; some Books have given such descriptions of it (and not exceeded the Truth) that one cannot read without Horror and great Emotion: 'Tis even very surprizing to Reflect, that Religion that ought to inspire its followers with Justice and Humanity, can Authorise these Barbarous Formalities, and horrible punishments which make this Tribunal so formidable. But few men know the particulars of what passes, for the Mysteries thereof are almost impetrable. This Author is one that informs us by his own Experience; he is a *Frenchman* that relates this sorrowful Adventure, who confesses 'tis not without some regret

regret that he makes it publick; because the *Inquisitor*, according to their General Custom had forced an Oath from him never to discover the Secret. Some Pious Persons, that were Timorous, Strengthened his scruples; till others of a better Judgment convinced him that the benefit of the publick Dispensed him from an Oath that was extorted by his Tormentors. His Relation ought to be so much the less suspected, as his delay shew'd he was not in haste to publish it, since 'twas above Eight Years after his return; so that his resentment being lessen'd by time, it has little or no part in his recital.

He tells us, that being a Catholick and well Instructed in Divinity, he had a great mind to go into the *Indies*, which he prosecuted and Landed at *Daman* an *East-India* Town under the Dominion of the *Portuguese*, which are the most Superstitious People living, and the *French Catholics* are Hereticks when compar'd to them. They use to carry into their Assemblies the Image of some Saint, and if there's any one that will not give Alms he must at least kiss the Image. Our Traveller not being able to contain himself at this sight from Laughing at them, all the Devotees were scandalized at him, his refusal rendring his Faith suspicious; some time after being at a *Portuguese* Gentlemans house, who always had an Image in his Bed which he kissed with much Ardour, our Author instructed him upon it, and told him that the Hereticks Interpreted the worship of Images much to their disadvantage, and therefore it wou'd be better to Moderate it. It happened the same time that one of his Neighbours seeing a Crucifix at the head of his Bed, piously advised him to cover this Image, lest by chance he shou'd have some Amorous adventure in his Bed. Upon which the Author had the Imprudence to Laugh, (the Scruple appearing to him so very pleasant) and to make some profane Raileries upon the Holy Custom of the Women of that Country, which wou'd not grant any Favours untill they had Lockt up their Chaplets and covered all the Images in their Chambers.

This multitude of Crimes made him to be taken notice of in the *S. Office*: Besides, he had another Misfortune, for he made frequent Visits to a Lady which a Priest was in Love with, that was Secretary to the Inquisition: This Priest was very much disgusted at it, and some appearances gave him great Disquiet; this Jealousie animating his Zeal, he rid himself of his Rival by casting him into the *Inquisition*. The description he gives of his horrible Prison is capable to touch the hardest heart with Compassion. The Stench and Darknes of it was so insupportable that Fifty Persons Strangled themselves with Despair. He was

afterwards removed to *Goa*, where resides the greatest Tribunal of the *Portuguese Inquisition* in the *Indies*; all the Favour that he found there, was the choise of the lightest Chain of all the Criminals. He had there the Mortification to see his Rival there, who came to feed his Eyes with his unworthy Triumph.

As soon as ever he came he was despoiled of every thing that he had; they shaved off all his Hair, as is the Custom, without Distinction of Sex, when first they come into the Holy Prison of the *S. Office*. The Sacraments are never Administred to any one there, nor do they ever hear Mass: There Reigns so profound a Silence that they are not permitted to ease themselves by Complaints and Tears. There are Two *Inquisitors* at *Goa*, he which is call'd the Grand *Inquisitor* is always a *Secular Priest*; and the other is a *Dominican Monk*. The *Huissars* are Persons of the Chiefest Quality, who think it a Glory to be of the Noble Function, and have no other Recompence than the Honour of serving so holy a Tribunal. Afterwards he Relates the particular Formalities he observed there. He says, tis no wonder that such Men as only Examine the outside and appearances of things should be deceived in Favour of the Integrity of this Jurisdiction; For they make a great shew of Justice and Humanity. There must be Seven Witnesses to Convict the Accused, and if the Criminal Confesses he's guilty, he is acquitted of his Fact for the Confession, and obtains the Favour of being Suspended to the *Secular Power*. But in Reality they violate all the Laws of Justice and Charity, never suffering him to see the Witnesses that accuse him nor is he never permitted to reproach them with it.

They persist in the Desiring him to confess the Crime that he is supposed guilty of, and almost force him by this detestable Maxim that is amongst 'em, *we will rather burn thee as guilty, than suffer it to be thought that we have imprisoned thee unjustly*. Thus the Inquisition is always in the Right, and cannot Err, which infatuates the People, and makes them believe that the Holy Spirit presides over all their Actions; for the Miserable Victims of the *S. Office* Reciprocally accuse one another, to make others alike guilty of their imaginary Crimes; so by Consequence a Man may be very innocent and have Forty or Fifty Witnesses against him. In short, the Goods of those that are punished with Death, and those that escape it by Confession are equally Confiscated, since they are all reputed guilty. Nevertheless that which is very particular, is, that these pretended Offenders from whom by Torture they very often force a Confession, are also obliged to Declare publickly that they used much Clemency towards 'em. If a Man pleases himself
after

after being elcaped from their hands, with endeavouring to justify himself he shall never more have forgiveness; and on the Contrary, he that will live securely is forc'd to tell the World his Goods were most justly Confiscated. He is not therefore permitted to discover the least thought of his Heart. This is certainly an imitating the Cruelty of *Caligula*, who after he had caused the Sons of a *Roman Knight* to be Stabb'd, command the Father to Sup with him, and to add to his Grief the punishment of Imprisoning him. *Perisset (says Seneca) nisi carnis Concupiscentia placuisset.*

Those that they treat most rigorously, are the *Jews*, which were chased by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, and fled for refuge into *Portugal*. They force them to turn *Christians*; and altho' they have been there near two Ages, they still call 'em *New Christians* by way of contempt. The scandal of Heresie or Judaism, is never defaced; for *Rome* always preserves her Suspicions and Distrusts: It looks very suspiciously, as if she was not well perswaded of the force and evidence of the reasons she makes use of, since she distrusts the sincerity of those Converts she has made. Be it how it will, yet these new *Christians* have not got the good opinion of the Inquisitors; and Suspicions, in respect to them, are more severely punished than a real Crime in another.

But to return to what personally regards our Author; he says, that after being a long time shut up in the dark Lodgings of the *Holy Inquisition*, he was permitted Audience. He prostrated himself at the feet of the Inquisitor, by this humble posture and his tears to prevail upon him. But this obdurate Judge having commanded him to rise up, conjured him coldly, by the *Bowels of the Mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ* to confess his crime: He with a good courage recited all we have related, and alledged the Council of *Trent* to justify himself about Images. He observ'd only, that the Inquisitor appeared surprized, and that he was so ignorant, he never heard that Council mentioned before: But they sent him back without making any explanation of the Crimes he was guilty of. He was carried three or four times back to the same Audience, and the same desires were reiterated to make him confess without further clearing of the Matter, so that at last he abandoned himself to Despair through the slowness and cruelty of these dumb Proceedings, and resolved to put a Period to his Life. To effect which, he feigned himself sick, and said he wanted bleeding; they let him Blood, and as soon as he was alone, he again opened his Vein, and had bled to death, if the Keeper had not entred; who instead of having that Compassion, which such a sight ought to have produced, chain'd up his Hands

and his Neck: What redoubled his discontents, was, those that served him with what he had, never spoke to him, that by all manner of Circumstances they might encrease his Terror.

As to what they call the *Acts of Faith*, which are the days wherein they condemn the Guilty, and absolve the Innocent, they come but once in two or three years, so he expected that time with much impatience. He was however very much surprized, when at Midnight a Keeper brought him a suit of black Cloth, streaked with white, and roughly commanded him to put it on; he doubted not but it was to be the preparation to his punishment: Thus after many efforts, being fill'd with mortal Apprehensions, he took the Habit; two hours after he was brought out, and conducted under a Gallery, where was a doleful sight, there he saw 200 of his miserable Companions, set in order against a Wall, to whom they did not so much as permit the use of their Eyes. They were not all cloathed after the same manner: For their Habits were different according to the nature of their Crime and Condemnation; those that are destined to fire, have Garments, whereon the Picture of the Sufferer is laid upon fire-brands, with flames and Devils all about him, As they were ignorant of the formalities of the *holy office*, so there might be observ'd in their Faces the divers motions of fear, shame and grief, wherewith they were inspir'd. For it seems 'tis a part of their Ingenuity to forget nothing that may add to their fear. As soon as the day appear'd, the miserable Wretches were conducted to the Church, holding in their Hands a yellow Wax Candle for the *Act of Faith*, where every one received his Judgment. After two years Imprisonment, our Author was condemned to serve five years in the Gallies, with Confiscation of his Goods; those who were to be burnt, were given up to the Secular power, by the *holy Inquisition*, with instant prayer to use them with Clemency, or at least, if they thought them worthy of Death, that it might be without effusion of Blood. The secular Justice doubts not of the Infallibility of the *holy Tribunal*, but burns 'em immediately without Examination, agreeing with much Humanity, that that is no Effusion of Blood. They carry also with 'em some Boxes full of dead Men's Bones, that have been accused many years before, and this makes up part of the Process. But to return to our Author, after he was redeemed from the Gallies, by the Credit of his Friends, he return'd into *France*, being resolv'd to pay no more Visits to the *Inquisition*, nor engage a Rival Inquisitor above all Rivals.

The

The Works of P. Virgilius Maro, Illustrated with the Interpretation and Notes of Charles Ruxus, of the Society of Jesus, by the Command of the most Christian King, for the use of the Dauphin, according to the Edition of Paris. London 1679. in 8vo. p. 610.

THIS Edition of *Virgil* is not less fine for its being one of the first Books, which were Printed in England in the same form as the Authors printed it in Holland, *cum Notis Variorum*. And it may be said, that no Authors have been better printed in France, than this; and its hoped that divers more will be printed in the same manner. There is at the end an Idea of all the Words, which may almost serve as well as that of *Erybraeus*, provided it is correct, which is pretty difficult in so great a number of errors. As for the Text, it lacketh much of being so correct, as it is well printed, which happens undoubtedly in that the Book-sellers have not made Proofs enough thereof to be revised, as it also happeneth in Holland, but too often.

All the World knoweth what the method of those is, who have commented upon Poets for the *Dauphin*. Father *de la Rue* complains justly, that the Learned, who had laboured until now upon the Ancients, applied themselves more to acquire Reputation in making long unnecessary digressions on the Authors, which they commented upon, than to make young folks comprehend well the sense thereof. He might besides have said, that it's easier to play the Learned Man, in putting off his collections upon the occasion of one word, which is not more clear thereby, than to follow the Author step by step, and to leave no obscurity in his Expressions and Thoughts, as those who have studied for the *Dauphin*, have endeavoured to do. This last Design is equally advantageous for those who begin to read the Writings of the Ancients, or who hardly understand them; and painful for those who undertake to remove all the difficulties which are found therein. This is what ought to oblige the Publick, or to excuse the faults which may be remarked in Interpretations, otherwise so exact and agreeable to the Author.

Notwithstanding a part of what we have proposed to our selves, in this Work, consisting in making known the Opinions of the Publick, or even of Particular People, upon Books which are Published, as well as to tell what they contain, it will not be amiss to remark here what the Publick finds fault with, in some of the Authors which are for the use of the *Dauphin*. The Reader may observe, if he pleaseth, that we only re-

late here what we often heard said of divers able Persons in such things, and not our particular Opinions. It cannot be denied that it is not a thing which Essentially belongeth to the History of Books, to tell what the Learned have thought thereof, as soon as they were made Publick. And as an Historian ought not to have the boldness to relate any falsehood, so there is no Truth but what he ought to speak of, he ought to flatter no Body, nor testifie hatred against any whosoever. * *Cicer. l. 1. Quis nescit primam esse Historiae legem, nequid falsi dicere audeat; deinde nequid veri non audeat; nequa suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo, nequa simultatis.* We were obliged to make this small Digression, fearing it should be thought that we have forgotten our Promise, which we made three years ago, of not judging of the Works whereof we should make mention.

Some Persons who have carefully applied themselves to the Study of Humanity, find two things to be reprehended in several Authors in Question. The First is, that in the Paraphrase they have not only applied themselves to Paraphrase the Original by an equal Number of Words, but also have for the most part retained certain Metaphorical Terms, which helpeth on with the obscurity of the Authors Style. They have even been contented to put the Terms of the Original, according the Order of Construction without expounding them in the Notes, tho' they were not clear. It would therefore be a thing desirable that they had so scrupulously applied themselves to the number of Words. 1. Because it is impossible to speak plainer than the Author, without adding some Terms. For Example, *Virgil* saith in his IV. Eclogue, *Ultima Cumaei venit jam Carminis aetas*; word for word, *The last Age of the Camæan Verses is come.* F. De la Rue Translates, *Nunc attigimus extremum saeculum vaticinij Cumææ Sybille.* Those who begin to read *Virgil* may believe that this Signifies, that we shall soon cease to respect the Verses of the Sybil of *Cumes*, and that they are going to be buried in Oblivion; or some such thing. He should have said, *Attigimus extremam aetatem Mundi à Sybilla Cumææ decantatam*, we are come to the last Age of the World, so call'd by the Sybil of *Cumes*. 2. What availeth it to Paraphrase Idle Epithets, chiefly when they are clear, as when they Paraphrase *Castà Lucina*, by *pudica Diana*? There hath never been an *impudica Diana*, and this Epithet doth but render the Prose flat and affected; for it's known that Poets have Priviledges which Orators have not. 3. In keeping a Metaphor in the Paraphrase, they speak as obscurely as the Author. *Virgil* had said, *Si canimus Sylvas, Sylvæ sint Consule dignæ*; if we Sing, we Sing coun-

try Songs, let them be so fine as that a Consul may not Scorn to hear them. *F. de la Rue* saith, *Si cantamus Sylvas Sylva deceant Consulem*. It's true, he expounds in his Note *Sylva* by Country Song, but if he had put it in his Paraphrase, that would have spared him a Note; and the Terms of *deceant Consulem* are at least as obscure as those of the Original. Therefore it may be that it had been better to render the Metaphors into simple words, that the Young Folks should Learn the Figured Style, and that which is not so.

Besides this manner of Reckoning words hath produced another obscurity, which is not of a less consequence; which is, that when the Author hath put no Particle to remark the Connection of his Discourse, none hath been put likewise by the Commentator, which makes those who want Notes to understand it, not understand the Sequel, and think they read a fiddle faddle. *Virgil* thus begins to his IV. Eclogue.

*Sicelides Musæ paulò majora canamus,
Non omnes arbuta juvant humilesque
myricæ.*

*Si canimus Sylvas Sylvæ sint Consule dig-
næ.*

We do not immediately see what Connection this Third Verse can have with the Preceding, because there is a Conjunction missing, which *F. de la Rue* hath also omitted in his Paraphrase. Therefore this Conjunction should have been joyned in this wise. *O ye Muses of Sicilia (or Buclicks) let us sing Subjects a little more elevate, for every one is not taken with Verses, which treat of Shrubs and Brambles (or such as speak of Country Subjects) Or if we Sing Country Ains, let 'em be so fine, &c.* the Particle *Vel* or *Aut* omitted at the beginning of the Third Verse causes here an obscurity which hath so much troubled the greatest part of Interpreters.

These faults which are found every where in many Authors who have taken pains for the Dauphin, without doubt lessens the great profit that Youth might draw from thence. But he says, that besides these defects which regard the Method, there's a great many places wherein these Gentlemen have not given the true sense of the Original. There are some who believe that we shou'd not speak Latin if we said, *Magnus Seculorum ordo*, *Magni Menses*, in the same sense as we say, *Alexander Magnus*, *Pompeius Magnus*. However thus it is that *Father la Rue* explains the Epithet *Magnus*, in the Verses of *Virgil*, from whence the words that we have cited are taken. He says also, that the word *adeo*, in the 11th. Verses of the same Eclogue, does not signify *porro*, as *F. la Rue* believes, but *Yes*: So that *Virgil* after having said that the Golden Age is about to come, and

after having used Seven Verses upon that, he wou'd continue thus, *Yes, Pollio it shall be under your Consulship, that this Child, the Honour of our Age, shall have its Birth, &c.* *F. de la Rue*, by *Decus hoc ævi* understands the Golden Age, since he understands it *Gloria hæc ætatum inchoabitur*; whereas it is generally believed *ævi decus*, can signify only the Honour of our Age.

However, whether it be so or no, there has been diversity of Opinions upon these sorts of things; and a Person must be so very well Vers'd in ancient Authors, to distinguish who is in the Right, that few Men are capable Judges in this affair. But here's another thing which depends upon good sense, and not barely upon the study of the Latin Tongue, which is to be observ'd, *viz.* to mark frequently where the Ancients have varied from certain Rules, which being founded upon Reason ought to be reviewed in all Ages. For, in fine, as it wou'd be foolish to despise these Admirable Models of Antiquity, so we ought on the other hand to avoid falling into an over-respect to them, or approving of their oversights: The finest Wits sometimes mistake and commit Errors, which Persons inferior to them can observe: 'Tis not amiss to preserve this same natural Liberty, which the Ancients themselves have used with so great a freedom, which consists in blaming what is blameable, and praising what is praise worthy. On the contrary, the greatest part of our Learned Men at this day, can't forbear boasting of Antiquity, nor suffer the least thing to be examined, as if a Fault, and an Ancient Poet or Historian were incompatible. Nevertheless this is to spoil the Judgment of Youth, and to accustom them to Admire every thing, without judging any thing; and this General Observation is also more dangerous than some Judgments that are a little freer; for Nature has given us a Right, to determine after a solid examination. There's also another Preamble which we shou'd be very willing to pass over, but that the Humour of our Criticks has made it necessary to be observ'd.

To give an Example of an Error, for we must call it by its right Name, *Virgil* ought to be reprehended; we shall relate some Verses of a Discourse which *Jupiter* is made to speak with *Venus* the Mother of *Aeneas*, in the First Book of his *Aeneids*. *Jupiter* there informs his Daughter what was to be the Destiny of *Virgil* and his Posterity. After having spoken of him he comes to his *Ascanius*, and speaks thus to *Venus*,

*At puer Ascanius, cui nunc Cognomen
Iulio.*

*Additur, Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ili
regno.*

"But this little *Ascanius* who is now Sir-
nam'd *Iulus*, and who was called *Ilus*,
" whilst

whilst the Kingdom of Troy stood. This Reflection upon the Name of *Ascanius*, is insupportable in the Mouth of *Jupiter*, speaking to the Grandmother of this Child, and in a Discourse so serious as his; if the Poet would have made *Ascanius* known, he ought to have inserted that in his Narration, and not to have made *Jupiter* spoke of it, nor even to insert it by a Parenthesis in so fine an Harangue. One might perhaps say, for the Excuse of *Virgil*, that the NUNC shews that this was not the Poet that spoke. He seems to have imitated *Homer*, who to instruct his Readers in the Customs of the Gods, introduc'd *Jupiter* speaking to *Thetis*, as if she knew not more than Mortals, that *what he consents to by nodding with his Head, is irrevocable*. *Iliad*. A. V. 525.

Varia Sacra, seu Sylloge variorum Opusculorum Græcorum ad rem Ecclesiasticam spectantium. Cura & studio Stephani Le Moyne Theologi Leydenfis, qui collegit, versiones partim addidit, & Notis & Observationibus uberioribus illustravit. Lugd. Batav. apud Danielelem Gacsbeeck 1685, 2 Vol. in 4to.

THIS Work is Compos'd of three parts, since 'tis a Collection of Greek Pieces, before which are long Prefaces, and after them very fine Notes.

The Collection is not only made of rare pieces; for the Epistle of *St. Polycarp*, and that of *St. Barnabas*, which are at the beginning, are common enough, but there are others which are very curious, as, *A Treatise of the Oecumenic Councils by Germain, Patriarch of Constantinople: The Preface of Euthymius upon the Psalms: An Account of the five Patriarchates of the Church, by Nilus Doxopatrius: A Conference between a Christian and a Saracen, by Bartholomew of Edessa: A Conference between a Grecian and a Roman.* The Latin Version is annexed to all these Pieces, and they have been taken either out of the King's Library, or that of Oxford, or Leyden.

We may consider the Prefatory Discourses as divided into four parts, and for the first take all that the Author says about his being engaged by chance to compose this Work, and how he has brought it to that perfection it now appears to us in. He dissembles not the Grief and Vexation that he received from a new Edition of *Josephus*, being begun at Oxford: For as he had made it the Care and Study of his whole Life to correct and Explain it; so he thought none else shou'd ever have had the Glory of giving it to the Publick. Having been prevented of his hopes, tho' not without

great Mortification, he e'en resolv'd to be content with that Printed at Oxford, and go upon this design, of Collecting these Pieces together. The three other parts of these Prefatory Discourses, are so many Dissertations, one upon *St. Polycarp* and his Writings; the second upon *St. Barnabas* and his Epistle; the third upon *Hipolitus*, and the greatest part of the Works that are Attributed to him.

Before he begins his first Dissertation, he tells us, That he had no design to publish the Epistles of *Polycarp* and *Barnabas*, because they were already so well known; but coming into *Holland*, he heard every where a great Rumour, that was surprizing enough; viz. That *M. Rulleus*, who was Chaplain to *Mr. Paetus*, during his Embassy to *Spain*, and who afterwards making a Voyage into *Italy*, brought back from thence a Manuscript of the Epistle of *St. Polycarp*, above twice as big as any that has yet appear'd as his. *Mr. Rulleus* was very Inquisitive after it, and himself intended to publish this rare Treasure; but Death preventing him, his Brother made a Present of the Manuscript to *Mr. Le Moyne*, who soon perceived, that they had taken the Epistle of *St. Barnabas* for part of *St. Polycarp*, because they were both joyned together, without any distinction. The Jesuit *Turrian*, a very Learned Man, and very much accusom'd to Manuscripts, was also fallen into the like mistake. Which made me remember, that formerly the piece of *Minucius Felix's* was taken for the eighth Book of *Arnobius*, because it was affixed to his seven, and that it was imagined instead of *Octavius*, which was its true Title, it ought to be read *Octavius*. It must be very welcome to the World, that the Author, according to the last Will of *Mr. Rulleus*, made an Impression of these two Epistles, for there are many fine Observations added, which are altogether new.

In his first Dissertation he maintains, That *St. Polycarp* suffer'd Martyrdom on one of the Days of the Great Sabbath, which was the beginning of the Ecclesiastick Year, the first Day of the Month *Nisan*, according to the Hebrews. He says, That the Jews gave the Name of the Great Sabbath to the two first Days of the Civil and Ecclesiastick Years, the first of which began in the Month *Tisri*, or *September*, and the last in the Month *Nisan*, or *March*. These two Days were call'd by preference *μεγάλα σάββατα*, but the first Day of *Tisri* was prefer'd to the other, insomuch, that the first Day *Nisan* was only the second Great Sabbath, whence it comes (adds *Mr. Moyne*;) that in the Gospel according to *St. Luke* there is mention made of a second first Sabbath, *δευτερον πρωτον*, which perhaps is so nam'd, because they call'd the first Day of the Year ראש שבת השנה Sabbathum principii Anni. Now because שבת signifies

Annus

Annum & secundum, some Antient Interpreters wou'd Translate (by sticking too much to the Letter) שבת ראש השנה *Sabbatum principii Anni*, by these other words *Sabbatum primo secundum*, or *secundo primum*, which the Greeks have render'd by δευτερόπρωτον.

This Observation will appear very probable to those that understand both Languages. The Author says, There is much reason to believe that *Polycarp* dyed in the Year 167. under the Consulship of *Quadratus*, and he maintains this Cronological Observation very learnedly against all those that affirm he suffered Martyrdom in any other Year, and to remove all difficulty, he shews that there were many *Quadratus's*. There was *T. Numidius Quadratus*, who was Consul in the Year, 167. and *L. Statius Quadratus*, who was Pro-Consul in the lesser *Asia* at the same time.

There is a happy Illustration of a very considerable matter of Fact; amongst the Circumstances of the Death of this Martyr; some tell us, That a Dove which came out of his side, fled into the Air, having lighted upon the Pile of Wood, without being injured by the Flame, was killed by a Soldier. Neither *Eusebius* nor the Antients speak any thing of that Miracle, they only say, That *St. Polycarp* was wounded in the side, and that a great quantity of Blood issued from the wound. The Author believes, That there was formerly in the Epistle of the Church of *Smyrna*, wherein the Martyrdom of this Holy Man was related, these Greek words, ἐκ ἀριστερᾶ ἐξῆλθε πλῆθος αἱματός, *Ex sinistro Latere exiit Magna copia Sanguinis*, and that ἐκ ἀριστερᾶ was chang'd into περιστερᾶ, which signifies a Dove, after which they were piously believed, and as confidently published, that a Dove went out from the side of *St. Polycarp*. *M. Le Moyne* supposes also, that *Lucian*, who lived in the same time with *St. Polycarp*, only compos'd his *Peregrinus* to insult over this Martyr, and to turn *Christianity* into Ridicule. He believes, that the *Novus Empedocles*, to whom *Themistius* compares the Emperor *Jovian*, was *Polycarp*, and proves it by Reasons that appear very solid, and in refuting the Opinion of *M. Petit*, who maintains in his *Miscellanea*, Printed in the Year 1682, that this *Empedocles* is infallibly the *Peregrinus* of *Lucian*.

The Discourse upon *St. Bernard* is also full of Curious Remarks. The Author observes, he was of the Isle of *Cyprus*, where there was so great a number of Jews, and that once they put all the Idolaters in that place to Death. These Jews lived in the principal Towns of the Isle, as *Cyrene*, and *Labitus*, and as they went often to *Jerusalem*, both because the Passage was very easie, and to assist at the Solemn Feasts, so they had Synagogues there; and these, he says, are those that were called *Cyrenians* and *Lybertines* in the 6th chapter of the *Acts*.

St. Barnabas, dying in *Cyprus* was Buried under a *νεγκπιρ*, a *Carib-Tree*, and not under a *νεγκσον*, a *Cherry-Tree*, as a Learned Interpreter believed it to be. We may see here very Learned Etymological Remarks, intermixt with a great deal of *Arabick*. The consideration of *St. Barnabas* was, because the Metropolitan of *Cyprus* pretended to the right of *αὐτοκεφαλία*, and Independent of any Patriarchal Jurisdiction. *M. Le Moyne* illustrates whatsoever he says with very fine Notions; and after having observed, that upon the Breast of this Apostle, was the Gospel of *St. Matthew* Writ in Hebrew by his own hand, he refutes the false consequence that *Mr. Mallet* has inferred from thence, That the Apostles would not permit the Laicks to read the Holy Scripture. He praises *Mr. Arnaud*, and the vigour with which he refutes this consequence of *M. Mallet*. But however, he proves by very good Reasons, that the Epistle that is attributed to *St. Barnabas*, is none of his: He supposes it to be *St. Polycarp's*, without absolutely determining any thing upon it.

In the Dissertation upon *St. Hypolitus*, he maintains that he was not put to death in the Year 230, but many Years after: He proves it by the Letter he writ to *Severa* Wife to the Emperour *Philip*. She is call'd *Severina* in the *Canon Paschalis* that was published by *Scaliger*; but as there never was any Empress Named *Severina*, so the Author pretends it it must be read *Sever. Aug.* whereof they made *Severina*. He bids us not confound this *Severa* with her that was the Wife of *Severus*, who applyed her self so much to Philosophy, that she was called a Philosopher in this Passage of *Philostatus*. *Αντωνίου* ὃν ὁ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ παῖς *Ioulianus*. That is, *Antoninus* was Son to the Philosopher *Julia*. These words have puzzled the great *Scaliger*, that Man of the World, who confest the least that he was ignorant of any thing. Our Author shews, that we must Correct them after this manner, τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, and understand by 'em *Antonine Caracalla*. Afterwards he easily overcometh all the Difficulties founded upon this, that *Julia Severa* was not the Wife of the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, firnam'd the Philosopher, nor by consequence the Mother of *Antoninus Commodus*. This same Passage of *Philostatus* is a very strong proof to *M. Le Moyne*, that this *Julia* was own Mother to *Caracalla*, and not Mother-in-Law, as is generally believed, and he confirms his thoughts by a Passage of the *Kynegetick* of *Oppian*, Dedicated to the Emperour *Caracalla* himself.

Hypolitus never writ to this *Julia Severa*, but to *Severa* Daughter of *Mammetus*, and Wife to the Emperour *Philip*, to whom she communicated the good Sentiments she had of Christianity, which she had received of her Mother. The Author agrees not with the Testimony of

of *Eusebius*, that it is doubtful whether this Emperor was a Christian or not; but he thinks not that we ought to prove this Opinion by the Medal, which those of *Apamea* made under their Emperor; one may see there on one side the Head of this Emperor, and on the other an Ark, 4 Persons, and 2 Pidgeons, one of which holds a Branch of Olive in its Mouth. Round about the Figures are these Characters, $\Lambda \Delta \Xi \text{AN} \Delta \text{PE} \Omega \text{N}$, and under them $\text{N} \Omega \text{E}$, all which made the Celebrated Mr. *Falconier* judge that this Medal represented the Deluge, as he endeavours to prove in a very Learned Dissertation. Our Author shews here, that he's deceived, and explains the Medal after this manner.

The Ark signified the City of *Apamea*, which was call'd $\chi\iota\beta\omega\lambda\omicron$, because it was the Store-house of all the Country round about: The four Persons represent two Inhabitants of *Apamea*, and two of *Alexandria*. The Doves and the Olive-Branch, was a Representation of the good Intelligence there was between these two Cities. It's very certain, that the Characters inscrib'd upon it contain'd $\Lambda \Delta \Xi \text{AN} \Delta \text{PE} \Omega \text{N}$, Those of *Alexandria*. If we read the three last Letters Reverse, they make $\text{N} \Omega \text{E}$, which Mr. *Falconier* believ'd were to be seen at the bottom of the Medal. And altho' it were so, if we believe this Author, we must not establish our Faith of the Emperor's Christianity upon this Medal; but found it upon other Proofs that he alledges for it.

Thus having maintain'd that this Emperor was a Christian, and that it was to the Empress his Wife, that *Hyppolitus* writ Letters, as well as *Origen* had done to the same Lady, the Author shews, it was not this *Hyppolytus* that contributed so considerably both by his Exhortations and Purse to the Works which *Origen* compos'd upon the Scripture, as the Patriarch *Photius* has falsly affirm'd. He that was at these great Expences for *Origen* was a very Rich Laick, Named *Ambrose*. *Hyppolitus* being then only Bishop, was not at that time in a condition of making such Contributions: It is not easie to decide what City he was Bishop of, for he is sometimes call'd Bishop of *Rome*, sometimes Bishop of *Arabia*.

The Author examines all these Difficulties after such a manner, as shews he has a very penetrating Wit, and is a Man of great Reading. He proves by many Examples, that there has been two Bishops in the same City; and he does not only believe that *Hyppolitus* continued a long time in *Arabia*, but also that we ought to attribute to him the Conversion of Thirty Thousand *Saracens*, which Work others assign to *Nonnus*. He shews that he has been confounded with this *Nonnus*, and others of his own Name; and that he never was a Monk, nor long

enough Deacon to bear that Title, from whence he takes occasion to censure a Council held at *Rome* in the Year 324, which gave him the Name of *Hyppolitus*, Deacon. He confirms the Observations of some Learned Men, that this Council was never held under *Sylvestre*.

He afterwards makes many Remarks upon the Works of *Hyppolitus*, that are engraved upon a Marble Chair at *Rome*, and which is one of the finest Monuments of Antiquity. It was found in the Year 1551. in the Diocese of *Tivoli*; from whence the Author infers, that *Hyppolitus* was not Bishop of *Porto*, at the Mouth of the *Tyber*; for if it had been so, it is very probable this Monument would have been found there, and not in the Diocese of *Tivoli*: It cannot be doubted, but that the Marble Image of the Man that is sitting in this Chair, is *Hyppolitus*; because, altho' his Name is not there, yet there appears all the Titles of almost all his Works that the *Antients* have attributed to him. M. *Le Moyne* tells us, 'twas the Custom of placing these sort of Monuments in the Temples, and that it was practis'd both amongst the *Heathens* and *Jews*. They had in the middle of their Temples upon Walls and Pillars, a great many Inscriptions, and Historical Relations; that by the Holiness of the place, the memory of past things might be the better preserved. 'Twas from such Monuments that *Sanchoniaton* Contemporary with *Gideon*, took the greatest part of his Memoirs, wherewith he compos'd his Book. He observes that he drew them ἐξ Ἀμυνέων γεγραμῶν, from the *Ammonian Letters* that is from AMN , from the Temples and Statues of the Sun that the *Hebrews* call'd AMN , upon which they writ the most remarkable things that concern'd the Eastern People.

The Third part of this Work, which is the Notes, is a distinct Volume, much larger than all the Collections and Prefaces.

My Reader perhaps may wonder (says our Abridger) that I have so long neglected to tell him, That the Famous Epistle of St. *Chrysostom* to *Cesarinus*, is one of the Pieces that M. *Le Moyne* has published: He so religiously observes to Print it exactly according to the Manuscript, that he has given it without Points, and without any Distinctions; but he designs in his Volume of Notes, which is to follow, to give it in a better form, and make it the most intelligible he can. He proves 'tis a Work of St. *Chrysostom's*, and he says, he will discover from whence, when, and by whom this Rare Piece is fallen into his hands. This Work is considerable, because it appears contrary to the Opinion of Transubstantiation, and I believe it would not have made so much noise as it has done, if something that fell out at *Paris* some few Years agoe had not given the occasion of making Reflections upon it.

The Affair happen'd when the Learned M. Pigot Printed the Life of St. Chrysostom, writ by Paladius. He would have added there amongst other little Pieces, this same Letter of his, written to the Monk Cesarius; and some say, that it was ready for the Press, but he was desired to suppress it, and made to understand, unless he did so, he should obtain no privilege for his Book, wherefore he did what they desired him. The Protestants, who come to understand this Matter, have not fail'd to take notice of it, as if the Publication of this Letter had been hindered only, because it favour'd them. One of 'em has Printed a long Dissertation upon this Subject, under this Title, *St. Anastasi Sinaitæ Anagogicarum Contemplationum in Hexaemeron liber 12. hæcenus desideratus, cui præmissa est expostulatio de Sancti Johannis Chrysostomi Epistola ad Cesarium Monachum adversus Apollinariæ hæresin à Parisiensibus aliquot Theologis non ita pridem suppressâ, Londini 1682, in 4to.* Now we shall speak to the Notes.

This Second Volume wholly fill'd with his Remarks, is as I have told you, very large, yet its only upon the three first Pieces of the Collection, which are the Epistle of St. Polycarp, that of St. Barnabas, and a Discourse on Hyppolitus. There is above 15 or 16 to comment upon besides, little or great. 'Twould have been very pleasing if the Author had made Notes on them all; for his Commentaries are fill'd with so much Learning and Judgment, that all Ingenious Men that read 'em, receive advantage from them. It would be impossible here to give a particular Account of all the fine things in this second Volume, wherefore we shall be content to give the World leave to judge of the whole, by some of its parts.

The Title of St. Polycarp's Letter, by which it appears, that he and his Priests, writ to the Philippians, gives M. Le Moyne a good opportunity to speak of the difference between Ecclesiasticks; for after having rejected the Opinion of those that alledge that as a Proof of the equality between Priests and Bishops, he shews there was a difference in that time, but not so great as is between the Ecclesiasticks at this Day, since the Priests Consecrated Virgins, even conferred Orders, performed the Chrism, gave their Opinions in Synods, and had Seats like to the Bishops, which were call'd Thrones as well as theirs. Here he takes occasion to reprehend Salmasius, who thought these words of Eusebius, *οἱ ἐκ δευτέρου ἑρῶν*, signified Bishops that were Suffragans to a Metropolitan, whereas he ought to be understood by't, (says our Author) Simple Priests, which he proves also to have been call'd Antistites, which a Learned Man being ignorant of fell into this oversight, and understood by it *Antistitem secundæ sedis*, the Patriarch of Constantinople. He proves by the Ex-

ample of St. Cyprian, that the Bishops writ conjoynly with the Priests, to other Bishops and Priests both together, and some time even with the Deacons. He Relates a Letter of Constantine's the Emperour, wherein he speaks much upon it, because it is directed to Miltiades Bishop of Rome, and to Mark; which is not conformable to the Idea they have of the Pope's Pre-eminence; for its a little too familiar, not only to write to him by himself, but also to associate him with another that was only a simple Priest. The Author justifies its being read Mark, contrary to the reading of a great many Learned Men; and he wonders, that in the same Book where the great Salmasius, who hath cited this Letter of Constantine's against the Pretensions of the Court of Rome, should believe it as false. This defect of Memory is more supportable than the Infidelity of this Translator, who to disguise Constantine's directing to the Pope and to another in the same Letter, has thus changed these words of the Original, *μὴ δὲ τὸ ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν λαμβάνει.* Nec tuam Sedulitatem Latet.

The Author makes this Remark upon the word *Sacerdos*, a Sacrificing Priest; that it was never given to the Ecclesiasticks in the first or second Age, the reason of which, he says, was because the Christians conforming themselves to the practice of the Synagogues, and not that of the Temple of Jerusalem, established Priests, Deacons, Bishops, &c. But not Sacrificers, or Sacrificing Priests, by which he Convids him of Imposture, who disguised himself under the Name of Denis the Areopagite, and who affected to be call'd *Sacerdos*. He concludes this Remark with Criticising upon some Authorities that seem to be contrary to this point.

Mr. Le Moyne as occasion offers it self, explains all obscure places, and corrects the Errors; but he has a very handsome Quality, that is not very common, for he treats those very civilly that are guilty of Mistakes, and very often censures the faults, without naming the person. As he was very well acquainted with Judaick Antiquities, and the Eastern Tongues. So he has taken a great many Etymologies from them, which has been unusefully sought for, both in the Greek and Latin.

He is not satisfied only with clearing a great many Critical Points, but has also engag'd himself to defend our Mysteries, & the Divinity of the word against a Heretick, which was so much the more dangerous, as beside his Heresie he had Wit and Learning; he was not so uncivil and imprudent as some others who have boldly published, it did not concern them, if what they affirm'd was never before known to the World. His Name was Sandius, he was wise enough to see 'twas the greatest Absurdity in the World to pretend

pretend that an Opinion was true, that took birth only in these last Ages, or in case that it was true, it was not worth the while to trouble the Church; for common sense evidently tells us, that every Opinion that Christianity has past by for these Sixteen Ages is useless for Salvation, and of none, or at most of very little importance. So that when an Heretick is cunning, he puts off no opinion but under pretence of its being founded upon some very antient Doctrine; this was the craft of *Sandius*, he apply'd himself very much to Ecclesiastical History, that he might prove the Fathers of the three first Ages did not believe the Trinity, as it is now taught, from whence he pretends to draw one of these Advantages, either that Error prevail'd in the Council of *Nice*, and that so things ought to be reduced to their Primitive State, or that the Fathers of this Council made that an Article of Faith, without which, their Predecessors burning with Zeal and Holiness, had obtain'd the Glory of Paradise, and therefore by consequence persons were not obliged to undergo the new Yoke that the Council of *Nice* would have impos'd upon the Conscience. Every one must be sensible that its the Duty of the Orthodox to dissipate these Illusions, and the Author deserves praise for undertaking the proof of the Divinity of the Son, by Passages of the Antients, whilst *M. Wittichius*, his Collegue, maintain'd the Divinity of the Holy Ghost against the same *Sandius*.

I believe, that after having considered the proofs that *M. Le Moyne* brings, there's few Men will be so Opinionative as to maintain, that the Fathers of the three first Ages were of *Actus's* Opinion; for he relates many express and formal Passages, wherein they maintained the Eternal Divinity of the Son of God. He doubts not but what was said of *Tiberius* is true, viz. That he proposed to the Senate the Apotheosis of *Jesus Christ*, or taking him into the number of the Gods. *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Chrysostom* relate it, but this last was deceived when he said the Senate of *Rome* placed *Alexander* in the number of the Gods; its very likely he took the *Roman* Senate for that of *Athens*.

The Author Corrects a passage of *Perrenius's* Translation of *Iustin Martyr*, and which Cardinal *Bellarmin* made use of to prove the worship of Angels. He shews that such a worship was not meant in this passage, and that it must be pointed according as *Christopher Langus*, and *Sigismund Gelenus* have pointed it: He adds, that in the time of this Father the worship of Angels was not practis'd amongst the Christians. He very strictly examin's what was the true Opinion of *Paulus Samosatus*, whereupon he takes occasion to explain the different Fortunes of the Term *Homousian*:

I shou'd be too tedious to give an account of the fine remarks he has made upon the Measure of the Encrease of *Nile*, that was kept as a relick in the Temple of *Serapis*, and which the Emperor *Constantine* carry'd to the Church of *Alexandria*. *Mr. de Valois* has happily corrected the Passage of *Socrates* where this Translation is Copied; for whereas *Christopherson* and *Musculus* had translated it thus, *Constantine caused this measure to be removed to the Church of Alexandria*, his Translation says, that this Emperor Com-manded *Alexander* who was then Patriarch of *Alexandria* to place it in the Church. But in remarking so exactly the Errors of others, he did not observe he committed on himself, when he said, that *Constantine* at the same time caused the Images of the False Gods to be placed in the Church. Which is the sense he gives to the word *συμβολα*, which *Sokomon* makes use of. The Author shews how improbable it was that Christians shou'd put such abominable objects in so Sacred a place, so that the word *συμβολα* must signify, either the Standard or Ancient Titles of the Town. The Idolaters murmuring against this Translation, Reported that *Nile* encreased more, but that they were deceived. For the People always imagin'd that upon the change of Religion wou'd follow strange marks of the wrath of Heaven; they wish'd it out of spite, and yet were afraid of it, because of the unhappy effects it might produce; and these two Passions made men very credulous; we ought not however to think it strange that Providence very often makes use thereof. The Christians had their part in the surprise if they believed that *Nile* was sensible of it when *Julian* carry'd back to the Temple of *Serapis*, what *Constantine* had taken from thence. The Conjectures of the Author are very fine upon the Reason, which made *Josephus* cite a Second Book of *Ezekiel*, and upon the sense of a difficult passage of the First Book of the *Maccabees* Chap. 3. vers. 48. where according to some Versions it is, That the Heathens sought Copies of the Law to Paint their Idols by in. These conjectures are very learned, as well as all that he says upon the Instruments of punishments, &c. used amongst the Romans; from whence he takes occasion to explain many obscurities of the Ancient Authors.

He says, that the Wild-Hony which *St. John* eat of in the Wilderness, was not a kind of *Manna*, or Concrete Dew, but a true Hony made by Bees in the hollow places of some Trees, as there are Ants in *China* and *Tunquin* which fly in great Companies upon the Trees, and there make a kind of Wax or Gum, whereof the *Lacca*, so well known to the Dyers, is made; it is also the chief Ingredient of the Spanish Wax; he confirms his Opinion by the History of *Jonathan*, who

who found Honey in a Wood, and refutes the Chymical Opinion of the Rabbi, who pretended Jonathan only found Sugar there.

Upon which Mr. Le Moyne examines, whether Sugar was in use amongst the Ancients, and says, That although they knew how to draw from certain Reeds a Juice very agreeable to the Taste, yet they had not the Art of Taking, Condensing, Whitening, and making it dry as we do now. Lucan speaks of this Reed when he says,

*Quique bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine
Succos.*

Eratosthenes speaks thereof also in the 15th. Book of Strabo, and plainly insinuates, that they sometimes baked this Juice, but 'twas a preparation very different from ours. Those that alledge this Verse of Stace, *Et quas præcoquit Ebusita Cannas*, to prove that the Ancients made Sugar, did not observe that it was corrupted, and that instead of *Cannas*, it must be read *Caunus*, which was a kind of Fig that the Inhabitants of the Isle of Ebusus, made very excellent by their manner of preparing them. As for the Sugar *Mambu* and *Tabaxir*, which the Ancients had the knowledge of.

The Author shews 'twas a kind of Gum, which they made use of to sweeten their Medicines, and that this Gum gathered together in the joints of certain Trees, or else that 'twas the dew which Coagulated upon the boughs: He brings a passage of Pliny which Favours this opinion, since in it one sees, that Sugar is a Honey gathered upon Reeds white like Gum, which may be reduced to Powder by the Teeth, larger than a Hazle-Nut, and which is used only in Medicines. Arrian, Seneca, Galen, and Theophrastus have spoken of Sugar, either under its proper name, or under that of the Honey of Canaan, but the Idea they give us of it only resembles a thick juice either running from the Plant itself, or taken from the Reed. We must therefore conclude with the Author that the Ancients knew not the Sugar that we now have. He very Learnedly examines the Reasons how the Rabbi come to commit that mistake; and mentions amongst other things the Scripture observation, *That as soon as Jonathan had taken of this Honey his Eyes were enlightened*, which had probably Contributed thereto; for the Ancient Physicians ascribed to their Sugar, a particular vertue of curing Eyes, as may be seen in the second Book of Dioscorides, Chap. 104. He afterwards speaks upon the Goat *Azazel*, upon the dependences of this Mystical Sacrifice, upon Hyfop, Circumcision, &c. To extract from which subjects all that Merits observation, wou'd take up too great a part of this Volume; I shall therefore content my self with relating these rich

Treasures of Learning, and with the Thoughts of St. Barnabas, *That the number of the 318 Persons that Abraham Circumcised in his House, was very Mystical*.

They were so accustomed in that time to expect the finding a Mystery in Numbers, (according to the Platonists, Pythagorians, and Jews) that they were perswaded from one to another that the Three Hundred and Eighteen Domesticks of Abraham were a Mystical Figure of the Crucifixion of the Son of God, because that to make this Number they must use these three Letters of the Alphabet T I H. The first whereof represents the Cross, and the other Two are the First Syllable of Jesus's Name in the Greek Tongue. Our Age is so much reduced from playing with words, and these Mystical Allusions, that they never use 'em; for if we except a few contemplative Monks, there are none to be found who have lost themselves in these sorts of Refinements. In the First Ages of the Church, there was no such Custom, altho' there were few in this respect wiser than the Jewish Doctors: 'Tis here that one may see the Mysteries of Numbers in their greatest extent.

There were also some Fathers which pretended that the 318 Domesticks of Abraham with whom he overcame the Kings that had spoil'd Sodom, were a Figure of the 318 Bishops of the Council of Nice. The Author shews in brief the Illusion of the whole, and afterwards tells us in what time they began to count by Figures that are called Cyphers. He believes with the Generality of Learned Men that we are obliged to the Sarazens for the Communication of these Notes, and that they come originally from the Arabians, in which he dissents from the Opinion of Mr. Vossius, and from his old Friend Mr. Huet, for whom with Reason he Professes a very particular Friendship.

Scaliger was so perswaded of the Novelty of Cyphers, that he believed the Celebrated Silver Medal of Marguard Speber was lately cast, as soon as he had learnt there was seen on it these Numeral Figures 234, 235. There is four different Explanations of this Medal in the 3d. Volume of Camerarius, Book 4. It's believed that Planudes who lived at the end of the 13th. Age, is the first of the Christians that made use of Cyphers. The manner how Father Kircher relates that they passed from the Indian Brachmans to the Arabians in the Ninth and Tenth Age, and from the Arabians into Spain in the time of Alphonso King of Castile, who causing Astronomic Tables to be made, made use of those marked with Cyphers; and in fine from Spain to Greece a little time after; this manner, I say, is here abridg'd with some Criticks of this Author. He concludes that to be a pretty though

thought, but does not believe that the Arabians having brought from the Indians this Invention, gave them the Glory of it, and amongst other Reasons, founds his Opinion upon the great Conformity that he observed between the Cyphers and Arabian Characters.

I shall omit what he says upon the Fast of the Sabbath, the shadow of Samuel, upon the time that St. John had the Vision of the Apocalypse, and a great many other Prophane and Holy things, which would oblige me to give him great Praises, did I not know him to be as Modest as Learned, which is to possess two Qualities almost incompatible, and to which we may almost apply what a great Wit once said concerning certain words ill put together, viz. *Tis I believe very surprising to see others like them, for 'tis probable they were the first and last of their kind.* Nature seems not to have made these two things one for the other, and those that can unite them make a more dangerous Rupture than that of Nerva, who made the Romans sensible of a Republick Liberty under the Government of an Emperor.

Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuit Principatum & Libertatem.

Tacit. in vit. Agrico. cap. 3.

Illustrissimo Ecclesie Principi, Armando Joanni de Rotondi de Biscaras, Episcopo & Domino Biterrensi, Abbati beate Marie Cendracesis, Regi à Consiliis, &c. Historia Carmelitana Theologicè propugnata. Quæstio Theologica. Quis Prophetas facit Successores post se? Ecclesiastici cap. 48.

Elias Thesbites de habitatoribus Galaad, de linea Sacerdotali, dicitur natus est annis octo ante mortem Salomonis. Primo secundum aliquos Hebræos, dictus est Jaberichyth, verum ex acclamatione populi post interfectos Prophetas Baal, dicens, Dominus ipse est Deus, vocatus est Elias. Isidorus vult statim à natiuitate sua Eliam dictum, Sobac aut Sabaocha fuit pater ejus, cui dum adhuc Elias in utero matris gestaretur apparuerant homines nixum habitum ferentes, Ordinem Carmelicum præsignantes, qui pusionem salutabant, deinde flammis quasi pannis involuebant, ac ipsum loco lactis igne pascebant. Arridet mihi opinio valde probabilis, asserens Eliam in utero matris fuisse sanctificatum, decebat enim ultimi adventus præcursores iisdem titulis ac honori-

bus insigniri quibus præcursor primi donatus est. De pueritia Eliæ nihil habet Scriptura. Asserunt tamen autores gravissimi, parentum & proprio sui ipsius voto Nazarenum se exhibuisse, & fuisse primum in veteri lege qui deserta incoluit, & monasticam in montibus vitam egit. Septem circiter annis commoratus est in monte sancti Eliæ juxta urbem Sydon, ubi anachoreticæ vitæ dedit initium: deinde prope Hierusalem, post modum in Damasceno, deinceps iterum in Judæa persisteret in Carmelo, ubi Ordinis Carmelitarum fundamenta jecit. In rebus divinis præcipuum habuit Abiam Silonit in Collegio Galaad, ubi florebat Samuelis institutum. Deinde ad compescendam impetatem Achab Regis Israel cui Jezebel innuierat, evocatur à Deo. & frustra monitum Regem miraculis coerces, & pro tuenda fide zelo accensus metuque mortis intrepidus prælia Domini contra Tyrannidem præliatur.

I. I.

Omnipotentiae Dei Vicarius in populos siccitatem & famem inducit. Dei jussu ad torrentem Carith secedens corvo pascitur: ed loci ductis ab Angelis Custodibus discipulis invisitur. Siccato torrente Sareptam contendit, viduae filium suscitavit, quem ex devotione matris sibi traditum erudit. Is fuit Jonas quæ deinceps in Prophetam evasit, primus Elianæ Religionis alumnus, sed non præcipuus, nam post interfectos Prophetas Baal; post miram immaculatæ conceptionis cæterarumque Beatæ Virginis mysteriorum in nubecula parva revelationem: post fugam; post subministratum ab Angelo cibum; post suam Dei visionem qua positus est in Monte Horeb; post stabilitam in Dei matrem specialem devotionem, sancto dictante & mandante Spiritu, Eliseum filium Saphat de Abelmeula sumit Prophetam pro se & designavit in generali Prælatione totius Ordinis successorem. Multi erant jam conventus in Galgalis, Bethel, Jerico, Carmelo, &c. in quibus Elias Discipulos suos ad omnem pietatem instituerat, quos Elias visitavit, ut suos alumnos in verâ fide & aspero vitæ eremiticæ instituto confirmaret, ultimæque salutis & perfectionis monita eis daret, & Eliseum præmulgaret successorem. Plurimi ex illis spiritu prophetico noverant parentem suum in Paradisum subvehendum, unde præter Eliæ voluntatem qui raptum suum humiliter celare volebat, ducti desiderio videndi finem, longiuscule steterunt à Jordane, & duos sui Ordinis Magistros abire passi sunt. Cumque Elias & Eliseus pergerent, & incedentes sermocinarentur, ecce currus igneus, & equi ignei diviserunt utrumque, & ascendit Elias per turbinem in celum: Eliseus autem, non vidit eum amplius, scissisque vestibus orbitatem suam lussit, duplicis Fundatoris spiritus successoris hæres.

III.

Merito damnatur à Patribus Origenes qui per terrestrem Paradisum, cælum vult intelligi quod raptus est Paulus Apostolus. & quæcunque de consitis illic arboribus, de fluviiis rigantibus asserit Scriptura, totum id in allegoriam male vertit: est enim sententia gravissimorum autorum accedens proximè ad fidem, Enoch & Eliam nostrum translatos esse in Paradisum unde expulsus fuit Adam. Refellendi sunt etiam qui asserunt post Adæ peccatum Paradisum terrestrem paulatim defecisse, & demum aquarum diluvii inundatione omnino submersum & sublatum. Hujus opinionis Princeps inter Catholicos fuit, Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus qui vixit anno 1540. Verum stat traditio Ecclesiæ, Enoch & Eliam adhuc vivos ibi habitare, & usque ad tempora Antichristi reservari cum ad confirmandam veritatem Evangelicam pro salute Electorum mittentur. Interea vitam agit Elias in Paradiso terrestri non quidem adeo felicem ac Sancti quando peracto operis die, denarium accepturi sunt, vel adeo infelicem quemadmodum homines qui nondum ex hac vita migrarunt, de qua tamen ille non morte, sed translatione migravit. Jam itaque aliquid melius habet quam in hac vita posset, quamvis non tam habeat quod ex hac vita rectè gesta habebit. Ita cum Divo Augustino communiter Theologi, quamvis Procopius Gazæus, Augustinus Eugubinus, Catharinus, Salmeronius & Barradas Eliam habituali, & perenni visione Dei potiri asseverarint, quam ipsi per modum transeuntis quandoque concedi censeo, sicut & dotes aliquas gloriosorum corporum dotibus persimiles, licet non omnino easdem, immortalitas enim est essentialis corpori glorioso, & certum est de fide Eliæ corpus Antichristi crudelitate adinventis atrocissimis suppliciis vexandum reservari.

IV.

Quamplurimi Doctores asserunt multoties Eliam cum Christo fuisse conversatum non solum in monte Thabor dum transfiguraretur Dominus, sed etiam in Paradiso terrestri: fluentibus enim 40. diebus post resurrectionem, illud temporis quod à revisendis instruendisque Discipulis reliquum erat, impendit Christus Eliæ atque Enoch in Paradiso præsentia sua recreandis, instruendisque de omnibus quæ olim ipsis adversus Antichristum usui esse possunt. Et quia præceptum baptismi obligavit omnes homines qui eo tempore vivebant quo Christus legem hanc tulit, quantumvis essent justi & sancti, sicut obligavit Apostolos & Beatam Virginem, ita & obligavit Eliam & Enoch, unde certum mihi videtur Patriarcham nostrum vel ab ipso Christo, vel ab Angelo, vel ab Enoch fuisse baptizatum, cui etiam vicissim gratiam baptismatis respondit. Nec inde sequitur cæteris omnibus Ecclesiæ legibus illos fuisse obnoxios. Quod attinet ad Sanctissimum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, verisimile est non negari amico salvatoris pro ipsius gloria fortiter quondam di-

micaturo, panem illum cælestem qui plerumque indignis conceditur. Quin imo quidam opinati sunt Eliam vel ab ipso Christo vel ab Angelis in Sacerdotem fuisse consecratum, nec res est sine exemplo. Lubenter assentior opinioni illorum Theologorum qui asserunt Eliam in statu in quo nunc est mereri, habet enim nunc omnes condiciones ad merendum requisitas; atque hinc est quod infinitis propemodum meritis ad excessum erectus est fastigium Sanctitatis, unde merito tum in nova tum in antiqua lege à fidelibus, Sacellis & Ecclesiis ipsi consecratis, orationibus & Officiis ad ipsius honorem concinnatis ipsius patrocinium summopere fuit concupitum. Nec defuit Propbeta sanctus intercessionibus & præsentia plerumque ad se confugientibus opitulari. Primus ipsum invocavit Elias ut pallio Eliæ quod ceciderat ei, Jordanis aquas divideret.

V.

Deinde ex sacris antiqua legis Prophetis quamplurimi ipsum imitari in eodem religioso & monastico vivendi instituto, ipsum colere, ipsum invocare studuerunt, inter quos numerare possumus Michæam filium Jemsa; Abdiam qui fuit ex tribus Ochozia quinquagenarius unus; Isaiam socerum Manasses Regis Juda; Jeremiam de Tribu Levi Sacerdotem filium Helcia; Ezechielem filium Buzi Sacerdotem, quem quidam falso existimant eundem fuisse ac Pythagoram, licet valde sit probabile Pythagoram Philosophum etiam fuisse Carmelitam, erat enim natione Judæus, diu commoratus in monte Carmelo inter Religiosos Carmelitas, & ab illis edoctus est, sicque discipulos suos instituit, ut victu, conversatione, & vestitu Eliæ discipulos omnino referrent. Cum is censendus est etiam Daniel Propbeta de regio Judæorum sanguine, sicque novem seculorum decursu per Rechabitas, Essenos, Assidæos, Nazarenos perpetuos Eliana religio transit ad præcursores Christi Domini Joh. Baptistam. Florebant tunc temporis in Gallia Religiosi nominatissimi Druidæ dicti quorum si vivendi genus, & observantias regulares serio discusseris, reperies veros fuisse Carmelitas. Præcipuam suam sedem habuere Carnuti. Interea vigeat in Baptistæ discipulis Spiritus Eliæ, & primis Ecclesiæ sæculis ante Sanctorum Antonii & Basilii institutionem omnes Monachi Christiani non solum imitatione (hoc enim difficitur nemo) sed etiam hereditaria successione ab Essenis immediate ac directè, ipsique mediantibus à filiis Prophetarum, & ab Eliâ ipsorum Patriarcha processerunt veri alumni Religionis Carmelitane tunc absque interruptione ac divisione perseverantis in ejus domibus & benis, Carmelitæ enim qui fuerant Apostolorum prædicatione ad Christi fidem conversi, partim eorum Coadjutores effecti, ac per totum orbem cum eis dispersi, fideliter Evangelium prædicaverunt, partim solitudini suæ professionis assueti deserta quæseverunt. Primi simul cum fide Religionis institutum, & observantias edocentes ubique terrarum vitæ religiosæ semina reliquerunt.

VI.

V I.

Alii vero in solitudinibus Palestinae & Egypti, praesertim in Thebaidae plurima prorsus innumerabilium Monachorum Collegia fundaverunt, in quibus Carmelitana Religio perseveravit, & ad haec usque tempora pervenit, quamvis post modum insignes viri surrexerunt qui servatis principalioribus observantiis Carmelitanae Religionis, maxime tribus votis (cum quibus etiam in antiqua lege sed non adeo perfecte stetit illa nostra Religio) adjunctisque aliis, novas Religiones tam in Oriente, quam in Occidente fundaverunt. Dicti sunt Patres nostri in illa veluti secunda Religionis aetate Therapeutae, Eremitae, Anachoretae, Solitarii, Ascetae, Philosophi, ac Cenobitae. Et sicut in monte Carmelo singulari Dei providentia etiam tempore Judaicarum captivitatum, cum totus pene populus in Assyrios fuit translatus, Carmelitae natali Religionis solo potiti sunt, ita etiam in primis Ecclesiae saeculis usque ad annum 1290, quo scilicet a Saracenis & Carmelo expulsi sunt, quem tandem nostri Discalceati anno 1631. recuperarunt. Interdum floruerunt Carmelitae quamplurimi, ut Joannes Vigefimus quartus Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus Praesul sanctae & Orthodoxae fidei, Author libri de Institutione Monachorum qui habetur in Bibliotheca Patrum tom. IX. quicquid in contrarium dicant antiquitatis nostrae emuli, qui etiam Monachismum Cyrilli fabellam male arbitrantur, fuit enim vere Carmelita, inde assumptus in Patriarcham Alexandrinum, & in Ephesono Concilio Caesertini primi legatus, S. Anastasius Martyr; Petrus Eremita; S. Antonius Abbas; S. Hilarius; S. Basilus; S. Pachomius; S. Simplicianus Magister S. Augustini; S. Romanus Monachus Director S. Benedicti; V. F. Gerardus Institutor Hospitaliorum S. Johannis Baptista; S. Hieronymus Ecclesiae Doctor; S. Honoratus Fundator Monasterii Lirimensis in Gallo-Provincia; S. Cassianus Fundator Monasterii Massiliensis S. Victoris; S. Palladius Scotorum Apostolus, Cyrillus Constantinopolitanus & alii pene innumeri. Sed omittere non possum, Simonem Stochium cui Beata Virgo sacrum Scapulare concessit, ejus devotae gestationi deinde privilegium Bullae Sabbatinae voluit annexum, ut devotum sibi Ordinem se specialiter tueri demonstraret, & per innumeros Carmelitanae, Propheticae, & Elianae vitae Professores, ad finem usque mundi duraturos ostenderet Patriarcham nostrum Eliam esse, qui Prophetas facit successores post se.

Has Theses Deo dante & auspice Despard Ordinis Patroni tuebatur in Comitibus Provincialibus Provinciae Tholosae Buteris congregatis die Mensis Aprilis anni 1632, hora secunda pomeridiana, apud Carmelitas R. P. Philippus Teissier Carmelita Sacrae Theologiae Doctor.

*Sunt autem defensae hae Theses per tri-
duum.*

The Printed Copies of this Thesis are so very scarce (says our Abridger) I cou'd not get any of 'em, so that he was forced to make use of some Manuscript Copies, two of which he confesses were very defective, and as ill Decyphered, but happily one supplied what the other wanted, so that with the help of a Book that he sometimes consulted, he says, he thinks he has avoided any considerable faults that might have slipped into this Edition, either in respect to proper Names, or any thing else. He says, that the Carmelite Fathers cannot complain that he has falsified there Positions, for if it is not exactly conformable to the Original, it is only in respect to a word or so, which signifies nothing to the Affair it self. The Book that assisted him was Intituled *Elias Thesbites, sive de rebus Eliae Prophetae Commentarius*, in Quarto, Printed at Paris 1631. It is full of Learning, Reading and Curious Enquiries; but there are many Fancies and Chimera's in it as well as in the Thesis of Beziers. They ought not to permit that such things be publicly maintained as constant Truths, for the least Advantage that the Protestants wou'd draw from thence is, that it plainly appears that under the Benefit of Tradition, they maintain and deny what they please: The Incredulous take a great advantage from thence to insult over Faith, and it is certainly Pernicious to Religion to introduce so many Fabulous Stories. Permit me (says our Abridger) to cite here a Thought of Mr. Rohault's, that Celebrated Philosopher, whose Posthumous Works were Printed by the care of his Father in Law, who lived but a little after this Edition. He says, in the Preface to his Treatise of Physicks that nothing has produced more unhappy Dispositions in Scholars, than to see Those who publicly maintain any Doctrine whatsoever, always Triumphant over those that endeavour to prove the contrary, so that upon their Accounts all things pass only for probabilities. They look not on Study as a means to discover new Truths, but as a Sport for them to Exercise their Wits upon, the end of all which is only so to confound Truth with Falshood by some subtilty, that they may equally maintain both without ever appearing to be convinced by any Argument; how unreasonable soever the Opinion may be that they maintain. And it is in effect the general Success of all Publick Actions, where often in the same Pulpit, Opinions are Alternatively deliver'd perfectly contrary, and equally triumphing, without any Tenet being the better clear'd, or Truth the more Establish'd. I don't think (continues he) that such Persons as wou'd defend all the Propositions maintain'd by the Carmelite Friars as true, are very proper to Convert Socinians.

Isaaci Vossii *Variarum Observationum*
Liber, at London, 1685, in
Quarto.

MR. Vossius begins this Book with a Discourse upon the greatness of the Ancient Roman City, upon which he has several Thoughts which appear incredible to many Men; for he says, That in the time of Augustus, the Walls were above thirty thousand Paces round, altho' they enclosed not that part of the City that was situated upon the Confines of Tyber, which contain'd twenty thousand Paces. And if so, the Circumference of Rome would be above fifty thousand Paces without the Suburbs. Our Author in taking them into the Computation found that the whole contain'd 72 thousand Paces, in so much that its Area or Content was greater by it than that of Babylon, which was a square City of sixty thousand Paces about. Rome appears to us already of an excessive greatness, but what would it be if we added to it that part beyond the Tyber, which has not yet been counted? Because they did not formerly look upon it as a part of the City. The Palace of Nero encompassed Rome on that side; and it was of so prodigious an extent, that Mr. Vossius did not believe that there was then any City in Europe so large. He durst not say positively that the Quarter on that side the River extended even to the Oriculum for the space of 36 thousand Paces; but he shews, that it took up much Land upon the Janicula, the neighbouring Mountains, and along the way of Flaminius, which being that whereby Men entred in Triumph into the City, 'twas necessarily full of Houses.

He proposes some considerable Difficulties, and answers them very learnedly. He says, amongst other things, that the Walls of Rome must be distinguished from the Pomarium, which being at first without the City, was afterwards one part of it within the Walls, and the other without; because that those that enlarged the Walls, was also obliged at the same time to enlarge the Pomarium, the Augures so managed the matter, that all which had this quality before preserved it self. He also says, That when they made their City bigger, they proportionably removed certain places, without taking from them their Ancient Names. For Example, the Grove of the Muses, and the Cave of Egeria, or Numa, was often removed, being once but a little distance from the Gate of Capena, which in the time of this King was not very far from the middle of Rome. But after a while this Grove and this Cave were found at Aricia, near the outmost parts of the City, fifteen thou-

sand Paces from the place where the Gate of Capena anciently stood. This Observation may serve for an Answer to a Passage in Pliny, where it is said, That Rome was limited at the East by the Captice of Tarquin the Proud; for if any would infer from thence, That the Limits of the Town were only distant from the Center about two thousand Paces, he may be answer'd, That this distance which was effectively so once, is so encreased in proportion to the enlargement of Rome; because the Monument which bears the Name of Tarquin, was always extended to the utmost bounds of the City. Our Author adds, That 'tis vainly alledg'd, that there's no Trace left at this Day of the prodigious Bulk of Rome, for (says he) if one would find any Marks of it, he must dig sixty foot deep, and to find any of the Ruins of Nineveh or Babylon, which were built upon soft Foundations, he must dig two hundred foot deep.

What he says afterwards, is not less common, viz. He brings a long List of the numberings of the Roman People from the time of Servius Tullius, to the Year of Rome 667. The first Account gives 130000 Citizens, that of the Year 667 affords above 400000. In respect of the Inhabitants, 'tis hard to give a positive determination, because they were never reckoned; but our Author affirms they were of a far greater number than Lipsius believed; for if the proportion between the Slaves and Citizens, was the same as betwixt those of Rome and Athens, where for 20000 Burgeffes there were 400000 Slaves, it would follow, that Rome contain'd 8000000 of Slaves, a greater number than any Kingdom of Europe whatsoever has in it. He assures us in another place, That before the Tyranny of Sylla, the City of Rome by it self had as many Inhabitants in it, as the Moiety of Europe has at this day.

But to the Computation he brings, he supposes, that the City of Paris and that of London, joyn'd together would fill an Area of six thousand Paces Square. And that the City of Rome, with its Suburbs, and that Quarter beyond Tyber, would take up twenty times a greater Square than those six thousand Paces. He supposes also, that Rome was at least as well Peopled as Paris and London, and grounds his Opinion upon the Prodigious height of the Houses, as appears by Augustus taxing them at 70 foot apiece: Now we may well suppose here with those who are not carry'd away with the Multitude in their Computation, that there are not more than six hundred thousand Inhabitants in each of those Cities that I have named. In another place he is not so liberal, he allows only that number to two Cities joyn'd together, he concludes this following Proposition, That there was in Rome fourteen Millions of Inhabi-

tants,

tants, a Number (says he) that the three most Populous Cities of Europe will not supply us with.

For after having related many fine things upon the manner how Rome fell to decay, upon the greatness of *Babylon*, *Nineveh*, *Thebes* in Egypt, *Alexandria*, *Carthage*, *Cairo*, and some Cities of *China*, thus he divides the different Nations of Europe; he gives to *Spain*, two Millions of Inhabitants, to *France* five Millions, to *Italy*, to the three Isles of *Sicily*, *Corfica*, and to *Sardinia* two Millions, to *Great Britain* and *Ireland* two Millions, to the *Low Countries* two Millions, to *Germany*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary* five Millions, to the *Estates* of the King of *Denmark*, excepting *Norway*, four hundred thousand, to the *Estates* of *Sweden* and *Norway* 600000, to the *Estates* of *Poland*, a Million and an half, to *Turkey*, &c. five Millions and an half, adding as he goes along all *Muscovia* to Europe, and supposing 3000000 of Inhabitants in *Muscovia*, from whence it follows, That all Europe has not above thirty thousand persons Inhabitants.

He does not believe that if we shou'd joyn the Inhabitants of *Africa* to *America*, they wou'd amount to an hundred Millions, but that *Asia* is more populous; for altho' the War with the *Tartars* hath destroyed at least an hundred Millions of the *Chinese*, yet there remains above three hundred Millions of Inhabitants, the principal part whereof are in the *Eastern* Regions, and in the Isles. He cannot determine of the *Southern* parts, but supposes that all the persons in the World do not exceed 50000000. He adds that one might place 'em all standing on a Superficies, which contain'd a *German* League in length, and as much in breadth, giving to each person a Foot square, from whence he concludes, that *Lucan* had great reason to say, that *Rome* wou'd contain all Mankind.

—*Urbem Populis, victisque frequentem
Gentibus, & generis, si coeat turba, capacem
Humani.* —

For according to his Calculation, the Ground of this City contain'd at least twenty *German* Leagues square, which divided between five hundred Millions of Men, wou'd allow to each person twenty Foot square. Mr. *Vossius* is of opinion, that the World is much diminished, and has lost a great part of her Inhabitants; he believes there were formerly more Men in *Sicily*, than there are now in *Sicily* and *Italy* too; and that the number of Persons was greater in *Athens* only, than now it is in all *Greece*, which is probable enough, and therefore we cannot dispute it: But when he allows *Paris* but Three hundred thousand persons, and to *Holland* but Five hundred

and fifty thousand, Four hundred and fifty to the Cities, and an Hundred thousand to the Country, he is very far from multiplying upon the matter: And when he speaks of *China*, he thinks he cannot number too many. He believes that in the last breaking in of the *Tartars* there were in *China* an Hundred and seventy Millions of Inhabitants. He supposes the Town of *Hanchen* (for so it ought to be call'd, and not *Quinzai*, as in some corrupted Copies) was inhabited with near twenty Millions of people, without reckoning the Suburbs; and with taking them in, with more than all Europe besides, and that it was larger without the Suburbs, than *Rome* was with them. When he speaks of that Country, the Men cost him nothing, but he is afraid that all the Europeans will complain of his division, without excepting even the Spaniards, altho' he has been pretty bountiful to them.

What he says of the Manners and Wit of the *Chinese*, is admirable; they keep no Memoirs of their Warlike Princes, and reserve their Elogies for the Peace-Makers and Righteous. They never delighted in Conquests, unless the desire of living under so wise a Government, invited by their Neighbours to submit; but they constrained none, being only concerned, if men who wanted this happiness, refused to participate with them.

They acknowledge none as Gentlemen, but Men of Learning; 'tis derogatory amongst them, and reduces them into a *Plebeian* state, to forsake this profession. The Counsellors and Favorites of the Prince, are all Philosophers, and when he commits a fault, they reprehend him with so much Liberty and Freedom, that the Prophets took not more in respect to the Kings of *Judah*. If they don't make use of this Privilege, the People censure them, and look upon 'em as weak Men, and degenerate from the Courage of *Confutius*, and other Philosophers, who have retired from the Court in a time of Tyranny. They reproach them to their face with Cowardise, and say that they are neither Philosophers, nor Men of honour, since for their own private Interests, they abandon the good of the Publick. As for their Wit, Mr. *Vossius* believes they surpass all the World, and that after having learnt from 'em the Compass, Printing, and many other admirable things, he doubts not but there remains much finer Inventions amongst 'em, than we have borrowed of 'em: He tells us wonderful things of their skill in Physick; and above all their Art, in knowing the Diseases by the differences of the Pulse. They are so admirable in that respect, that they look not upon a Man to be a good Physitian, if after having felt divers places of the sick persons Arm, he does not without asking Questions, discover from what

part of the Body the Distemper proceeds, by the Diurnal Motion of the Earth upon its Center; but establishes a Principle upon which as well as the nature of it. 'Tis very pleasant to read all the curious things known to Mr. Des Cartes, viz. That a Body which is moved Circularly, approaches nearer to the Center, than is possible, when its Axis is perpendicular to the Horizon. But if its Axis is parallel to the Horizon, then it is removed from the Center as far as 'tis possible. He relates an Experiment that he says was made some time agoe, and which is quite contrary to Mr. Hugen's, given us by Mr. Robault; for whereas Mr. Hugen says, that the Particles of Spanish Wax dipp'd in a Vessel full of Water which is turn'd upon a Pivot, are removed farther from the Center and soon arrive to the extremities of the Vessel, Mr. Vossius has found out that Balls of Lead and Iron thrown into a Vessel of Water which is moved circularly, tend towards the Center of the Vessel, whereas Bowls of Wood which float upon the Surface of the Water make towards the sides of it.

The other Pieces which compose Mr. Vossius's Works, are not less worthy of particular observation; but having been long upon this, there's a necessity of being brief upon what follows:

1. He treats upon the Constructions of Gallies very learnedly.

2. On the Reformation of Longitudes. The Author maintains that the observations of Eclipses have more confounded this matter than any thing whatsoever, because they have not sufficiently regarded either Refractions or Shadows.

He corrects many errors that concern the extent of the Mediterranean Sea, which has been render'd much less than really it is; he shews also, that the like faults have been committed upon many Eastern parts of Asia, and says, that the dispute betwixt the Portuguese and Spaniards, touching the Division of the New World, has produced strange Alterations both in Longitudes and Geography.

3. He speaks of Navigation into the Indies and Japan, by the North: this Treatise contains many curious and useful observations.

4. He examines the cause of the Circles, which appear sometimes about the Moon: Upon which he has some thoughts perfectly new; for he believes these Circles proceed from the Mountains in the Moon, because they produce their Images reverst in the Air, that is under them, which he maintains by some experiments. Amongst others he relates this, that some English Merchants, being on the Pick of Teneriff, observed, that as soon as the Sun arose, the shadow of this high Mountain covered not only all the Isle of Teneriff, but also the great Canarie, and all the Sea, even unto the Horizon, where the top of the Pick seem'd to appear reverst, which sent back its shadow into the Air. He tells us a very surprizing thing, viz. that the shadow of this Mountain extended as far as the Levant, to the place even from whence the Light came, since the great Canarie, which is at the East of this Pick, is covered with the shadow. What he adds concerning the Sea between this Mountain, and the grand Canaries, is very remarkable; for he says, it appears not larger than the Thames, although there is fourteen Leagues between these two Isles.

5. He treats of the fall of heavy Bodies, and explains it according to the Cartesians,

The rest of the Book is a Treatise upon the Oracles of the Sybils, which Mr. Vossius published in the Year 1672. There's also the Answer that he made to some time after to the Objections of Mr. Simon scatter'd throughout his Critical History of the Old Testament, and a Reply to that part of the Discourse which concerns him in Father Simons's *Disquisitiones Criticae de variis Bibliorum Editionibus*.

Historia Plantarum, &c. Or, Ray's History of Plants, Tom. 1st. London 1686.

Since Bauhin published his *History of Plants*, and Parkinson his *Botanick Theater*, a great Number of Plants have been discovered, that appeared not in their Collection. Several Authors have described many that were unknown to the Botanists that liv'd before them: But no one yet has ever gathered them together in one Piece like our present Author, who has also used much more Method than has yet been observed on the same Subject.

He divides Plants into Genders and Kinds, and gives an account of those that resemble them in their principal parts, as in their Flower, Seed, and Films, which cover them.

He thinks this Method is the most Natural and easie to attain in a little time to the knowledg of Botanicks; and doubts not but any one that will apply himself to this study, may without the help of a Master by following these Rules to accomplish it, and be well acquainted with Plants. If any Plant shou'd be found which comes not under these Rules

Rules which are ordinarily known, there's no more to be done than to compare it with these General Distinctions which are given to principal Genders, which it is necessary to learn by heart. He immediately tells us to what Gender it belongs, and descending to the Species not contained in this Gender, he examines to what other it does belong, by these Essential marks whereby these Species are distinguished, and thus, in fine, the Species of Plants which they contain may be discovered by this particular description. But if it's plain that none of these descriptions agree, that then this was left out of the Collections which former Botanists have hitherto made.

'Tis not that our Author believes that

he hath found out a Method so very just and exact that there are not Plants which are not reducible to the Kinds and Species observed in this Work; the prodigious variety of Nature and the inexhaustible Riches which it prostrates to our Eyes, can't be comprehended in certain Limits. There are almost infinite Combinations betwixt the divers proprieties of Plants which necessarily constitute Anomalies and Exceptions from those Rules which are given to distinguish the different sorts; the Form of the Seed and the Film which covers it is not so certain an Index as is believed, to distinguish Plants, since some which are certainly of the same Species are different enough in that, as appears by many Examples which Mr. Ray produces; there's a kind of Cummin whose Seed is hairy, altho' in other things 'tis like other Cummin Seeds.

At the beginning of the Book there's a General Table, where our Author has briefly observed the differences by which he has distinguished the Plants into divers kinds and Species, which it's necessary to know, in order to discover the Plants whose description one would learn. This Volume contains XVIII Books, whereof the last treats *de herbis flore papilionaceo, five leguminosis*. In comparing this Title with the Table which we have spoke of, we may conjecture the first Tomb contains above half of the Work.

As to what regards the matter, one may Judge by the Title, which we have no need to repeat here; we shall only

remark that there are several very exact Descriptions of Plants which are particular to the *Britannick Islands* which foreign Botanists have not discover'd: What is chiefly wanting, is the Figures of Plants, which it's not always easie to remember by a bare description of 'em. Figures in Wood are commonly too gross, altho' there are some pretty good in the Ancient Botanists, as *Mathiolus of Venice*; and these in Copper Cuts cost too much; this is the cause that there were no Figures in this Edition. But the Booksellers, who are at the Expences of what is done, promise to add 'em very quickly, and to publish every Class of Plants in their Order, provided they can do it by way

of Subscription.

'Tis not amiss to Advertise you, that

the Method according to which Mr. Ray has disposed Plants is in 80 Intituled *Methodus Plantarum nova brevitate & perspicuitatis causa Synoptice in Tabulis exhibitae, cum Notis Generum tum Summorum tum Subalternorum Characteristicis Observationibus nonnullis de seminibus Plantarum & Indice copioso. Authore J. Rayo, &c. Amst. apud Wacsbergios, 1681.*

There's also a Second Edition of another Book of the same Author touching this matter. The Title of it is, *Catalogus Plantarum Angliae, & Insularum adjacentium, tum indigenas tum in Agris passim cultas complectens. In quo praeter Synonyma necessaria, facultates quoque summatim traduntur, una cum observationibus & experimentis novis medicis & Physicis. Editio secunda, Plantis circiter quadraginta sex & observationibus aliquam multis auctior. Oper. J. Ray Londoni.*

Besides that this Edition is more correct than the former, there are added Three Hundred Plants and Sixteen sorts of Fungus which were omitted thro' mistake or oversight. He has put the Remarks which were at the end, every one in his own place, and has added something new in many places. Besides, there are two Figures in this Edition where were not in the other, one is, *Fungus Phaloides*, and the other *Pentaphylloides Fructicosum*. Such as would know what Plants are added may find 'em in the Leaf following the Title Page, where also is another Index at the end of the Vertues of Plants, and of the Distempers which they remedy.

F I N I S

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